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EPIRUS

*The geography, the ancient remains, the history
and the topography of Epirus
and adjacent areas*

BY

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TO MY WIFE

PREFACE

MY exploration of ancient sites in Epirus was undertaken at the suggestion of Mr. B. L. Hallward, to whose enthusiasm and teaching I owe a great debt. It began in the academic year 1929-30, when I was in Greece as Sandys Student of the University of Cambridge, and my travels then laid the foundations for my knowledge of modern Greek and Albanian. I had access at the British School of Archaeology in Athens to the notebooks of S. S. Clarke, the first knowledgeable traveller in the area since W. M. Leake and A. Philippson. Clarke visited some parts of Epirus in 1922 and 1923, became a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and was then drowned in an accident in the Gulf of Corinth. He was a man of remarkable energy, courage, and intelligence, and he kept excellent notes; but exploration of this kind has to be personal, and I therefore covered the same ground as he had done. On becoming a Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, in 1930 I was fully engaged in teaching and thereafter could visit Epirus in vacations only. I finally completed my archaeological survey in August 1939. This involved fourteen months in the country, walking from village to village, carrying photographic and surveying equipment, and living with the villagers. The only limitations to my work were imposed by the climate and by malaria. No one could have given me greater affection and kinder hospitality than the Epirotes on both sides of the Greco-Albanian frontier, and Professor D. E. Evangelides and Dr. L. M. Ugolini welcomed me at Dodona and Butrinto, where they were then conducting their excavations. I received specialist help too from Mr. Lef Nosi of Elbasan, who had a small private collection of antiquities; from Mr. Christos Soulis of Ioannina, the leading spirit in local archaeology and the founder of the Archaeological Museum at Ioannina; Mr. Mentzis of Visani, who collected local antiquities; the Curator of the Ioannina Museum; and Mr. D. Katsanos, Curator of the Arta collection. The then Bishop of Ioannina, Spyridhon, the then Bishop of Paramythia, Athenagoras, and the editors of *Epeirotika Chronika* and *Epeirotike Estia* also helped me most generously. Mr. W. A. Heurtley introduced me to the Haliacmon valley and enabled me to work with him on the Bronze Age pottery of Macedonia; and Mr. H. G. G. Payne instructed me in Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pottery; and they both let me visit their excavations in Ithaca and at Perachora.

The first draft of the descriptive chapters in this book was completed early in 1940. During the War I served for two years in Greece

and gained a thorough knowledge of northern Thessaly, southern Macedonia, northern and eastern Pindus, Agrafa, and some mountainous routes to the Gulf of Corinth; I had experience then of two severe winters under primitive conditions. The Managers of the Leverhulme Research Fellowships kindly gave me a grant which enabled me to revisit some sites on the south side of the Greek frontier in 1953, and to make the acquaintance and enjoy the friendship of Mr. S. I. Dakaris, the Ephor of Antiquities in Epirus. The Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton most generously granted me Membership for the spring term of 1963, and the University of Bristol gave me leave of absence, although I had just been appointed. That term made the completion of the book possible.

Many scholars have given me help and advice. Professor A. J. B. Wace and Sir Frank Adcock encouraged me to continue with a task which seemed at times endless. Miss S. Benton and Professor R. M. Cook accompanied me on one visit each to Epirus and gave me valuable help. Otherwise I worked there entirely on my own. Mr. S. I. Dakaris has been most generous in giving me information and offprints of his work; Professor D. Mustilli helped me with information about the Italian excavations at Velcë; and Frano Prendi of the Tiranë Museum has given me offprints of some of his work. I am grateful to Professors C. F. Edson and H. A. Thompson for their expert advice on very many points, and I am indebted also to Professor A. Alföldi, Professor J. M. Cook, Mr. S. Foltiny, Mr. P. M. Fraser, Mr. G. T. Griffith, Miss L. H. Jeffery, Professor E. Lepore, Dr. A. H. McDonald, Professor B. D. Meritt, Mr. Ph. M. Petsas, Miss L. Shoe, Professor O. Skutsch, Mrs. H. A. Thompson, Mr. E. Vanderpool, and Mr. A. G. Woodhead; and to Miss E. Horton, Miss J. Sims, and Miss M. Savery for secretarial help.

A great amount of original work has been necessary, not only in finding and surveying sites—many unknown hitherto and almost all unsurveyed—but also in collating and interpreting the results of excavations in North-west Greece and South Albania, and in collecting the literary, epigraphic, and numismatic material for a history of Epirus. I worked originally with the traditional place-names and with the Austrian Staff Map 1/200,000, and later with the place-names introduced by Metaxas on the Greek side of the border and with the British edition of the Greek Staff Map 1/100,000. Place-names are given in the form used on that Map; but the traditional place-names also are given in the General Index. Ancient names are spelt in the traditional latinized form. The General Index supplies for most place-names a reference to the Greek Staff Map and a reference to a Map in this book. Index I, *Onomastikon Epeirotikon*, gives all Epirote

names with references to their place of occurrence and to the mention of them, if any, in this book. As the relevant volume of *Inscriptiones Graecae* does not exist, references to inscriptions will be traced most conveniently in this Index. In reporting the results of my travels I have not followed Leake's example and published my day-by-day diaries (they would have been too long), but I have given descriptions district by district. All descriptions, Maps, Plans, Figures, and photographs for Plates are my own, except when I say otherwise. Distances given in terms of walking hours are from my diaries; I walked fast in those days. On the whole, time has been on my side. Since the War much has been added to our knowledge of Epirus by the work of S. I. Dakaris, Frano Prendi, P. R. Franke, and E. Lepore, but this has not been fully assimilated because the publications of Frano Prendi seem to have been unknown hitherto outside the Communist area. The richer material of these years has certainly enriched this book. A regional history of this scope is perhaps a novelty in regard to Greek lands, and I hope it may encourage scholars to treat other regions in this way. Finally I thank the staff of the Clarendon Press for their skill and patience.

N. G. L. HAMMOND

The University of Bristol
December 1964

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ABBREVIATIONS

are those listed in Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon*, ninth edition, except as follows:

<i>AA</i>	Ugolini, L. M., <i>Albania Antica</i> 1 (1927), 2 (1932), 3 (1942). Rome.
<i>Alb.</i>	<i>Albania.</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Athenische Mitteilungen.</i>
Aravantinos	Aravantinos, P., <i>Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου</i> I-II. Athens, 1892.
<i>Αρχ. Έφ.</i>	<i>Έφημερίς Αρχαιολογική.</i>
Beaumont	Beaumont, R. L., 'Corinth, Ambracia, Apollonia' in <i>JHS</i> 72 (1952).
Blinkenberg	Blinkenberg, C., 'Fibules grecques et orientales', in <i>Lindia</i> V. Copenhagen, 1926.
<i>BUSS</i>	<i>Buletin për shkencat shoqërore.</i> Tiranë.
<i>BUST</i>	<i>Buletin i Universitetit Shtetëror të Tiranës, Seria shkencat shoqërore.</i> Tiranë.
<i>CAH</i> ²	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , revised edition, edited by I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond.
Carapanos	Carapanos, C., <i>Dodone et ses ruines.</i> Paris, 1878.
Casson	Casson, S., <i>Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria.</i> Oxford, 1926.
<i>Ch. S.</i>	<i>Αφιέρωμα εις τὴν Ἠπειρον, εις μνήμην Χριστοῦ Σούλη.</i> Athens, 1956.
Clarke	Clarke, S. S., Notebooks of travels in Epirus, marked A, B, and C. At the British School of Archaeology in Athens.
Cross	Cross, G. N., <i>Epirus: A study in Greek Constitutional Development.</i> Cambridge, 1932.
Delatte	Delatte, A., <i>Les Portulans grecs.</i> Paris, 1947.
Ebert	Ebert, M., <i>Reallexikon d. Vorgeschichte.</i>
<i>EE</i>	<i>Ἠπειρωτικὴ Έστία.</i>
<i>Ep. Chr.</i>	<i>Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά.</i>
Evangelides <i>BE</i>	Evangelides, D. E., <i>Ἡ Βόρειος Ἠπειρος.</i> Athens, 1919.
Filow	Filow, B., <i>Die archaische Nekropole von Trebenische.</i> Berlin, 1927.
Franke <i>AE</i>	Franke, P. R., <i>Alt-Epirus u. das Königtum der Molosser.</i> Erlangen, 1954.
Franke <i>AME</i>	Franke, P. R., <i>Die antiken Münzen von Epirus.</i> Wiesbaden, 1961.
Friederich	Friederich, J., <i>Dodonaica.</i> Freiburg, 1935.

- GHI* Tod, M. N., *Greek Historical Inscriptions*. Oxford, 1933- .
- Hammond *CA* Hammond, N. G. L., 'The campaigns in Amphilochia during the Archidamian War', in *BSA* 37 (1940).
- Hammond *CC* Hammond, N. G. L., 'The colonies of Elis in Cassopaea' in *Ch. S.* (1956).
- Hammond *DA* Hammond, N. G. L., 'The end of Mycenaean civilization and the Dark Age: the literary tradition for the migrations' in *CAH*² 2. 36 (1962).
- Hammond *GH* Hammond, N. G. L., *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* Oxford, 1959.
- Hammond *HH* Hammond, N. G. L., 'Hellenic houses at Ammotopos in Epirus' in *BSA* 48 (1953).
- Hammond *NO* Hammond, N. G. L., 'Naval operations in the South Channel of Corcyra in 435-433 B.C.' in *JHS* 65 (1954).
- Hammond *PE* Hammond, N. G. L., 'Prehistoric Epirus and the Dorian Invasion' in *BSA* 32 (1932).
- Head Head, B. V., *Historia Numorum*, second edition. Oxford, 1911.
- Heuzey Heuzey, L. A., *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*. Paris, 1860.
- Heuzey *Excursion* Heuzey, L. A., *Excursion dans la Thessalie turque en 1858*. Paris, 1927.
- Heuzey-Daumet Heuzey, L. A., and Daumet, L., *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris, 1876.
- Holland Holland, H., *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, etc.* London, 1815.
- Hughes Hughes, S., *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*. London, 1820.
- Jacobsthal Jacobsthal, G., *Greek Pins and their Connexions with Europe and Asia*.
- Kekule Kekule v. Stradonitz und Winnefeld, *Bronzen aus Dodona*. 1909.
- Klotzsch Klotzsch, C., *Epirotische Geschichte bis zum J. 280*. Berlin, 1911.
- Kontos Kontos, H. P., 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis d. Waldverteilung in Thessalien und Epirus' in *Praktika Akad. Athen.* 4 (1929).
- Lamb *GRB* Lamb, W., *Greek and Roman Bronzes*. London, 1929.
- Lampros *Néos 'Ελληνομνήμων*.
- Leake Leake, W. M., *Travels in Northern Greece*, i-iv. London, 1835.
- Lehmann-Hartleben Lehmann-Hartleben, K., 'Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres' in *Klio Beiheft* 14. Leipzig, 1923.
- Lepore Lepore, E., *Ricerche sull'antico Epiro*. Naples, 1962.
- Lévêque Lévêque, P., *Pyrrhos*. Paris, 1957.

<i>MEE</i>	<i>Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία.</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>The Mediterranean Pilot</i> , sixth edition. London, 1929.
Nilsson	Nilsson, M. P., 'Studien zur Geschichte d. alten Epirus' in <i>Lund University Arsskrift</i> N.S. 1. 6. 4. Lund, 1909.
Oberhummer	Oberhummer, E., <i>Akarnanien, Ambrakia, Amphilochien, Leukas in Altertum</i> . Munich, 1887.
Oost	Oost, S. J., <i>Roman Policy in Epirus and Acarnania in the age of the Roman conquest of Greece</i> . Dallas, 1954.
<i>PAE</i>	<i>Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.</i>
Patsch	Patsch, C., <i>Das Sandschak Berat in Albanien</i> . Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung III. Vienna, 1904.
P-K	Philippson, A., and Kirsten, E., <i>Die griechischen Landschaften</i> . Frankfurt, 1950- .
<i>PM</i>	Heurtley, W. A., <i>Prehistoric Macedonia</i> . Cambridge, 1939.
Pouqueville	Pouqueville, F. C. H. L., <i>Voyage dans la Grèce</i> . Paris, 1820.
<i>PPS</i>	<i>Prehistoric Society Proceedings.</i>
Praschniker	Praschniker, C., 'Muzakhia und Malakstra' in <i>Jahreshefte der Österr. Archäolog. Institutes in Wien</i> 21-22 (1922-4) Beiblatt.
Praschniker and Schober	Praschniker, C., and Schober, A., <i>Arch. Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro</i> . Vienna, 1919.
<i>PTh</i>	Wace, A. J. B. and Thompson, M. S., <i>Prehistoric Thessaly</i> . Cambridge, 1912.
<i>RdA</i>	<i>Rivista d'Albania</i> i-v (1940-4). Milan.
Seltman GC	Seltman, C., <i>Greek Coins</i> . London, 1933.
<i>Ser. Byz.</i>	<i>Seraphim ho Byzantios, Δοκίμιον ιστορικῆς τινος περιλήψεως Ἀρχῆς καὶ Πρεβέζης.</i> 1884.
<i>SGDI</i>	<i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften</i> ed. H. Collitz. Göttingen, 1884-1915.
Stählin	Stählin, F., <i>Das hellenische Thessalien</i> . Stuttgart, 1924.
Ugolini <i>Amantia</i>	Ugolini, L. M., 'L'acropoli di Amantia' in <i>Rendiconti d. R. Acc. nazion. dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, etc.</i> ii (1935).
Ugolini <i>Butrinto</i>	Ugolini, L. M., <i>Butrinto, il mito d'Enea gli scavi</i> . Rome, 1937.
Von Hahn	Von Hahn, J. G., <i>Albanesische Studien</i> . Jena, 1854.
Wace and Thompson	Wace, A. J. B., and Thompson, M. S., <i>The Nomads of the Balkans</i> . London, 1910.
Walbank	Walbank, F. W., <i>Commentary on Polybius I</i> . Oxford, 1957.
<i>WMBH</i>	<i>Wissenschaft. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und Hercegowina.</i>
Woodhouse	Woodhouse, W. J., <i>Aetolia</i> . Oxford, 1897.

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PART ONE

THE GEOGRAPHY
AND THE ANCIENT REMAINS
OF EPIRUS

I

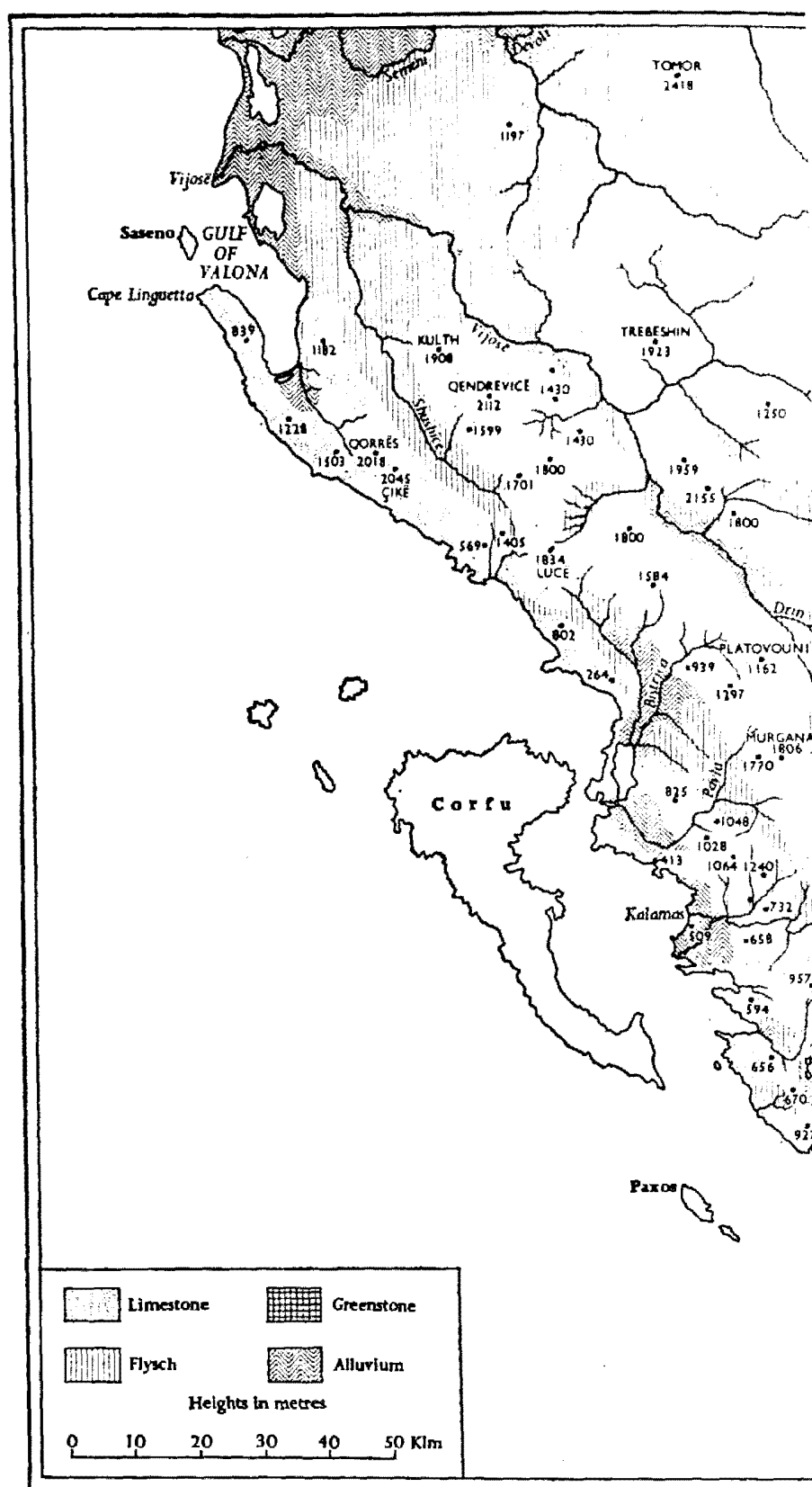
THE GEOGRAPHY OF EPIRUS AND OF ADJACENT AREAS

I. GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS

IN terms of history Epirus, 'the Mainland', has meant different things at different times. 'The Mainland' of the *Odyssey* was the large shadowy realm of the savage Echetus; in the time of Theopompus Epirus was the habitat of fourteen tribes; and under the political dispensations of Philip II of Macedon, the Roman Empire, the Turkish Empire, and Ali Pasha the frontiers of Epirus expanded or contracted until today they are set within the minimum ordained by the League of Nations settlement of 1923. Similarly the ethnography of Epirus has had a chequered history. In the opinion of scholars and politicians, and perhaps in historical fact, it has fluctuated between the poles of Achaean and Dorian, Macedonian and Illyrian, Greek and Albanian. Indeed a constant definition of Epirus can be advanced only in terms of geography. Here we are on solid ground; for a particular area, set within precise geological limits, has been controlled in the past and is controlled today by strong geographical factors, which entitle the Epirote to consider his country an entity, distinct from adjacent regions.

The hinterland to the east of the coastline between Cape Linguetta and Konispol has not been fully studied by geologists; but the surveys of certain parts, although they have led to controversy, make some general conclusions possible. Thus the map I have constructed, though dependable in general, can lay no claim to detailed accuracy.¹

¹ In making this map I have used the following works: A. Philippson, *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin* 30, 31, and 32 (1895-7) and the map facing p. 294 in vol. 30; C. Renz, *Centralblatt f. mineralog. Geolog. u. Paleont. Jahrb.* 1913, 534-51; J. Bourcart, *Les Confins albanais* (Paris, 1922); E. Nowack, *Geolog. Karte von Albanien* 1:200,000 (Berlin, 1928); and F. Baron Nopcsa, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Geolog. Gesellschaft* 82 (1930) 1-13. A bibliography will be found for the northern part of the area in Bourcart on pp. 14-27. Philippson is the only authority for most of the southern part, and his travels were fairly limited. Renz covers some of the gaps, but the area between Koritsa, Konitsa, Metsovon, and Kastoria was unsurveyed geologically until recently. I have relied on my own observation in this and other areas. Therefore this map makes no claim to detailed accuracy. The map in P-K 2. 1 facing p. 290 is too small for my present purpose. The fine Geological Map of Greece, issued by the Institute for Geology and Subsurface Research at Athens, Ministry of Co-ordination, 1954, as *Γεωλογικός Χάρτης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 1:500,000, supersedes all earlier geological maps for Epirus in Greece.



MAP 1. Physical Geography

The types of formation which confront us are, to speak in the broadest of geological terms,¹ four in number. The Limestone formation, which includes various kinds of limestone but all with similar characteristics, forms mountain ranges with a high degree of subterranean drainage and with little covering of humus; these ranges are in general barren and difficult to traverse. The Greenstone formation (the roches vertes, roches ophiolitiques, Serpentin, Gabbro und andere Eruptivgesteine of Bourcart, Reimer, and Philippson) is usually clad in forest or in pasturelands; it rises and falls with gentle contours, and, though found only at high altitudes, presents less difficulty of traverse than the Limestone ranges. The Flysch formation, which comprises varieties of sandstone, marl, clay, and conglomerate, is rich in water and carries woods or pasture. Flysch zones generally contain an irregular maze of low hills with soft contours and of small valleys with fertile soil and luxuriant growth, and they are difficult to traverse only if the route is ill defined. The Alluvium formation, whether deposited on beds of Limestone or of Flysch, constitutes the maritime and inland plains, which are extremely fertile.

As regards these four types of formation, the distribution of the Limestone and the Flysch follows a regular pattern within our area. Between the latitudes of Cape Linguetta and of the Gulf of Arta four parallel ranges of Limestone run in the direction NNW. to SSE. The central two of these four ranges start in the peaks Kulth and Trebeshin respectively, and the ranges are continuous and unbroken; their two flank-guards start in the peaks Qorrës and Qelqës respectively, but they are defective, the more westerly passing at times under the sea but still forming the greater part of the coastline, and the more easterly suffering two gaps in the regions of Greveniti and of Voulgareli. Between these four ranges and running in the same parallel direction, that is NNW. to SSE., there are three zones of Flysch. The first starts east of Valona, is closely nipped at Borsh and at Paramythia and then dies at Gliki; the second runs unbroken through Epirus into the Plain of the Gulf of Arta after piercing two narrow defiles, one at Tepelenë in the north and the other at Louro in the south; the third is broken to the south of Konitsa, but it appears again and is then continuous, narrowing at Baldouma but widening in the region east of the Gulf of Arta. The same distribution of Limestone and Flysch is apparent also further west in the coastal areas and in the Ionian islands. The Flysch areas at Filiates, Nista, and Arpitsa are the

¹ I group under the general term 'Limestone' not only seven varieties of limestone but also hornstone and siliceous rock, which is found in this area only inside or on the edge of limestone formations. I include under 'Greenstone' the composite formations in which Serpentine and Gabbro are predominant. And I use the term 'Flysch', although it is native to the Swiss Alps.

remnants of a fourth parallel zone which is otherwise submerged. A parallel range of Limestone, running NNW. to SSE., is visible in the islands; Corfu, indeed, is formed of parallel zones of Limestone and Flysch. The regularity of this distribution, in which the Flysch zones are squeezed and Limestone strata are tilted, represents a strong 'folding' of the mountain ranges.¹

The adjacent regions are different in character. To the north the coast of central Albania, running north to south, is bordered by wide alluvial plains, and these in turn are connected by extensive beds of Flysch with the central ranges of the interior. Thus Elbasan, some 55 kilometres inland, is separated by no mountain-barriers from the sea or from the central Balkan range (see Plate XVIIIc). To the north-east and east the central plateaux and the coastal plains of Macedonia and the great plain of the Thessalian basin differ fundamentally from the cramped terrain of the folded mountains. The explanation of this change is to be found in a great subsidence at the end of the tertiary epoch, to which central Albania and the east side of Greece were submitted.² To the south the Gulf of Arta forms a large sea-basin, beyond which the folded mountains of Limestone and Flysch, running NNW. to SSE., reappear in Acarnania, are submerged in the Gulf of Corinth, and rise again in the Western Peloponnese; but, though the geological formation is similar, the southern latitude and the peninsular character of Acarnania and the Western Peloponnese endow them with a different climate.

There thus emerges a strongly defined geographical area to which the name 'Epirus' is attached. It is contained within lines drawn from Cape Linguetta to Mt. Qelqës, from Mt. Qelqës to Mt. Gavrovo in the south, and from Mt. Gavrovo to the mouth of the Gulf of Arta. This entity is Epirus Proper.

On the borders of Epirus there are transitional zones, which cannot be ascribed wholly to the geography of Epirus or to that of adjacent regions. Thus in the north the Limestone peaks of Klos, Berat, and Tomor are continuations of three of the four Limestone ranges of Epirus, but they stand out as islands in the surrounding sea of Flysch which is characteristic of central Albania. On the north-east the watershed of the Greenstone range, extending south to the Zygos, forms a high borderland which is individual in character. In particular the triangular region Greveniti-Grevena-Koniskos, where the Greenstone abuts on Flysch, is shared between Epirus, South-west Macedonia, and North-west Thessaly; but it can be divided and separately allotted according to the lines of the watersheds. South of the Zygos

¹ M. I. Newbigin, *Southern Europe* (New York, 1932) 340.

² J. Bourcart, *L'Albanie et les Albanais* (Paris, 1921) 12.

the valleys of the Aspropotamo and its main tributaries are set in parallel zones of Limestone and Flysch, which have become distorted and broken; the closest affinities of this area are with Epirus and with the tangle of Aetolian mountains further south. Finally Corcyra and Acarnania are geologically related to Epirus but are differentiated by their surround of sea.

These geological conditions are reflected in the history of Epirus. The geological unity of the area, which we have defined as Epirus Proper, ultimately found expression in the political unity of the Epirote League. The transitional zones provided the fields of contact between Epirus and her neighbours: Illyrians and, later, Romans in the north; Macedonians in Parauaea and Tymphaea; Acarnanians and Aetolians at Stratus and in Amphilochia. When Pyrrhus set out to enlarge his kingdom, his first endeavour was to add the transitional zones to Epirus Proper.

2. MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, AND CLIMATE

In modern Greece Epirus is known as 'the Helvetia of Hellas'; for, with the exception of Olympus, the highest peaks are found here and they are found in that close proximity which is peculiar to the system of folded mountains. The Limestone of which they are composed has certain general characteristics which are paralleled in the 'Karst' region north-east of the Adriatic. The Limestone masses usually form ranges with a spine of uniform height, so that deep-sunk mountain passes are rarely found. The broader mountain masses usually develop a central subsidence; it may come to contain a river-valley, a lacustrine basin, or a dry valley (*polje*), and it is enclosed within two uniform ridges, the lines of the subsidence and of the flanking ridges being normally parallel. Where rivers do break through a limestone spine of uniform height, they form deep and sometimes inaccessible gorges (see Plates Xa, XVIa, and XVIIIb).¹

The most westerly of the four Limestone ranges of Epirus Proper determines the nature of the Epirote coast. The Çikë range, with a maximum height of 2,045 m.,² rises sheer from the sea. Northwards of the central peak the range bifurcates into the Cape Linguetta (highest point 839 m.) and Mazhar (1,182 m.), and the two forks

¹ The Vikos gorge is described by Dr. P. Yiannakis in *EE* 24 (1954) 390 f. as being some 20 kilometres in length and varying in depth from 100 to 800 m. His illustrations show the precipitous sides of such gorges.

² The heights are taken from the British version of the Greek Staff Map 1:100,000, which is considerably better than the revised Austrian Staff Map 1:200,000, made in 1914-18. When I was travelling, the latter alone was available and I found it often inaccurate. English readers should note that 500 m. equals 1,640 ft., 2,000 m. 6,562 ft., and 2,500 m. 8,202 ft.

embrace the gulf of Valona, a central subsidence captured by the sea (see Plate XVIIIa); southwards the central ridge declines in height, reaching 569 m. west of Borsh, and then sinks beneath the sea. Re-emerging south of Pigeras in a peak of 802 m. the ridge again declines towards the south, the hill of Santi Quaranta being 264 m. and the peninsula enclosing Lake Vivari being lower still (see Plate VIIIa). The basin of Vivari and the valley of Konispol are the remains of a central subsidence between the flanking ridges of Orlë (413 m.) and Sarakinoros (1,028 m.), which unite to form a high peak in Farmakovouni (1,240 m.) above Filiates. From this point to the mouth of the river Glikis the range is less high but wider, so that it splits into two or at times three ridges with a large central subsidence at Margariti; the peaks surrounding this subsidence vary from 957 m. in the north to 927 m. in the south (above Parga) and from 745 m. north-east of Margariti to 670 m. west of Margariti. The range then disappears into the sea off the mouth of the river Glikis.

The second range, starting from Kulth (1,908 m.), is uniformly high and wide until it reaches the valley of the river Kalamas. Its northern part contains two central subsidences at Nivicë and Kardhiq; of the flanking ridges the westerly is higher. To the south of Argyrokastro the range declines in height (with the exception of the peak north of Delvinë) as far as to the east of Murzinë; thence it rises again through the two ridges of Kazanja (1,297 m.) and Platovouni (1,162 m.), which enclose a small central subsidence, until it reaches the two high peaks of the Tsamanda mountain (Stroungara, 1,770 m. and Murgana 1,806 m.). To the south the range then sinks gradually towards the Kalamas valley, with peaks of 1,202 m. and 1,020 m., and is continued beyond the river in a narrow mountainous ridge which culminates in Spata (1,644 m.). From this point the range widens into two ridges, which enclose central valleys, until the point where it is pierced by the river Glikis; it is uniformly high with peaks of 1,658 m. above Paramythia (Korillas) and of 1,553 m. above Kakosouli (Souliotikon Oros). South of the Glikis river the mountain range is in general lower but contains as high points Turlia (1,082 m.) south of the Glikis gorge, Topolia (849 m.) with outlying spurs on the coast of 548 m. in the north and 563 m. in the south, and Zalongo (773 m.) a peak conspicuous from the gulf of Arta. This range differs from its neighbour to the west in being in general higher and wider; it has no gaps in all its length (c. 190 km.), and it is cut only twice by transverse river-beds.

The third range, starting with Trebeshin (1,923 m.), is cut at once by the gorge of the Vijosë; the range is wide and contains a narrow central subsidence whence two tributaries flow into the Vijosë. To

the south-east the mountain is named Nemerçkë; the two main ridges, both reaching over 2,000 m., contain the central subsidence of the Poliçan hollow; the highest point is 2,486 m. but the most conspicuous peak is Meropi, the southern outlier of 2,209 m. South of Nemerçkë the range divides into two flanking ridges; the westerly runs with a saddle by Lake Tseravina to Soutista (1,329 m.) and, after being cut by the Kalamas, to the mountain of Kourenda (1,172 m.), and the easterly is of similar altitude, until it rises up in the long ridge of Mitsikeli (1,810 m.). Both of these flanking ridges then pass under a narrow strip of Flysch. The westerly one reappears in the double-peaked mountain of Olytsika (1,974 m.; see Plate I), continues in the long uniform ridge of Little Olytsika which bounds the Louros river on the western side and culminates above Derviziana in a high point of 1,331 m.; it is then split apart at the thin valley of Assos, the western half passing through a high point of 1,199 m. to end in a peak of 798 m. and the eastern half sinking more rapidly to a height of 753 m. and finally 400 m.; the two halves then join again south of Thesprotikon. The easterly ridge, which reached the Flysch at the southern end of Mitsikeli, reappears in a long unbroken ridge, of which the southern part, stretching between the high points of 1,600 m. and 1,476 m., is known as the Xerovouni; it then dips quickly to the plain of Arta where the Arakhthos cuts through its last spur. Both of these outlying ridges, which terminate respectively near Louro and Arta, are continued in two isolated hills (329 m. and 218 m.) which jut out from the plain by the Gulf of Arta.

Between the two flanking ridges, which we have traced from the southern point of Nemerçkë, there lies a wide central zone which is lower in altitude than its flankguards. The northern part of this zone, contained within the high points 2,209, 1,324, and 1,236 m., forms a high plateau in which are gathered the headwaters of the river Kalamas; and the southern part has large areas of subsidence by Dholiana, Iapsista, and Ioannina, the two latter containing lacustrine basins. Further south the central zone is lower than the flanking ridges but there is no deep subsidence, and the river Louros runs south through a series of deep gorges.

This third range differs from its predecessors not so much in point of height as in point of width; for it is owing to this factor that it contains central subsidences of such large size and that it is not cut by any river, save at its northern and southern ends.

The fourth range, starting at Qelqës (1,665 m.), is in its northern sector considerably lower than its three predecessors to the west; but after being cut by the Sarandaporo it rises steeply into the mountain-peak of Konitsa (Trapezitsa 2,022 m.) and that of Papingo (Gamila

2,480 m.); this part of the range counts seven peaks over 2,000 m. high, and it is cleft by the gorge of the Vjosë. At this latitude the range merges with its Limestone neighbour to the west (for the Voidhormati river makes a spectacular break-through in the Vikos gorge), and also adjoins its Greenstone neighbour to the east. It then passes south under a wide zone of Flysch and reappears in the huge massif of Peristeri (2,295 m.), Kakarditsa (2,429 m.), and Tsoumerka (2,392 m.); these three names are given to divisions of the mountain massif, each division containing several peaks over 2,000 m. To anyone who views the massif from Ioannina and from Arta the peaks of Tsoumerka are the most conspicuous. At its south-eastern corner Tsoumerka abuts on its Limestone neighbour to the east, the Aspropotamo breaking through at the point of juncture. The range then passes under Flysch and reappears finally in Mt. Gavrovo, a long ridge decreasing from 1,852 m. in the north to 1,520 m. in the south.

The distinctive features of the fourth range are that it resolves itself into three portions separated by beds of Flysch; that there are no central subsidences in all its length; and that, with the exception of the sector north of Lesković, the peaks are higher than those found in the ranges to the west.

The central watershed between the Adriatic Sea and the Aegean basin is formed by the range of Greenstone between Grammos and the Zygos. From Opari (1,950 m.) to Ostrovicë (2,370 m.) the range is uniformly high; but between Ostrovicë and Grammos (2,520 m.) there is a marked depression. Grammos is the name of a large massif which includes some twelve peaks over 2,000 metres; this high belt ends in the south-east at Kabitsio (2,070 m.), round which winds the upper valley of the Sarandaporo river; the watershed, lying further to the east, varies from 1,700 m. to 1,600 m. in height, and then turns south-west into a long high ridge (Smolika 2,639 m. with an eastern outlier of 2,238 m., Vasilitsa 2,249 m. and Avgö 2,177 m.), which terminates in a wide plateau to the south of Milea; from this plateau the Vjosë, the Arakthos, the Pinios, and the Venetiko take their sources. To the south the plateau is resolved into a ridge running north and south with high points at Chuka Loupou 1,801 m. and Go-zel-tepe 1,872 m.; it then turns for a short distance to the east with a west to east direction, and is here known as the Zygos. On the southern side of the Zygos rise the headwaters of the Aspropotamo. At this point the range of continuous Greenstone ends, but outcrops of Greenstone occur on the eastern side of southern Pindus, e.g. at Dhasos Oxiäs, east of Bourleron and in Psili Rakhi.

As contrasted with its western neighbours the Greenstone range forms a complete watershed, which is cut by no transverse river valleys.

Where the range is wide it forms not a central subsidence but a high plateau, for instance to the south of Milea; and it is noticeable, when one walks along the central ridges, that the slopes shelve more gently and the peaks are less up-thrown than in the Limestone ranges, so that it is difficult to believe that Vasilitsa and Avgos are as high as the peaks of the Peristeri and Tsoumerka massif. The range also contains three saddles of soft contours, such as are not found in the Limestone ranges; they occur between Ostrovicë and Grammos, between Grammos and Smolika, and between Avgos and the Zygos. Finally, the plateau which stretches from Milea to the Zygos supplies the headwaters of rivers which enter the Adriatic Sea, the Gulf of Arta, the Gulf of Corinth, the Aegean basin and the Gulf of Salonike.

To the south of the Zygos the mountains assume a much more complex character. In what I have called the zone of distorted Limestone ranges it is possible to distinguish two main ranges which, together with the Peristeri-Kakarditsa-Tsoumerka massif and the Gavrovo massif, contain the valley of the Aspropotamo. The first begins south-east of the Zygos in the broad high range of Tringia (2,204 m.) with a T-shaped ridge between the high points 2204, 1930, and 2134; then Avgos (2,148 m.), south of the river Kamnaïtikos, is the northern peak of a long ridge which extends in a SSE. direction to Karava (2,184 m.); to the south of Vitsista this ridge has two outlying spurs to the west, Hadji (2,038 m.) abutting on the massif of Tsoumerka, and Frousa (1,759 m.) projecting to the west of Korakou. South of Korakou there extends the long ridge of Fteri (2,128 m.), which separates the upper Agrafiotikos river from the Aspropotamo. The main ridge of Karava and Fteri is continued in a SSE. direction by two ranges partly cut off by Flysch zones; the high points of these two are Svoni (2,042 m.) and Tymphrestus (2,315 m.), and they are continued to the south of the Megdovas river and its tributary the Karpenisi by the two peaks Koutoupa (1,795 m.) and Kaliakoudha (2,104 m.), which mark the northern end of the Aetolian tangle of mountains.

The second main ridge of Limestone rises abruptly from the western edge of the Thessalian plain; it is appreciably lower than the main range to the west and it is broken both by zones of Flysch and by river-valleys. The northern part, the Kakorakhi, has its highest peak in Koziakas, sinks in the north to a height of 1,651 m. and in the south to one of 1,138 m., and is pierced by the rivers of Porta Pazari and of Mouzaki; the range then re-emerges from the Flysch zones in Itamos (1,373 m.), the Achaean mountains, and Othrys, where it follows an ESE. direction.

The contrast between the watersheds to the north and to the south of the Zygos is striking. North of the Zygos there is only one watershed,

the Greenstone range marked by Grammos, Smolika, and Zygos. But to the south three watersheds extend in a north to south direction to the latitude of the Gulf of Arta; one consists of the fourth Epirote Limestone range from Peristeri to Gavrovo, the second runs through Tringia and Karava to Fteri and Svonì, the third, though it is cut at Porta Pazari and at Mouzaki, forms the main watershed of the western Thessalian plain. Of these three watersheds the two westerly ones are uniformly high, generally exceeding 2,000 m., while the third is appreciably lower; yet anyone who has seen this third watershed rising as a sheer wall from the Thessalian plain will realize that it and its two neighbours to the west are formidable barriers.

It must be added that, although the Limestone and Greenstone ranges are much higher, the more easterly of the Flysch zones contains peaks of considerable height. Thus between Greveniti and Vovousa there are peaks of 1,700 and 1,800 m., forming the watershed between the upper Vijosë and the Voidhomati and Zagoritikos rivers; and similar heights are found in the upper valleys of the Aspropotamo and its tributaries. Between Tsoumerka and Gavrovo the Flysch mountains reach heights of 1,000 m.; and the watershed west of Mesenikola is some 1,600 m. high, with a depressed plateau at Nevropolis some 900 m. above sea-level. These zones of Flysch mountains are less regular in formation than the Limestone and Greenstone mountains; they abound in transverse ridges and in deep valleys.

This general survey has placed the geological divisions of Epirus in some form of relief. The coastal range at Çikë and all the inland ranges consist of ridges varying between 1,500 and 2,500 m., that is roughly between 5,000 and 8,000 ft.; in general these ridges decrease in height as they approach the south, but even then they rarely fall below 1,000 m., that is 3,000 ft. The massifs are normally much weathered on the west and south-west faces. The Limestone ranges thus present precipitous cliffs to the west and south-west and steep slopes to the east and north-east. At the foot of the cliffs the Flysch zones begin; these zones increase in height above sea-level as one travels from west to east, the zone of Greveniti, for example, being on the average some 1,000 m. high.

As the geological formation of Epirus is recent, earthquake tremors are not infrequent; they occur particularly in the inland plains and are generally of a mild nature. The walls of ancient fortifications and houses are still standing to considerable heights in many places,¹ and this indicates that there has not been any general convulsion or general subsidence since classical times. Small deposits of bitumen, sulphur

¹ For example, the walls of the Hellenic houses at Ammotopos in Hammond *HH* pls. 33 and 34, and here Plate IXa.

springs, and emissions of hot air are known, but surveys are incomplete.¹

The river-system of Epirus for the most part derives its headwaters either from the Greenstone range or from the line of juncture between Limestone and Flysch zones; for at the latter point the subterranean drainage of the Limestone ranges issues in strong springs or *kefalourisia*, which are often extremely copious. The rivers are controlled in their course towards the sea by the NNW. to SSE. direction of the mountain ranges. They follow the parallel valleys of Flysch, until they are able to pierce the Limestone ranges and re-enter upon a second valley of Flysch.

The three largest rivers of Epirus and the adjacent areas illustrate this principle. The Vijosë, the Arakhthos, and the Aspropotamo rise in the proximity of the Zygos ridge, and flow through Flysch zones until they come into contact with the Limestone ranges. The Vijosë and its western tributary, the Voidhomati, then cut through the Limestone massif of Gamila (see Plate XVIa) to enter the synclinal valley of Flysch by Konitsa; after following the western edge of the Flysch valley the Vijosë breaks through the third Epirote Limestone range at Kelcyrë and enters the next synclinal valley at Tepelenë, where it is joined by the Drin, which has pursued a parallel course. Passing northwards through a narrow belt of Flysch, the Vijosë then enters the wide Flysch zone of South Illyria and cuts through the second Limestone range at Klos. Before it enters the Adriatic Sea it receives a last tributary in the Shushicë which derives from the synclinal valley between the first and second Limestone ranges. It is thus apparent that the Shushicë, the Drin, and the Voidhomati, and the three stretches of the Vijosë, namely between Klos and Tepelenë, between Kelcyrë and Konitsa, between Briaza and the Zygos, are turned parallel in a NNW. direction by the system of parallel Limestone ranges; thus the whole river-system of Northern Epirus is concentrated into the Vijosë and is directed into the Adriatic Sea at a point north of the Gulf of Valona.

The river-system of South Epirus shows the same character, the only difference being that the rivers run in a southerly direction. The Arakhthos, after skirting the Peristeri massif, turns south down the Flysch synclinal and cuts its way through the north-east spur of Xerovouni (see Plate XVIIIb); further south it turns west to break through the southern spur of Xerovouni and enters the plain and the

¹ *MEE* 12. 318 and 3. 406, to which should be added a deposit of bitumen which I saw in the Kurvelesh at E2, 2724, a spring giving off inflammable gas at Tseravina (reported to me and mentioned by Holland) and lignite south-west of Tepelenë and near Dukat (*Encicl. Ital. Append.* 3. 57).

Gulf of Arta. To the west three parallel rivers, the Louros and the streams of the Thesprotikon and Louro valleys, also drain due south into the Gulf of Arta. They are, in fact, truncated tributaries of the Arakhthos; for it is probable that the alluvial basin which is now partly occupied by the Gulf of Arta was formed by the Arakhthos before the coastal range of limestone was broken through at Preveza.

The Aspropotamo and its three largest tributaries, the Agraftotikos, the Megdovas, and the Patiopoulo, are akin to the river-system of South Epirus; for the Aspropotamo, running south like the Arakhthos, cuts through the distorted Limestone ranges with their north-west to south-east direction and passing from one synclinal valley of Flysch to another receives tributaries which have themselves originated in parallel valleys of Flysch. Thus the water-system of the Aspropotamo valley is concentrated into the one great river and enters the sea at the Gulf of Corinth.

These three river-systems show the same general characteristics. The river-system of North Epirus is the most regular example, for its final concentration in the Vijosë is achieved and the Limestone ranges are well spaced. The special feature of the river-system of South Epirus is that the concentration into the Arakhthos has not been fulfilled, as its lower course has been captured by the sea; and the peculiarity of the river-system of the Aspropotamo valley is due to the cramping and distortion of the Limestone and Flysch zones. None of these river-systems which originate in the Greenstone range of the Zygos reaches the sea by piercing the Epirote coast.

Three rivers of Central Epirus, which originate in the watersheds of the third and the second Limestone ranges, form the fourth main drainage system of the area. The Bistrica and the Pavla, rising in the second Limestone range, pierce the first range, that is the coastal range; they are assisted by the central depression of Lake Vivari and the valley of Konispol. The Kalamas, rising in the third Limestone range, crosses from Flysch valley to Flysch valley by cutting the Limestone ranges until it enters the sea in the channel of Corfu; its tributaries also follow the north to south valleys of Flysch until they are concentrated in the Kalamas. This river is unique in maintaining a westerly direction in its lower course. Finally the Glikis, also originating from the third Limestone range, runs south at first; it then breaks west through the second Limestone range (see Plate X*a*), turns south down the next valley, and breaks west again into the sea through the last spur of the first range, that is the coastal range, of which the greater part is at this latitude submerged. These are the only rivers which break through the coastal range of Epirus.

While the Zygos is the centre of origin for the river-systems of North and South Epirus, that portion of the third Limestone range which lies between the south spurs of Nemerçkë and the massif of Olytsika supplies a second centre from which two rivers of the drainage system of central Epirus originate. In particular the wide zone, which contains the lakes of Tseravina, Lapsista, and Ioannina, contributes strong *kefalovrisia* to the Kalamas near Dholiana and at Veltsista and to the Louros at Viros.

The rivers which I have been describing are different from those of Southern Greece in that they carry a considerable volume of water even in midsummer. Thus the Vijosë, Arakthos, and Kalamas can be forded only with difficulty and at special points in July or August, the Aspropotamo can be forded only at the height of midsummer in its middle course, and the Glikis, Louros, and Bistrica are rivers of considerable size if judged by Greek standards.¹ In the winter and early spring it is impossible to ford these rivers or their main tributaries, because the rainfall and the melted snows come down from the Limestone massifs in raging torrents. In summer the large volume of water in the main rivers of Epirus is due to the rich supplies of water in the Greenstone and Flysch zones and to the strong *kefalovrisia* which feed in particular the Kalamas and the Louros but also occur in a smaller form on the banks of the other rivers. These fall steeply to the sea and therefore flow rapidly. A secondary reason is to be found in the climate.

In climate Epirus forms a transitional zone between the Mediterranean and Central Europe. The areas which face the sea or are open to sea winds enjoy the climate of the Mediterranean. Thus the coastal region of Himarë, known as the Albanian Riviera, has the same general climate as the shores of the Gulf of Arta; and since the influence of the sea reaches as far inland as the western slopes of the second Limestone range, the plains of Delvinë, of the lower Kalamas, and of Paramythia are similar to those of Thesprotikon and Filippias which face the Gulf of Arta. But inland of the second Limestone range (and in the north inland of the first range) the winter is severe and the summer less hot; thus the plains of Argyrokastro, of the upper Kalamas, and of Ioannina enter the climatic zone of Central Europe. The variation in climate within Epirus is governed by the geological structure of the country, for the line of division runs not between north and south but along the second Limestone range, from NNW. to SSE. Within Greece the closest parallel is found in the variation in

¹ I forded the Vijosë at Klos, the Arakthos at Baldouma, the Kalamas at Dholiani, and the Aspropotamo at Sivista in the summer, but even these crossings were hazardous.

climate between the north-west and the central areas of Thessaly and between the upper and the lower cantons of Macedonia.¹

In inland Epirus the severity of the winter varies with the altitude of the cantons. The Lake of Ioannina is frozen only rarely, and communications between the plains of Ioannina and Argyrokastro are normally open throughout the winter; but the central range of Greenstone is snowbound each year and communication over the passes to the east is undertaken only by the hardest traveller.² Although the winter is less severe than that of Upper Macedonia, which is exposed to the Bora or north wind blowing down the Vardar valley, it is far more severe than that of Central Greece. In the winter of 1940-1 the Greek army in North Epirus had more casualties through frostbite than it had in battle throughout the whole campaign.

The rainfall is much higher in Epirus than in any part of Greece except Corcyra; for instance rainfall at Ioannina (44·1 inches) is three times greater than at Athens and more than twice as great as at Larissa.³ Rainfall, accompanied by tremendous thunderstorms, occurs also in the summer months, when it is vital for the harvest. As a result of its high rainfall Epirus has suffered more erosion than the rest of Greece and has developed many features of the Karst zone. Since the rain comes from the west, erosion is most pronounced on the western slopes of the mountain ranges, which tend to be precipitous and denuded of soil; thus the sailor on the Ionian Sea sees only the barren and steep

¹ MEE 10. 41 table 4, and 3. 40, gives the mean temperatures in Centigrade as follows:

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Mean
Athens	8·8	9·3	11·6	15·1	19·8	24·1	27·0	26·8	23·4	19·1	14·3	10·8	17·5
Preveza	10·2	10·3	13·1	16·4	20·1	24·4	26·5	26·3	24·2	19·7	15·8	11·6	18·2
Arta	8·2	9·2	12·2	15·8	20·2	23·7	27·2	27·3	23·5	18·5	13·4	9·6	17·4
Ioannina	5·6	6·2	9·8	13·5	18·0	22·0	25·2	25·3	21·9	15·8	10·8	6·7	15·1
Kozani	3·7	2·0	7·2	12·1	15·7	20·9	24·2	23·9	19·3	13·2	7·8	4·1	12·8
Corcyra	10·1	10·5	12·9	15·9	20·0	23·8	26·3	26·2	23·7	19·5	15·6	11·9	18·0
Valona	8·5												
Berat	6·1												

² P-K 2. 1. 17 says the passes were closed for six months in 1893. Clarke, B 24, crossed the Zygos on 1 Jan. 1923. He walked from Kalabaka to Ioannina in four days. His difficulties included fording the Mourganis river—'water up to the navel and was almost swept downstream,—and very heavy going in mud, and wet, cold and hunger'. He crossed the Zygos in the company of two men. They followed the line of telegraph poles; for the snow was about 6 ft. deep and falling fast with a very bitter wind. On the western side they made a very slow descent, as the snow lay much deeper. Before and after Baldouma he had trouble with 'some nasty ice', 'sharp climbs', and 'heavy going'. I met similar conditions on the north-east slopes of the Pindus range during the war, when a man or woman could make some progress but not a pack-animal.

³ MEE 10. 44 table 6 gives rainfall in millimetres:

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
Arta	114	135	111	82	76	42	17	15	50	135	143	190	1,110
Ioannina	140	98	144	72	48	72	38	51	39	175	181	203	1,261
Larissa	45	46	42	40	48	33	31	19	27	48	69	59	507
Trikkala													752
Athens													396
Corcyra													1,313
Valona													1,080
Berat													1,200

slopes of the Epirote mountains, range rising beyond range, and the traveller from Ioannina to Larissa climbs up the eroded western face of the Greenstone range to reach the summit of the Zygos pass and then finds gentle slopes on the east.

3. VEGETATION, PRODUCTS, AND POPULATION

The distribution of woodland in Epirus bears a close relation to the difference in climate between inland and coastal Epirus. The beech, for instance, extends down the Balkans as far generally as the mountains which fringe North Thessaly and as the Zygos pass of Mt. Pindus; other trees of Central Europe, the *Pinus silvestris*, *P. leucodermis* and *Betula*, also find their southern limit at the Zygos pass. On the other hand the Greek type of fir (*Abies cephalonica*) is little found in inland Epirus; but a cross between it and the *Abies pectinata*, which derives from the Alps, is found in inland Epirus and in North Thessaly. The coastal pine (*Pinus halepensis*), widespread in Mediterranean Greece, is found in Epirus only near Margariti. The black pine (*Pinus nigra*), which is of Mediterranean origin but extends through the Balkans to the Alps, attains its best growth and highest distribution, so far as Greece is concerned, in the mountainous area between Ioannina, Kalabaka, and Grevena. The high rainfall of Epirus discourages the sweet chestnut, which grows mainly on the east side of Pindus, but encourages the deciduous oaks (*Quercus pubescens* and *Q. conferta*); the latter are widespread in Epirus and form some 30 per cent. of the total woodland, a percentage double that for Central Greece.

The evergreen woods of the Mediterranean lowlands (*Lauretum Quercus cocciferae et ilicis*, *Arbuti*, *Philyreae et Lauri nobilis*) cover considerable areas of coastal Epirus and diminish inland. But the combination of the highest rainfall and the highest goat population has reduced much of the lower woodland of Epirus to the dense scrub or maquis, which degenerates on limestone slopes into prickly garigue.¹ Large tracts of South Epirus have passed entirely into the grip of maquis and garigue.

Of trees cultivated by man the olive is limited almost exactly by the line of climatic division in Epirus; for it is grown to the west and south of the second Limestone range. The olives in the areas of Preveza and Paramythia are mainly the oil-producing olive of Corcyra (ἡ Κερκυραϊκὴ ἢ λιανολιὰ ἐλαία), and those in the area of Arta are mainly the olive preserved for eating (ἡ χονδρολιὰ ἢ βοῖδολιά). The citrus is grown in the coastal area, especially at Arta, Parga, and Himarë; and the fig reaches into inland Epirus. European fruits and nuts are widely grown; almost every village has apple, pear, cherry, peach, apricot,

¹ Newbigin, *Southern Europe* 69 f., on the general increase of maquis.

mulberry, almond, and walnut. The vine is cultivated less than in other Greek lands; the best wine is from Zitsa.

Thus both the climate and the rainfall of Epirus are favourable to forest and woodland of European and Mediterranean types. Yet Epirus is well described by Philippson as the poorest area of the Greek mainland in its cover of wood. This is due to erosion, to fire, and to the goat, which have reduced the proportion of high wood to 28 per cent. and mixed wood to 20 per cent., and raised that of scrub wood to 52 per cent.¹ As this degeneration appears to have been progressive, especially in Turkish times, it is probable that in ancient times Epirus was far richer in woods than it is today; for instance, Dodona possesses only a few survivors of the famous oak-forest of antiquity. The fine timber that remains is now in areas which are not readily accessible; but in the past Epirus could export valuable timber. There are deposits of lignite or brown coal, which are not worked, in the Preveza peninsula by Ayioi Apostoloi and by Kanalia; by Tepelenë; and by Dukat near Oricum. Petroleum seeps exist in the Kurvelesh; by Lavdhani, Kastaniani, Zitsa, and Vereniki in the upper Kalamas valley; by Kostaniani near Dodona and by Mousiotissa south of Mt. Olytsika. They follow the fold in the mountains which begins with the oil-wells of Selenicë, the ancient Nymphaeum. There are hot springs in the seawater off Preveza, and by Amarandos in north-west Pindus. Salt springs occur at Butrinto and near Kalivo, and rock salt is found in the Arachthus valley by Vardho. Minerals are found only on the central Greenstone range, mainly on the eastern side of the watershed: copper by Avdhella and by Perivoli, chrome by Malakasi and Vourbiani, and manganese by Stournareika and by Spilion.²

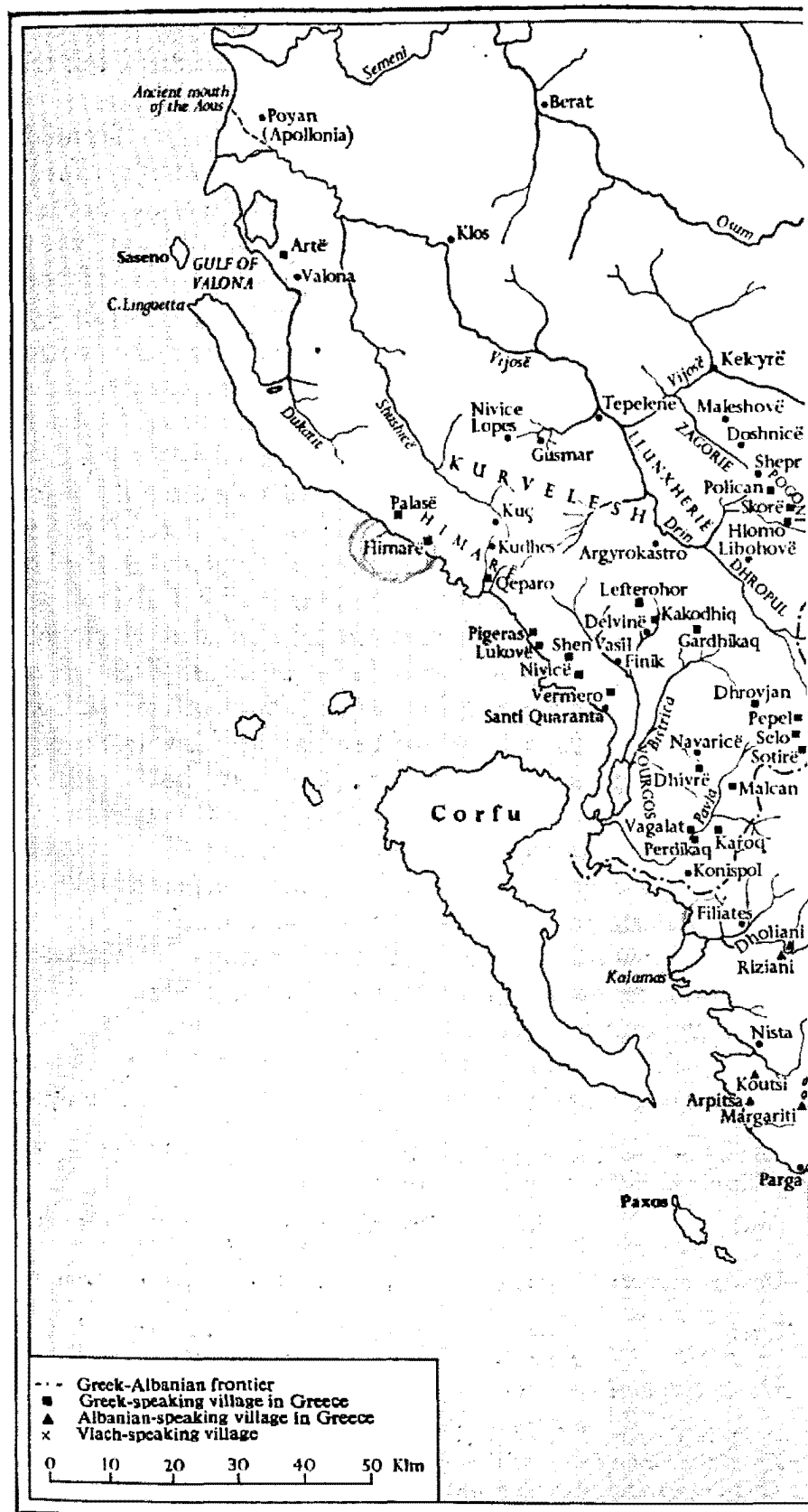
For the growing of cereals Epirus has the smallest percentage of land under cultivation in the whole of Greece, and the yield per acre is low. The chief crop is maize, and maize bread is the only bread

¹ For full figures see Kontos 375 f. and *MEE* 10. 99 f. and 3. 4 f. The following table for Greek Epirus including Leucas is given in *MEE* 10. 103:

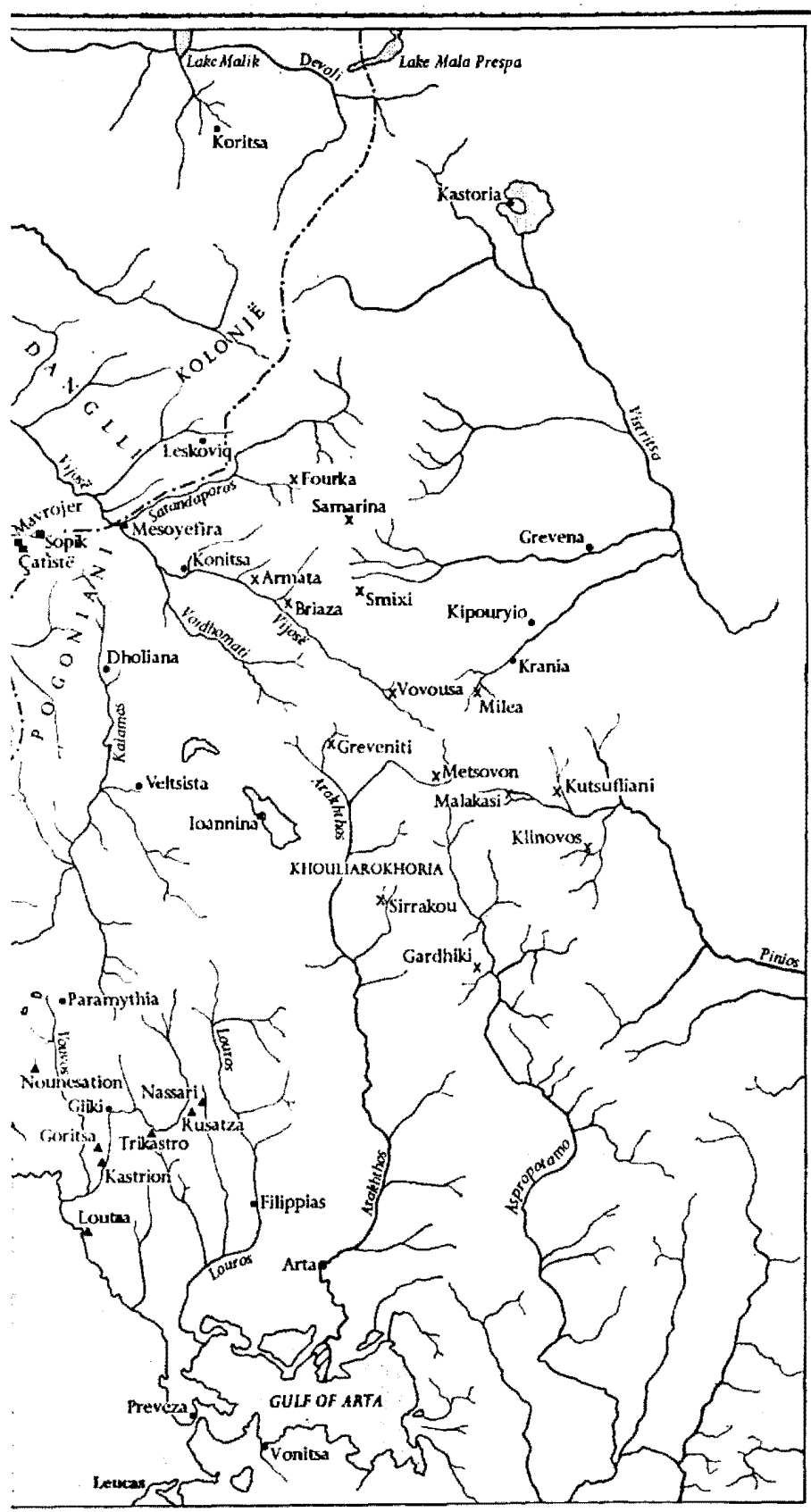
Tree:	<i>Abies</i>	<i>Pinus nigra</i>	<i>Pinus halepensis</i>	<i>Beech</i>	<i>Chestnut</i>
Area in hectares:	9,170	12,080	150	4,310	200
Tree:	<i>Oak deciduous</i>	<i>Evergreens</i>	<i>Wooded pastureland (including some of preceding)</i>		
Area in hectares:	30,280	46,110	93,950		

Philippson, in *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin* 32. 291 f., gives an excellent description of the virgin forests of the upper Pindus area. Much damage to forests was done during the war, when control was lacking, through over-cutting and through deliberate burning in order to grow potatoes in the ash.

² See the Greek Geological Map and p. 14 n. 1 above; for Dukat see P-K 2. 1. 58 n. 2.



MAP 2. The Ethnography



of Epirus

eaten in most parts of Epirus. The yield of wheat is less than half that of maize, while barley and rye are only subsidiary crops. Rice is grown in considerable quantity at Delvinë, Filiates, Margariti, and Filippias, and in 1939 the area under rice in Epirus was two-thirds of the total for Greece. The production of vegetables, including potatoes, and of tobacco is the lowest of the Greek mainland areas. To compensate for its poverty in cereals Epirus has excellent pasturage, both grass and wooded, the latter mostly oak scrub which is an important source of winter fodder; the approximate figure for herds in 1932, that is before the legislation of Metaxas restricted the keeping of goats, was given as 900,000 sheep, 500,000 goats, 60,000 cattle including 12,000 milking cows, 35,000 horses, mules, and donkeys, and 20,000 pigs.¹ Inland Epirus is richer in sheep, goats, and cattle, while the coastal areas are better off for pigs; the finest breed of horse comes from Paramythia and Konispol, and the strongest mules and donkeys from Ioannina. Bees and game are plentiful, the latter including rock pheasant, wild pig, wild goat, deer, and duck; wolves, jackals, and foxes are common, a few bears are reported in North Pindus, and the most striking birds are the eagles (*Aquila imperialis* and *A. pennata*), the dove, jay, woodpecker, and stork. The rivers and lakes are rich in fish; eels and fish are bred in the lagoons, especially on the northern shore of the Gulf of Arta. Sea fishing is on a small scale except in the Gulf of Arta and Lake Vivari.

The population of Greek Epirus in 1928 was 296,515, the average to the square kilometre being 33, whereas the general average in Greece was 47. The population in Albanian Epirus in 1941 was about 200,000 with an average of 38 (Albania in general had an average of 30 to the square kilometre). One may therefore estimate a total in the

¹ For full figures see *MEE* 10. 104 f., 12. 321 f., and 3. 4 f. I append some figures for Greek Epirus in 1932 (Preveza here includes Levkas):

	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Goats</i>	<i>Pigs</i>	<i>Olives</i> †	<i>Oil</i> †
Arta	11,898	96,842	56,567	4,134	11,742	669
Preveza	18,182	114,850	86,213	5,875	3,047	13,769
Ioannina	41,280	428,371	277,381	1,061	2,002	4,934
Corcyra	4,650	53,565	16,315	5,875	Average of Olives and Oil is 30,215 (<i>MEE</i> 13. 272)	
Epirus in						
Greece	71,265	394,038*	420,161	11,070	16,791	19,372
Thessaly	77,587	627,108*	475,192	51,392		
Macedonia	387,439	1,003,311*	844,761	105,916		

* Milch-sheep only.

† Olives and oil in metric staters.

The figures for livestock which I have put in the text are from a rough estimate given in *MEE* 12 for Greek Epirus and Albanian Epirus together.

The production of cereals in Greek Epirus in units of 1,000 stremmata was maize 283, wheat 142, barley 45, and rye 79.

region of 500,000 for the whole of Epirus in 1941.¹ The only foodstuffs imported to support this population are flour and maize, the quantity varying with the harvest. Summer droughts occasionally cause a failure of the maize crop; this occurred in 1942 when the country was under enemy occupation, and women brought oil from Paramythia to West Macedonia and carried back maize from there to save their children from starvation. Other foodstuffs are exported, either because they are in excess of local needs or are luxury foods; the main exports are cheese, olives, goats, sheep, cattle, fish, citrus, rice, and figs, to which in medieval times acorns should be added. There is also an export of wool and hides, which are in excess of local needs, although almost the whole population wears home-spun cloth and home-tanned sandals. Local dyes are used. Home industries of importance in medieval and modern times are gold and silver work, heavy capes, embroidery, furs, and tanning, the chief centres being Ioannina and Argyrokastro. Thus the population is almost entirely self-supporting, with a standard of life which is lower than that of Greece and higher than that of Albania; but the country is unable to absorb the natural increase in population, so that Epirotes, predominantly from inland Epirus, have sought employment either abroad (since the sixteenth century) or else in Central Greece, where they ply the trades of mason and tailor in particular.

The population is divided by language into three groups. Greek is predominant, Albanian is spoken by a large minority, and Vlach by a small minority. The areas which these groups occupy tend to be different in nature. The Vlachs, who are mostly nomad shepherds, live in the highlands of the Pindus range but pasture their flocks in winter on the coastal plains; their language is a dialect of Rumanian which is close to Latin, and they came as intruders from the North Balkans and entered Epirus via North Pindus. Until 1939 the Albanians

¹ The following figures are given in *MEE* 12. 126 for population in Greek Epirus in 1928 (Preveza here includes Levkas):

	<i>Square km.</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Pop. per sq. km.</i>
Arta	1,736	52,596	30.30
Preveza	1,615	79,620	49.30
Ioannina	6,000	180,418	30.07
Epirus	9,351	312,634	33.43
Thessaly	13,334	493,213	36.99
Macedonia	34,893	1,412,477	40.48
Corcyra	615	106,251	172.72

Synvet, *Les Grecs de l'empire ottoman* (1878), gives the population of Epirus as 537,972. He includes the northern areas up to but exclusive of Valona and he includes Keravassara in the south. His figures appear high, but the Italian figures for a census in 1941 are 159,695 for the province of Argyrokastro and 56,607 for that of Valona (*Encicl. Ital.* Append. 2. 107).

occupied the western coastal plains of Epirus as far south as the river Glikis with the exception of a few places. To the east of the second Limestone range they were not found in Greek Epirus, but they occupied the bulk of Albanian Epirus, where the Greek villages were situated mostly at high altitudes or in remote places. The distribution is indicated on Map 2, by showing representative villages. We have then in Epirus an area of interpenetration in language. The extreme north and the extreme south belong almost totally to separate linguistic spheres, but the main body of the country is divided into three departments separable both in language and in geography. Of the three languages it is certain enough that Vlach and Albanian are the intruders. Any identification of language with race is hotly disputed in modern Epirus as elsewhere. It has often been maintained that the Albanian-speaking villagers in Epirus were originally Greek-speaking and adopted Albanian speech only when they changed their religion from Christianity to Mohammedanism under Turkish pressure. Nevertheless, it is my personal opinion that a broad racial distinction does exist between the peoples in Epirus who speak Albanian and those who speak Greek. These two peoples have not intermingled, nor have they grown closer in the years since 1912, when the Turkish control was shaken off. Rather, the Greek-speaking villages in Albanian Epirus resisted the attempts of the Albanian government between the two World Wars to impose the Albanian language, and the Albanian-speaking area of Tsamouria in Greek Epirus retained its identity; indeed the Tsams fought against the Greek-speaking guerillas of South Epirus in 1944. Both peoples are hospitable, independent, and warlike; but the Greek-speaking element is more advanced and more progressive in culture and administration. It is therefore my belief that the Albanian-speaking villagers of Epirus are the descendants of Albanian intruders who came south in the time of the Turkish Empire and settled chiefly in the coastal plains. The Greek-speaking population was and is of very mixed racial origins, but there is much more evidence of Slavonic than Albanian blood in most of the Greek-speaking Epirotes of today. As regards the Vlachs there is no doubt: they call themselves 'Arumani', that is Romans; they speak a Rumanian dialect, and they are racially distinct from the Greeks and the Albanians. In stating that the three groups are of different race, I do not wish to suggest that they cannot combine; nor would history bear me out, for in the wars against the Turks and the Italians they all fought equally well and none better than the Albanian-speaking Suliotes in Greek Epirus of whom Byron sang.¹

¹ When the Italians occupied the area in 1941-3 they claimed that the Vlachs were a related people and should collaborate with them; but the claim was not accepted.

As a province of Greece Epirus is economically a poor area. Mainly self-sufficient but unable to support a larger population, it can export only some foodstuffs and some labour. The Greek-speaking population of Epirus is a source of strength to the Greek state; for its patriotism and its culture, both in the Greek War of Independence and in the wars which have succeeded it, have been outstanding even among Greeks. In relation to its immediate neighbours Epirus is most akin to Macedonia and more especially to South-west Macedonia in climate, in economy, and in the character of its people. The Epirote and the Macedonian tend to respect one another, and there is a good deal of intermarriage between the hill-villages of North-east Epirus and South-west Macedonia. But the Acarnanian and the Thessalian both regard the Epirote of Ioannina as something of a dullard; for the Epirote is more heavily built and he has less mental and nervous agility than the Mediterranean Greek.

Yet the most remarkable thing about Epirus is not so much the contrasts it has with other districts of Greece as the contrasts which exist within its own frontiers. In this respect it resembles Macedonia only. It is, of course, a large province (its area, taken from Preveza to the mouth of the Vjosë and inland to the watershed of the main range, is almost as large as that of the Peloponnese), but even so it is surprising to find people of three distinct languages within it.

The Vlachs today live in the highest habitable parts of the Pindus range, astride the watershed but predominantly on the side of Epirus (see Map 2). The villages are fully inhabited in the summer only, when the flocks are on the high pastures (a few families stay all winter and there is always a considerable number of families at Metsovon, the Vlach capital in Greece). During the winter months the Vlachs pasture their sheep on the lowlands and they and their families live in huts (*kalivia*), made with branches and thatch. I have seen them in all the coastal lowlands from Fjer by ancient Apollonia to the peninsula of Preveza. Each group hires its own pastures from the settled population. For instance, 500 Vlach families have summer pastures in the Kolonjë and rent pastures from the citizens of Konispol each winter. This nomadic way of life was noted already in the eleventh century A.D.,¹ when the Vlachs were described as living in the mountains from April to September. It is only in the last 200 years that they have built some permanent villages, and their scorn of settled life is still so deeply rooted that the Vlachs employ Greek masons to build their houses and churches and will do only the woodwork themselves.

A distinction may be drawn between the purely Vlach villages and those villages where people of Vlach descent have become hellenized

¹ Cecaumenus, *Strategikon* (ed. H. G. Beck, Vienna, 1956) 173.

through intermarriage and education with Greeks, or where people of Greek or Albanian descent have adopted a Vlachic way of life. The purely Vlach villages are in the main those which are on the highest parts of Pindus. So far as Epirus and the adjacent areas are concerned they extend from Fourka in the north to Greveniti and then Sirrakou in the south-west, and they run from Smixi in the north-east to Klinovos in the south-east; and they extend down the Aspropotamos valley as far as Gardhiki. They have been large and wealthy villages in the past, Samarina having had 800 houses until its destruction by fire in the 1930's, and some of them still are; but they are only the remnants of a much bigger group, which used to extend over a wider area.¹ There are still some Vlach villages in Acarnania, and there are others in South Thessaly. The people in these areas are Frasherots, that is Vlachs who came originally from the area now called Albania, and some of those in Acarnania claim to have left Paleo-Pogoni about 1840. We gain some idea of their intrusive methods from two passages. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish traveller in A.D. 1160, reported of the inhabitants of Wallachia, an area which extended down to Mt. Othrys in South Thessaly, that 'they are nimble as deer and descend from the mountains into the plains of Greece, committing robberies and taking booty, and nobody ventures to make war on them'.² In A.D. 1334 a group of people from the mountainous areas of Thessaly, who lived in no town but in inaccessible places, submitted to the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus III, because they were afraid of being attacked during the time of heavy snows. They were 'Albanians with no king, called after their tribal chiefs Malakasii, Bouii and Mesaritai'.³ Two of these names have persisted into modern times; for the Vlachs of the villages from Malakasi to Gardhiki are the Malakasii, and the Frasherots of Southern Thessaly are called Bouii.⁴ It seems then that the Vlachs entered Greece from Albania along the highways of the

¹ See Wace and Thompson 186 f. and 256 f. Metsovon was very wealthy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, exporting home-made woollen goods, goat-hair garments, cheese made from sheep's milk, and pewter ware. It had more than a thousand houses, and the Turks granted privileges to Metsovon, Milea, Malakasi, Kutsufliani, and Voutonosi, that is to the villages on the trade-routes over the Pindus range.

² *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. A. Asher (New York, undated) 48.

³ Cantacuzenus, J. 1. 474 (Bonne ed.), *οἱ τὰ ὄρεινὰ τῆς Θεσσαλίας νεμόμενοι Ἀλβανοὶ ἀβασιλευτοὶ Μαλακάσιοι καὶ Μπούιοι καὶ Μεσαρίται ἀπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων προσαγορευόμενοι*.

⁴ That 'the Albanians with no king' were Frasherot Vlachs has been the view of Wace and Thompson 264, G. Weigand, *Die Aromunen* (Leipzig, 1895) 276, and other scholars, but it has recently been contested in *Epeteris Byzantinon Spoudon* 23 (1953) 213 f. by G. C. Soulis, who sees in them true Albanians and not Vlachs. The fact that it is Vlachs, and not Albanians who are still called Malakasii and Bouii seems to me to be decisive. Soulis is probably correct in deriving Malakasii from Malakastra (the southern plain of Albania); but both names are likely to be Vlach names, which Albanians adopted on entering the Malakastra as they have adopted the Vlach word Kolonjë (*colonia*).

Pindus pastures. On the other hand the penetration by the Albanians seems to have come through the coastal lowlands of Epirus.

The present distribution of the Albanian-speaking villages bears little relation to the frontier which was drawn between Greece and Albania after the First World War. In Map 2 I have shown most of the Greek-speaking villages in Albanian Epirus and some of the Albanian-speaking villages in Greek Epirus.¹ The map is based on observations made by Clarke and myself during our travels between 1922 and 1939. Since then the position has doubtless changed; for these villages were affected by the campaign between Greece and Italy, by the civil war, and by a considerable degree of persecution which has caused some of the Greek-speaking population to leave Albanian Epirus. A glance at the map shows that the spread of Albanian-speakers has followed clear channels and has left a few islands of Greek-speakers on its course. One wave has filled Danglli and Kolonjë (pronounced Colonia, probably a Vlach word, dating from the time when the area was occupied only by Vlachs). Another has passed up the Drin valley and died out between the promontories of Paleo-Pogoni and the Platovouni range. On the seaward side it has left an island in the Greek-speaking group around Himarë, but it has filled the Kurvelesh and the lowlands of Delvinë and Konispol. This wave has extended further down the coast into the low-lying area of the Kalamas, the Tsamouria, the swampy parts of the Acheron plain, known as Fanari, and a few villages beyond, such as Loutsa and Nassari. There has no doubt been some ebb and flow during the centuries; but the general conclusion may be drawn that the Greek-speaking element has held firm in the hinterland, of which Ioannina is the centre, and has probably regained some areas of South-west Epirus down to Preveza which were at one time held by Albanian-speakers.² Malaria has had a hand in this; for it was until recently endemic in the low-lying areas and has had a debilitating effect on the Albanian-speaking villagers. The market towns of Filiates and Paramythia were mainly Albanian in speech before 1939, but Greek speech was beginning to flow back into them.

¹ Aravantinos wrote on this subject but he has not been regarded as trustworthy. My criterion is simply the language spoken in the village when I was there; some cases come from Clarke's observations on the same criterion. For the political aspect see M. P. Pipinelis, *Europe and the Albanian Question* (New York, undated).

² The Albanians themselves spread into Epirus in the fifteenth and following centuries, and they swept aside some peoples of Slav origin, who at that time occupied most of the country. These Slavs, who had come in the sixth and following centuries, probably spoke Greek by the time of the Albanian invasions, but the Slavonic place-names continued in use until the time of Metaxas, except where they had been replaced by Albanian names. The pattern of Slavonic place-names shows where the resistance of the Slavs was successful. The canton of Ioannina has 334 Slavonic place-names, whereas that of Arta has only 44 and that of Preveza only 34. See Vasmer, *Abh. d. Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse* 1941, no. 12, 20 f.

In the north, Artë, or Paleo-Artë (incorrectly Nartë on the Staff Map), is a small village on the edge of the saltpan area. Himarë and its associates hold a rocky strip of coast which enjoys a good climate but has few resources. Parga is the only port on the west coast of Epirus which has remained predominantly Greek-speaking, and this is doubtless due to the special protection it received from Venice between 1401 and 1797.¹

Throughout Albanian and Greek Epirus there is a tendency, stronger in the north than in the south, for villages to be grouped together as one entity. A more primitive stage of grouping together may be seen on the smallest scale in the Kurvelesh. There the settlements are *mahaladhes*, that is hamlets, and a number of them will produce a village name. The *mahaladhes* of Nivicë Lopes, for example, or Gusmar are scattered over many miles; the people in them are usually friendly to one another, but they may be set at enmity one with another, even within the so-called village, by the vendetta, which is very strong in the whole of the Kurvelesh. On the other hand the villages of Pogoni are now concentrated; but they used to consist of similarly scattered hamlets. The next stage, the grouping together of villages into a single entity, has been reached in all parts of Epirus. For example, the Albanians of the Kurvelesh call themselves a group of the Liaps (Liapidhes in the Greek form) and hold their neighbours in contempt. They intermarry only within the villages of the Kurvelesh; they are all Mohammedan, some families are polygamous, and the houses in the *mahaladhes* are built as fortresses with no windows on the ground floor. In Llundë the villages are more compact but smaller, Shtegopol and Saraginishtë, for instance, having only fifty houses each; the

¹ P-K has an account of some of the Albanian-speaking villages but is unaware of Louts and Nassari, for instance, in 2. 1. 107. Tsamouria is a word which Philippson did not meet in Epirus (P-K 2. 1. 93 n. 5; cf. 107) and thought might be a corruption of Himarë. Clarke and I were both familiar with it, and it was in common use; see Leake 1. 61 and *Eph. Arch.* 1924, 195. Its origin was discussed in 1934 in a local paper *Thesprotia* by Athenagoras, Bishop of Paramythia, who kindly gave me an offprint. He held that it derived from one Isaim, the leader of some Christians who lapsed into Mohammedanism, but I prefer the derivation either from the Turkish *çamur*, meaning 'mud', when 'Tsamouria' would be the muddy lowlands and the people would be named 'Tsams' after the district, or from an Albanian tribal name such as that of the Liaps. Leake gives the last explanation. The name was much publicized by the Italians before the attack on Greece (cf. A. Sestini, 'La Ciamuria' in *Boll. R. Soc. Geogr. Ital.* 7. 6. 481 f. (1941)). The diplomatic exchanges are published by the Royal Ministry for Foreign Affairs in *Italy's Aggression against Greece* (Athens, 1940), as nos. 111 and 114. The Italians referred to 'some 50,000 pure-blooded Albanians who form the vast majority of the population' in the area between the Kalamas and the Acheron, and the Greeks replied that 18,109 persons were Moslems of Albanian origin out of 65,074 persons in the prefecture of Thesprotia. Philippson noted that the population of Dagavi, the area between the Kalamas gorge and Nista, was Albanian in 1893 (P-K 2. 1. 98), and I was assured of this when I was there in 1932. For Parga see C. P. de Boissset, *Parga and the Ionian Islands* (London, 1821) 57 f.

people of Llundherië are all Albanian Orthodox Christians, except those of Erind, who are partly Christian and partly Mohammedan, and the men, but not the women, know some Greek. They intermarry within their group, which consists of a dozen or so small villages. Zagorië has the same characteristics, its ten villages extending from Doshnicë to Shepr; the group is endogamous and does not marry with the people of Llundherië. The people of Zagorië have some characteristics of the Liaps and some of the Tosks in their dialect and customs, but form 'a special unit of their own'.¹ Pogoni, or Paleo-Pogoni as the people call it, consists of seven Greek-speaking villages nearly 3,000 ft. above sea-level (Poliçan, Skorë, Hlomo, Sopik, Mavrojer, Çatiste, and, on the Greek side of the frontier, Dhrimadhes); the biggest, Poliçan, has a population of 2,500 persons and Sopik has 300 houses. The Pogoniates normally marry only within their group, but occasionally a bride may be taken from Zagorië and then she is taught Greek. Each group of peoples has its own dress and its own customs. Thus the women of Paleo-Pogoni all wear the same style of stockings, scarves, and black home-spun dress, and each village has its own variation within that style; at Hlomo, for instance, the women's stockings have horizontal stripes of red, white, green, and orange, they wear red shoes (*tsarouchia*), and their black scarves have embroidered patterns of coloured flowers. In the two villages of Çatistë and Hlomo, but not in the other villages of Pogoni, a man may not enter after sunset, for a period of forty days, a house in which a woman has given birth.²

The exclusiveness of these groups is not necessarily based on religion. Sometimes a village may have *mahladhes* of different faiths. Thus Maleshovë, which belongs to a group centring on Permet, has three *mahladhes*, of which one is Christian, one is Mohammedan, and one has families of each faith. Religion may be a pretext for enmity between villages of different groups. For instance, I visited Qeparo on the very day when a young man had been killed by the neighbouring village Kudhes, and I learnt that a feud had gone on since 1912 at the rate of one young man being killed annually from each village. Qeparo

¹ *BUST* 1962, 1. 218 f.

² Clarke B 144. He was told this was due to a fear that someone entering after sunset might have crossed 'a bad place' and so picked up a devil who would harm the child. The origin is likely to be more primitive and connected with the mystery of birth and purification (cf. Wace and Thompson 101 for restrictions among the Vlachs on a woman for forty days after childbirth). Clarke was also told that magic is practised in the villages of Pogoni; a jealous girl, for instance, could prevent sexual intercourse between a man and a woman by some business of twirling string. In some marriages the bride sleeps on the first night with her nearest male relation and on the second night with her husband. See also *BUST* 1961, 2. 156 f. and 1962, 1. 218 f. for the folk-lore, customs, and dialect of Zagorië as 'a special unit on its own'.

is a Greek-speaking Christian village of the Himarë group, and Kudhes an Albanian-speaking Mohammedan village of the Kurvelesh. But similar feuds exist between the *mahaladhes* of Nivicë Lopes. The virulent hatred between some groups has been fired time and again by acts of violence. Thus in the Vourgos the Greek-speaking village of Dhivrë was burnt in 1881 and again in 1912 by the Albanian-speaking people of the area. Pouqueville records that in 1760 Christianity was renounced by thirty-six villages in the area north of Pogoni; the villagers then made a treacherous attack on the Christian villages of Permet, Leskoviç, and the Kolonië, carried off women and children as slaves and left the villages in flames.¹ Sometimes a village was exterminated. Evangelides quotes the case of attacks on the Himarë group of villages in 1744 by Mohammedan Albanians which led to the flight of many Greek-speaking people to Italy; in 1875 the descendants of the refugees were taken back to Greece at their own request and founded in Elis the village of 'New Pikerni', so named after the Pikerni (Pigeras in the Albanian form) in the Himarë region.² When large campaigns have occurred in the area, in which armies of Turks or Greeks or Albanians or Italians have been involved, their presence has usually led to acts of violence between the groups of villages.

These groups of villages, which form separate communities in marriage, customs, and dialect (for each area has a wealth of dialect words, of which many have been recorded in Epirotic and Albanian periodicals), are themselves dependent on a market-town or capital of the area. Thus the groups known as the Kurvelesh, Llundxherië, Zagorië, Pogoni, and Dhropul go to Argyrokastro as their market-town and administrative centre, a place of 11,000 inhabitants in 1945. The Himarë group, the Vourgos group and many of the Platovouni group go to Delvinë, a town of 4,000 inhabitants in 1923. The Bishop of Druinopolis, whose seat is at Argyrokastro, now has jurisdiction over the area from Himarë to Pogoni; in 1730 there were also Bishops of 'Himarë and Delvinë', of 'Pogoniani' (formerly an 'Archiepiscopos') and of 'Buthroto and Glikë', and there is no doubt that the number of Christian communities has declined since 1730. Yet, whether their religion changes or not, the same groups remain separate entities and continue to be in rivalry or enmity with one another. In Central Epirus, where the religious issue does not exist, the groups of villages such as those of Zagori and the Khouliarokhoria, south-east of Ioannina, still remain distinct and peculiar in their customs, dress, and dialects.³

¹ Pouqueville 1. 259.

² Evangelides BE 63.

³ MEE 12. 348 gives nine illustrations of local dress, each peculiar to one canton of Epirus, and *Popular Art in Albania* (Tirana, 1959) several for south Albania,

It is difficult to know how these groups originated and why they persist. Geography plays its part. An area such as Zagori is definable as a high plateau, and it is shut off by mountains and gorges from neighbouring districts. But geography does not carry us far, since the areas of Zagorië and Pogoni are closely similar and adjacent, and so are those of Llundxherië and Dhropul, but nevertheless separate groups have developed. The groups may be named after an earlier geographical term. The villages which make up the canton of Dhropul are an example. They are Albanian in speech and Mohammedan in religion; they have the best land and the only olive groves at this distance inland, and the leading village, Libohovë, with some 500 houses, is also a religious centre of the progressive Bektashi sect of Muslims and there were several *heroa* (*teke*) with Dervishes in Dhropul during the years between the two World Wars. The name Dhropul has been taken over from the Byzantine name of the Christian bishopric of Druinopolis, itself a corruption of Hadrianopolis. It seems likely that Zagorië and Zagori were once contiguous, that is to say that the intruding element of Danglli has pushed Zagorië out of the middle Vjosë valley; similarly Pogoni and Pogoniani seem to be divisions of an original entity, of which one group was pushed over the watershed of Mt. Nemerçkë and is now further cut off by the modern frontier.¹ The origin of the groups Kurvelesh and Llundxherië may be tribal. At any rate the organization of the *mahaladhes* by families (not in the sense of father, mother, and children, but of a family clan covering three generations) and the combination of *mahaladhes* into familial villages are clear indications of the tribal nature of Albanian life. Here there are familial units at three levels, that of the *mahalas* or village, that of the tribal area, and that of the major tribe (e.g. the Tosks in the Drin valley). This familial basis was very remarkably described in A.D. 1308: 'civitates [Albaniae] castra, [oppida], [et] fortalicia et villas non habent, sed habitant in papilionibus et semper moventur de loco ad locum per turmas et cognationes suas.'² In fact the Liaps and Tsams claimed to be autonomous tribes, distinct and separate from the Gëgs and Tosks, and this was stated without any qualification by Leake in 1804. I found this to be true of the Liaps, but the Tsams seemed to have lost their cohesion as a tribe. The usual view, that the Albanians in Shqipëria, 'the Land of the Eagle', are divided only into two tribes, seems to be incorrect.³ There are familial units also in the Greek-speaking villages of Himarë; Leake 1. 85 gives

¹ East and West Locris seem to have been split apart in the same way in ancient times.

² Anon., *Descriptio Europae Orientalis* (ed. O. Górka, Krakow, 1916) 25.

³ Leake p. 61. The Liaps held the area from Valona to Delvinë and inland to Tepelenë; the Tsams from Delvinë to Souli and inland to Pogoniani and Ioannina. The mixture of Liap and Tok customs in Zagorië is noted in *BUST* 1962, 1. 218 f.

an interesting description of them at Himarë itself, where the five units were called *φρατρίαι* in Greek and *parentie* in Italian.

The customs which preserve the familial units are the strict marriage customs, usually enforcing endogamy within a group of villages, and the observance of vendetta on a familial basis. The latter has been admirably described by Mrs. Hasluck, who lived for many years in Central Albania.¹ I came across several cases: one at Dhërm where the women were keening all night for a man killed in vendetta (Edward Lear described the same experience at Dukat in 1848);² another at Kuç where the headmaster of the school was afraid to go out of his house unarmed because his family was 'in blood'; and a convention of the vendetta in the lower Kalamas valley, where a man ploughing was exempt from attack but lost the exemption as soon as he took his rifle from a tree.

I have described the characteristics of the area which surrounds Argyrokastro because they are similar in many ways to the conditions of Greece in the archaic period and of Epirus in the classical period. The Greek *polis* in the Dorian form grew from the association of hamlets (*komai*, analogous to *mahaladhes*) at Sparta, Corinth, Megara, and elsewhere; and the familial and tribal nature of the *polis* everywhere was a very conservative feature, which was modified only when residence rather than descent became the basis of political organization. The smallness of the *poleis* was itself due to the familial basis of their organization, and their cohesion was due in many cases to the strict custom of endogamous marriage. The peculiarities of dialect, custom, and dress which marked the cities of archaic Greece were like those we have noted, for instance, in Pogoni. The tendency to quarrel with and violate one's neighbours was as typical of the ancient Greek world as it was of North Epirus in the eighteenth century. As regards Epirus in classical times, we shall see that its outstanding characteristic is the persistent existence of numerous groups (such as the Liapidhes or the Pogoniates nowadays) and the coalescence of these groups into larger tribal units. And the numerous fortifications in Hellenistic Epirus show us that the days of intertribal strife were not necessarily at an end. There are even parallels from the past for the convention of the vendetta which I saw in the lower Kalamas valley; for Plutarch records that in an early war between Corinth and Megara no attempt at all was made to injure men at work in the fields.³

Lastly it should be emphasized that the customs of the people in

¹ M. Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania* (Cambridge, 1954) 210 f.; in the Himarë area of Greek-speaking villages vendetta could be halted by paying blood-money in 1805 (Leake 1. 87). For a history of the vendetta see also *BUST* 1959, 3. 204 f.

² E. Lear, *Journal of a Landscape Painter in Albania* (London, 1851) 243 f.

³ Plu. *Moralia* 295B = *GQ* 17.

the area round Argyrokastro are probably dying out. In Greek Epirus, where modernization has moved much more rapidly since 1930, the ties of village life and the organization of village groups have already slackened, but sufficient has been recorded in the local periodicals to show that the customs of North Epirus were in the past practised in South Epirus.

4. COMMUNICATIONS BY LAND AND BY SEA

Epirus is divided into a number of cantons by its high mountain ranges, and each canton has a market-town, which forms the centre of internal communications. The market-towns and their catchment areas are as follows:

Preveza. The lower Louros and its tributaries.

Paramythia. The lower Acheron and the Vouvos.

Margariti. The basin of Margariti and the valleys of Arpitsa and Nista.

Filiates. The lower Kalamas and its tributaries.

Delvinë. The Pavla and the Bistrice.

Himarë. The western slopes of the Acroceraunia.

Valona. The Dukatit and the Shushicë.

Arta. The lower Arakhthos (up to Plakas) and its tributaries.

Filippias. The upper Louros and its tributaries.

Ioannina. The basin of Ioannina, the headwaters of the Louros, the Kalamas, and the Voidhomati and the middle Arakhthos.

Argyrokastro. The Drin and its tributaries.

Metsovon. The headwaters of the Vijosë and the Arakhthos.

Konitsa. The sources of the Kalamas and the west slopes of Mt. Smolika.

Permet. The valley of the Vijosë between Mesoyefira and Kelcyrë.

These cantons are themselves linked to the larger centres, Ioannina and Argyrokastro, for purposes of general trade. Each of these centres is the market-town of an unusually prosperous canton, but their importance is due rather to their position on the main routes of communication. The chief points of entry into Epirus by sea are in the Gulf of Arta and in the Gulf of Valona; and from these gulfs the best routes inland proceed to Ioannina and Argyrokastro. In addition the secondary points of entry by sea are at Igoumenitsa and at Santi Quaranta, and the most direct routes inland from these points lead respectively to Ioannina and Argyrokastro. If we disregard the contacts of Epirus with the sea, we can still see that both Ioannina and Argyrokastro are centres from which overland communications radiate. Thus from

Ioannina goods are sent by pack-animal (even more so before the present motor roads were built) to Arta in fourteen hours, and via Filippias to Preveza in three days, either along the Louros valley or along a higher route on the west side of Mt. Xerovouni; to Paramythia through the gap north of Mt. Olytsika in fourteen hours; to Filiates down the Kalamas valley in one and a half days; to Konitsa via Dholiana in one day; and to Metsovon along the Arakthos valley in one day. The route from Ioannina to Argyrokastro is not now used by pack-animals, but it is an easy route and would take two days. The routes which radiate from Argyrokastro run up the Drin valley; over the western side of the valley down to Delvinë and Santi Quaranta; into Pogoni and Zagorië; into the Kurvelesh; via the upper Vijosë to Permet; and along the valleys of the Drin and the Vijosë into the plain, whence one can proceed either to ancient Apollonia or turn westwards to Valona—a journey of two days for pack-animals. Thus everything conspires to make Ioannina and Argyrokastro the most important centres of exchange in Epirus.

The main communications by land between Epirus and the outside world are five:

1. From Arta an easy route leads southwards above the eastern shore of the Gulf into Acarnania.
2. From Ioannina there is a steep climb over the high Zygos pass into the long Pinios valley and the Thessalian plain (three days for pack-animals).
3. The route from Konitsa via Leskoviç and Koritsa into Macedonia involves long distances over high ground and then an easy pass in summer through the Grammos range to Florina (four days for pack-animals).
4. A more direct route which is used in summer crosses the Pindus range either from Metsovon or from Greveniti and descends through Milea, Krania, and Kipouryio to Grevena; the distance from Ioannina to Grevena via Greveniti can be covered in two days and via Metsovon in three days.
5. The descent from Argyrokastro into the plain of Malakastira in Central Albania is easy and convenient.

During the winter Epirus is usually cut off from Thessaly and Macedonia by snow. There are some minor routes through the Pindus range which are of importance for shepherds and woodcutters and which have strategic value in military campaigns, but they are little used for trade.¹

¹ I have described these routes in Hammond, *PE* 141 f.; see also K. D. Stergiopoulos in *Aphieroma to K. Amantos* (Athens, 1940) 290 f.

When I first visited Epirus in 1930, the only motor roads ran from Preveza and Arta via Filippias to Ioannina, Argyrokastro, and Valona; and from Santi Quaranta to Argyrokastro on the one hand and to Valona on the other. Preparations for World War II led to intensive road-building on both sides of the border. The modern traveller will now tend to follow the motor roads. They rarely coincide with the routes used in antiquity. It is to be noted that Arta is the only one of the places mentioned in this account of communications which stands upon an ancient site.

Sea traffic in the waters west of Epirus has always been busy, but it has often made little contact with the mainland. The coast of Epirus is in fact not devoid of good harbours; but such harbours are usually cut off from the hinterland by the steep coastal range and by the inland ranges which run parallel to the coast, so that the areas the harbours serve lack any commercial depth. Even where there are coastal plains they are turned away from the sea; their chief towns, Delvinë, Filiates, Paramythia, and Margariti, are sited not on the coast but on routes which lead inland. The coast between Cape Linguetta and Preveza is indeed almost separable from the interior. This is shown by the curious status it enjoyed in the eighteenth century. In 1718 the coastal strip from Butrinto to Vonitsa was ceded by Turkey to Venice, and in 1797 it was transferred to France. In 1800, when Turkey resumed sovereignty of the coastal strip, she granted autonomy to the ports of Butrinto, Parga, Preveza, and Vonitsa, which formed themselves into an isopolity. Such action by Turkey was possible only because these ports were then of little value to the hinterland. North and south of this stretch of coast the sea breaks through the coastal range into the Gulfs of Valona and Arta. The Gulf of Valona serves the rich and open plain of Malakstra to the north rather than the valley-plains of North Epirus, which are rendered remote by the massive ranges of Acroceraunia and Kulth. The Gulf of Arta, which penetrates into the third Limestone range of Epirus, supplies a seaboard for the terminals of the valleys which run almost due south from inland Epirus. Even here nature has not favoured the growth of a great port; for the north shore of the Gulf is made shallow by deposits of silt and is fringed with lagoons, and the valleys leading down from the north are so closely pinched by the mountain ranges that communications are not easy. As Philippon has aptly pointed out, the history of Epirus was much affected by the fact that the Flysch zones of North and Central Epirus dwindle or disappear in the south, so that almost all the area between the river Acheron and the river Arakhthos is a barren waste of limestone; in consequence Central Epirus has tended to be cut off from the plain of Arta and from connexions with Greece. These

factors of geography isolate the greater part of Epirus from the sea and from sea-borne influences. Nor have the Epirotes any love of the sea, with the notable exceptions of the sailors of Parga and Preveza, who have maintained traditions which originated with Venetian influence.

The Ionian islands are more directly placed on the sea-lanes and offer better facilities of harbourage and supply than the coast of Epirus. Corcyra, Paxos, Antipaxos, and Leucas have in fact deprived Epirus of any importance it might have had in the traffic between South Italy and Greece. In some respects these islands and in particular Corcyra act as advanced ports for Epirus, and it is only in the extreme north of Epirus that a coastal port, Valona, has some footing on these sea-lanes, a footing which under modern conditions is rather precarious.

Since the partition of Epirus between Albania and Greece in 1923, the ports of Preveza, Santi Quaranta, and Valona have handled considerable traffic, and those of Koprainia (south of Arta), Parga, and Igoumenitsa in Greek Epirus have had subsidiary importance. It would, however, be erroneous to suppose that the present situation reflects that of even the recent past; for Albania and Greece have been anxious to develop their frontier areas, and modern conditions of communication by land and sea have played a part in the selection of ports. In 1319 Ioannina received special immunities from the Byzantine emperor as the commercial centre of Epirus. At this date Arta was the chief port of Epirus; but later Preveza and Parga appeared and provided bases for Venetian merchantmen. Throughout the greater part of the Turkish period (1430-1912) Ioannina was very prosperous. It acted not only as the commercial centre of Epirus but also as an entrepôt of goods from the west which were transmitted to Albania, West Macedonia, and Thessaly. It traded predominantly with Venice and Trieste. At that time the main ports in use were Skala Sayiadhes (west of Filiates) and Salaora (south-west of Arta), and they were presumably developed because they were conveniently placed for immediate communication with Ioannina. In 1878 Rasem Pasha, who wished to diminish the importance of Ioannina, opened the port of Santi Quaranta which captured most of the imports destined for North Epirus and Albania. In 1890 the main road was opened between Ioannina and Preveza, and this diverted trade from Salaora and made Preveza the chief port of Epirus.¹ It is clear, then, that the relative

¹ *MEE* 12. 322. There was a group of 100 Jews at some place on the Gulf of Arta; Benjamin of Tudela visited them in A.D. 1160. The Jews at Delvinë were believed to have come from medieval Butrinto; and those now at Ioannina and Arta came at the end of the last century.

importance of ports in Epirus has fluctuated during the last six centuries, the controlling factors being not only the internal situation within Epirus but also the origin and direction of trade from overseas. Something similar appears to have happened in antiquity, for it is only in the Roman period that Santi Quaranta (Onchesmus), Parga (Toryne), and Preveza (Nicopolis) achieved any importance. The ancient Epirotes seem to have had little interest in seafaring, with the exception of Elea, the only city which issued coins bearing an emblem of the sea.

5. THE MOVEMENT AND THE DIRECTION OF TRADE

The production of other areas in the north-west bears a close similarity to that of Epirus. The olive production of Corcyra and the Paxoi is similar in quantity to that of Epirus in Greece; but the exportable surplus from them is greater, because Corcyra has a higher rainfall and a greater density of rural population than any part of Greece. Corcyra also exports wine and fruit. Her territory is suitable for growing cereals, especially maize, and vegetables, and for raising cattle, sheep, and horses. Her deficiencies in view of her large population are in cereals and in winter fodder for her stock.¹ Central Albania is rich in maize, olives, and milk-yielding livestock; here, as in Epirus, the oak plays an important part in pastoral life. To the south Acarnania and Aetolia have an economy which is very similar to that of Epirus. Thus on a general view of the north-west area Epirus with her surplus of olives, cheese, livestock, citrus, rice, figs, fish, and acorns is a weak competitor in the very products which her neighbours are able and are better placed to export. When we turn inland, West Macedonia produces as much livestock and milk as Epirus does but has a deficiency of olives and a surplus of maize, the latter being grown in the basins of Ostrovo and Kastoria. Some parts of Epirus are therefore glad to export olive-oil to and import maize from West Macedonia. This exchange was carried on during the German occupation of Greece.² Thessaly has a large surplus in cereals, especially in wheat, but is also fairly rich in livestock, milk, and olives. Central Thessaly exports her surplus cereals to the south and imports from there finished goods and such olives as she needs.³ Western Thessaly provides winter pasture for the Vlach shepherds of Kalarritae and Sirrakou, and they bring back grain for the mountain villages.

¹ *MEE* 13, 272 f.

² Villages west of the Haliacmon sent pack-animals to Paramythia for oil, and women from Central Epirus came to Tsotili in South-west Macedonia and carried bags of maize back for their families in 1942 and 1943.

³ It is noticeable that people who normally eat maize do not import wheat, on grounds of taste as well as cost.

Epirus, then, can export some of her products to West Macedonia and in a lesser degree to West Thessaly, but she has to look for her main markets beyond the circle of her immediate neighbours. At the present time these surpluses go from Albanian Epirus to South Italy and from Greek Epirus to Patras and Peiraeus. In the Turkish period the main trade connexions of Epirus were with Venice and Trieste. She also had a flourishing trade with West Macedonia, West Thessaly, and Albania, to which she transmitted goods imported from Europe as well as her own production in hides, furs, gold embroidery and filigree, and metalwork.¹ At that time Macedonia and Thessaly were important centres of trade, and Epirus derived some advantages from her proximity to them. We learn something of this from the Arab geographer Idrisi of the twelfth century. The coastal route, which he gives from Dyrrachium to the south, calls at Lablôna (Valona), whence the stages are 100 miles to Dzimâra, of which the harbour is Banormo (Himarë and Palermos); 40 miles to Budrout, a populated centre with bazaars (Butrinto); 60 miles past a narrow sound to Fâsko (Paxos); and one day's journey to the commercial town of Bondisa (Vonitsa). The route inland runs from Lablôna (Valona) for two days' journey to Adhernôbolî (Drinopolis, near Argyrokastro), and thence two days to Yanîna, a populous town with well-watered villages (Ioannina). Another route goes from Adhernôbolî in two or three days over Mt. Timora to Qastoria (Kastoria); in three days to Tarofiniqua (unidentified); in one day to Larsa (Larissa); and in two days to Armyrou (on the Gulf of Volo), whence it is a voyage of 88 miles to Karisto (in Euboea).² In addition to the main overland route it is probable that the direct routes from Ioannina to Thessaly and to West Macedonia, and from the Gulf of Arta to Thessaly and to Karpenisi, were also in use.

When we come to consider the trade relations of Epirus in ancient times, it should be borne in mind that overland her best markets are West Macedonia and Albania, if it is less developed than Epirus. On the other hand she has little direct contact with Thessaly. As Philippon put it, 'Epirus and Thessaly are exceptionally strongly separated'; 'and', he continues, 'both have contacts and historical ties to north and south but very few directly with one another.'³ Her contacts with maritime trade depend not only on who controls her coasts but also on the origin and the direction of the trade carried on the sea-lanes.

¹ *MEE* 12, 322.

² W. Tomaschek, 'Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel' in *Sitzb. d. k. Ak. in Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.* 113, 285 f.; and W. von Heyd, *Hist. d. commerce du Levant* (Leipzig, 1936) i. 245 and 338.

³ P-K 2, 1, 17.

6. CONDITIONS IN ANTIQUITY

There is a considerable amount of evidence which illustrates the general character of Epirus in ancient times. In Homer the stock epithet of Dodona is *δυοσχείμερος*; Aristotle and Livy comment on the severity of the winter and the heavy rainfall and snows, Aristotle locating there the flood of Deucalion, while Procopius mentions actual inundations.¹ The thunderbolt appears on coins of Epirus and of all Epirote cities except Elea, and it gives its name to the Acroceraunian mountains. If the epithet *ναῖος* of Zeus at Dodona means 'the god of flowing water', it may refer to the spring for which Dodona was famous, or to the large sources of water which issue from the ground (*kefalovrisia*).² The Acherusian Lake was evidently open water in antiquity. In Turkish times it was a swamp (it has recently been drained). The change is due to the rocks and the silt carried down by the Acheron. On the other hand, the earliest mention of the Lake of Ioannina is by Eustathius, who names it Lake Pambotis;³ for earlier writers who referred to the swamps near Dodona evidently referred to the low-lying parts of the plain of Ioannina before some of them became a lake. It is probable that the drainage by natural tunnels in the limestone (*katavothres*) was clear until the time of Eustathius; if so, the rich pastures of the plain were far more extensive in antiquity than they are today.

Livy gives two fine descriptions of the mountainous areas of Epirus. He writes of the Alpine plateau north of the Zygos pass '(montes) vestiti frequentibus silvis sunt; iuga summa campos patentes aquasque perennis habent'. North Epirus and the adjacent areas of Macedonia and Illyria are described as 'frigida haec omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga est'.⁴

The oracle of the dead at Aornus in Epirus was famous for the exhalation of fumes which asphyxiated birds; as Tzetzes remarked,

¹ *Il.* 2. 750, 16. 234; *Arist. Mete.* A 14. 15; *Liv.* 43. 21; *Procop. Aed.* 4. 1 *fin.* The scholia to *Il.* 16. 234 make further comments on Dodona's climate.

² *Plin. HN* 4. 1: 'Talarus mons centum fontibus circa radices Theopompo celebratus'; for streams issuing forth from the rocks see *Paus.* 1. 17; *Cic. ND* 3. 17; *Virg. Aen.* 6. 295-8 and 705. The epithet *ναῖος* first appears in *S. Fr.* 455 *Δωδώνι ναίων Ζεὺς ὁ ναῖος βορῶν* and has been explained as Zeus of the temple (*A. B. Cook in CR* 20. 370), god of the fountain (*O. Kern in RE* 5. 1261), and god of the tree trunk (*Th. Reinach in Rev. Arch.* 6 (1905) 97 f.). As Zeus is associated at Dodona with natural things such as thunder, oak, and eagle, Cook's explanation is unlikely. Kern's seems best, since a sacred fountain of Zeus is mentioned by *Plin. HN* 2. 228 and by *Pomponius Mela* 2. 43.

³ Eustathius to *Od.* 3. 189; quoted in *FGrH* 241 (Eratosthenes) F 42, where Eratosthenes is responsible for the idea in the last sentence; cf. *Hyg. Astr.* 2. 23. For the smaller extent of lakes in Epirus and West Macedonia in antiquity, see p. 185 and p. 633 n. 1 below.

⁴ *Liv.* 32. 12 and 45. 30; cf. *Str.* 7. 7. 9 who speaks of all Epirus and of Illyria as being *τραχεῖα καὶ ὀρώων πλήρης*.

these fumes were probably bituminous.¹ The same explanation seems probable for the sacred spring near Dodona, of which the waters extinguished a lit torch but the gases kindled an extinct torch.² Bitumen has been found in several parts of Epirus, including the area of Dodona. A salt spring in Chaonia is recorded by Aristotle and Pliny; this may be the mineral spring at Butrinto or the one north-east of it.³ Some form of lignite was mined in Thesprotia,⁴ but lignite is known today only near Preveza and near Tepelenë and Dukat.

The tall oaks of Dodona were famous from the time of Homer to that of Vibius Sequester;⁵ and the oak wreath appears on all Epirote coin-issues except those of the low-lying city Ambracia. It is clear that the oak forests played as important a part in the economy of Epirus as they do today. The white poplar and the other trees of the Acheron valley were more famous in antiquity than they are today.⁶ Laurel, ivy, and honeysuckle appear on the coin-issues of Cassope, which lies in the Mediterranean zone of Southern Epirus. The eagle, dove, and snake figure on coins, and a fine bronze eagle comes from North Epirus.⁷ The earliest bronzes at Dodona represent horses and duck, and the goat with ribbed horns appears in the archaic period.⁸ The deer is mentioned by Aristotle and the bear by Xenophon and Pliny, who also believed that lions, leopards, and panthers were to be found in Pindus.⁹ In the cult at Dodona it appears that the eagle was associated with Zeus and the dove with Dione; the priestesses may have been named Peleïades because of the association of the dove with Dione.¹⁰

The best and also the earliest description of the plain of Ioannina is that of Hesiod, *Eoiai*, Fr. 97: 'There is a land Ellopie with many

¹ Paus. 9. 30. 6; Plin. *HN* 4. 1. 2; Tz. ad Lyc. 704.

² Plin. *HN* 2. 228 and Pomponius Mela 2. 43.

³ Arist. *Mete.* A. 4; Plin. *HN* 31. 82.

⁴ Antig. *Mir.* 170 citing Theopompus; Plin. *HN* 37. 7. 27 section 99.

⁵ *Od.* 14. 327. The Dodonaean oak was apparently the *φηγός* (*Quercus esculus*), mentioned by Hes. *Eoiai* Fr. 80 and 212; S. *Tr.* 170; Orph. *A.* 268; A. *Pr.* 848 f.; Vib. *Seq. De Nem.* The use of *στύνη δρυινά* at the siege of Ambracia is mentioned by Plb. 21. 26. Zeus at Dodona had the cult title *εὐδενδρος*, cf. E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture* 23. 218.

⁶ *Od.* 10. 510 black poplar and willow; Paus. 5. 14. 3 white poplar; Thphr. *HP* 4. 10. 2 *ἐλαίαντος* perhaps *Myrica*. The alder was also grown in Epirus, cf. Varr. *RR* 1. 7. 7 'in Epiro arbores alni'.

⁷ Kekule fig. on p. 43; Neugebauer 51 and pl. 24.

⁸ Lamb *GRB* 37 and 105; Kekule pl. 6 for horses; Neugebauer 80, no. 181. For the goat see Kekule figs. on p. 1 and p. 43 and Carapanos pl. 21. 2. Goats in bronze of the archaic period come also from Trebenishte near Lake Ochrid and from Gevgeli in Macedonia (Filow 53 and figs. 53 and 54). Goats were evidently common in Epirus, Illyria, and Macedonia in the sixth century.

⁹ Arist. *Mir.* 75; X. *Cyn.* 9. 1; Plin. *HN* 8. 48.

¹⁰ The connexion of the dove with Dodona appears first in Pi. *Fr.* 58 and Hdt. 2. 52; and the Peleïades are first named in S. *Tr.* 172, while Paus. 10. 12. 10 refers to their early origin.

crops and good meadowland, wealthy in flocks and shambling cattle; therein dwell men rich in sheep and rich in cattle, men beyond number, tribes of mortal men.' The wealth of Epirus in cattle led to the belief that the Erytheian plain, whence Heracles drove the cattle, was to be located in Epirus; Hecataeus put it near Ambracia and Amphilocheia, and Scylax put it in North Epirus. Pindar describes 'far-stretching Epirus where cattle-pasturing lofty forelands shelve down from Dodona to the Ionian strait'.¹ Aristotle ascribes the great size of the cattle and the high yield in milk to the fine pasture which was available at all times of the year in Epirus; later writers praised them as the finest cattle in Europe.² The bull appears on a coin-issue of Epirus and of Cassope in South Epirus; and the worship of Poseidon in Epirus was connected with the bull. The sheep were also famous for their size; Varro mentions that one shepherd tended a flock of 100 shaggy-coated sheep and two shepherds a flock of 100 jacketed sheep, that is sheep whose fine wool was protected by skins.³ At the court of Pyrrhus an overseer of the royal herds of sheep and cattle is mentioned, and a pair of ploughing oxen is given to Pyrrhus; and in later times we find that the larger breeds of sheep and cattle were named after Pyrrhus. Attempts to breed these cattle outside Epirus failed. Aristotle mentions that the royal stud herd numbered forty in his time, and Pliny says some of the breed were still extant in his time.⁴ Nowadays the cattle and sheep of Epirus are not superior to those of Macedonia or Thessaly. The Molossian dog was famed for its size and courage. If one wanted a sheep-dog to keep off wolves, the large white breed was preferred (as it is today). Dogs were also used for hunting and for carrying messages in war.⁵ The bronze hound from Dodona, it is suggested by Neugebauer, may represent a Molossian hound.⁶ Virgil is the first author to praise the breed of horse in Epirus. The horse figures among the bronzes from Dodona, and Pyrrhus had a force of Molossian cavalry. Aristotle remarks that of the quadrupeds in Epirus only the donkey was small—and that exception was due to the severe climate in winter.⁷

Cereals occupy a less prominent place in the ancient evidence. Demeter and the ear of corn appear only on the coin-issue of Elea (it

¹ *FGrH* 1 F 349 (Hecataeus); Scyl. 26; Pi. *N.* 4. 84 f.

² Arist. *HA* 3. 2. 1; Plin. *HN* 8. 45 and 176; Varr. *RR* 2. 1. 6: 'pecuarias habuerunt in Epiro magnas'; and 2. 5. 10; Hsch. s. *Κεστρινοὶ βόες*; Suid. s. *Λαρινοὶ βόες*; Schol. ad Ar. *Pax* 925; Schol. ad Pi. *N.* 4. 84.

³ Arist. *HA* 3. 21; Varr. *RR* 2. 2. 20.

⁴ Plu. *Pyrrh.* 5; Arist. *HA* 3. 21 and 8. 7; Plin. *HN* 8. 176.

⁵ Ar. *Th.* 413; Arist. *HA* 9. 1. 4; Sen. *Phaedra* 33; Varr. *RR* 2. 9. 5; Aen. *Tact.* 31. 32; Virg. *G.* 3. 405 advising that the dog should be fed on whey, a thing which I have seen done in Epirus.

⁶ Neugebauer 6.

⁷ Virg. *G.* 1. 59 and 3. 121; Plu. *Pyrrh.* 30; Lamb op. cit. 37 and 104; Arist. *HA* 8. 28.

may refer to the Acherusian plain where wheat can be grown) and on one of Pyrrhus' coin-types; and in Hesiod's description of Ellopie the crops are emphasized less than the flocks. Yet Epirus was called upon to supply 20,000 modii of wheat and 10,000 modii of barley to the Roman legions in 169 B.C. Julius Caesar in the campaign of Dyrrachium used Epirus as his main base of supply, establishing granaries and arranging for the transport of corn from neighbouring provinces. The decision of Robert in the first Crusade to winter at Ioannina rather than in the plain of Dyrrachium was probably dictated by his need of supplies.¹ For military purposes Epirus was regarded as a rich country. For instance, Plutarch describes the country in 198 B.C. as having enormous stocks of provisions.² The bulk of the supplies was probably meat and milk-products. Julius Caesar certainly saved his army from starvation at Dyrrachium by importing large stocks of meat from Epirus and by obtaining a milk-product which is evidently similar to the modern *yiaourti*.³ Virgil notes the Chaonian acorn as a food of primitive man.⁴ The vine does not figure on any coin-types of Epirus, and the only reference to wine concerns a vintage of Ambracia, which was praised by Apollodorus Medicus.⁵ The abundance of fish in the Preveza area is recorded in Roman times.⁶

There are indications in the coast of Epirus that the level of the sea was at least three or four feet lower in the fourth century than it is today. The foundations of buildings at Treporti and at Actium, the mole off Mitikas, the footing of the fortifications at Phidhokastro and the excavations at Buthrotum make this clear; and as we are dealing with an almost tideless sea, we should not reckon the difference at much more than 5 to 6 ft. where the buildings were built on the shore as they were at Treporti and Actium.⁷ The lower sea-level in antiquity affected, for instance, the entry to the Gulf of Arta, and it may have reduced the area of swamps which are found today near the mouths

¹ Liv. 44. 16; Caes. *BC* 3. 42; Anna Comn. *Alex.* 5. 1; it is probably to North Epirus and in particular the Drin valley that the abundance 'frumenti, vini et alimentorum corporis' refers in *Gesta Francorum* 4. 30 (ed. Lees).

² Plu. *Flam.* 5. 1: ἀγορᾶς τῆς χώρας ἀμφιλαφεῖς ὠφελείας ἐχούσης.

³ Caes. *BC* 3. 45, when his troops could not obtain barley, 'pecus vero, cuius rei summa erat ex Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant'; they also treated milk with a root and likened the result to bread, and of this too there were abundant supplies.

⁴ Virg. *G.* 1. 148.

⁵ Plin. *HN* 14. 76.

⁶ *GGM* 2. 524 = 'Totius orbis descriptio 53: 'Nicopolis quae piscem multum marinum abundat.'

⁷ See Hammond *CC* 31 with note and *JHS* 76 (1956) 35 with note, and Ugolini in *Rendiconti Pontificia Accad. Rom. di Archeologia* 11 (1935), 93 for Buthrotum 'circa un metro'. It is known that a rise occurred in the North Sea in the early centuries A.D. and again in about A.D. 1200-1300. Ph. Negrin in *AM* 29 (1904) 340 f. put the difference at 11 to 12 ft., but my observations on the coast of Epirus and elsewhere make me think that his figure is too high.

of the Louros, Kalamas, Dukatit, and Vijosë. The fertile plain on the north shore of the Gulf of Arta may have been more extensive in antiquity. The rivers of Epirus were navigable in antiquity for as far as they are today and perhaps further. The line of the coast shows that the Arakhthos, the Louros, the Kalamas, and the Vijosë have on occasions flowed into the sea at a different place from their modern outlet, but we do not know exactly when this occurred.¹

Until the devastation of Molossis by Aemilius Paullus, Epirus appears to have been thickly populated. Hesiod's description of men beyond number in the plain of Ioannina may refer to the period in spring or autumn when the flocks are on the move between the summer and winter pastures. Eustathius (on *Odyssey* 3. 188) describes the heavy cloak (now *kapa*) worn like a tent by the nomadic shepherd in the plain of Ioannina. The theatre at Dodona, built primarily for the Molossians, was larger than the Dionysiac theatre at Athens and at recent performances it is said to have held over 20,000 persons. The Molossians lost 15,000 men in one battle against the Illyrians in 385 B.C.² Strabo makes the point that the whole of Epirus was well populated before the time of the Roman occupation.³ And in 167 B.C. the army of Aemilius Paullus enslaved 150,000 persons, of whom the majority were from Molossia.⁴

These figures indicate that the population of Epirus in Hellenistic times was considerably greater than it is today; for the whole population of Greek Epirus is now only some 300,000 persons.⁵ This is what we should expect. The damage to the country through devastation, deforestation, and erosion is incalculable. The small plain of Dodona and the eastern slopes of Mt. Olytsika afford a typical example. The famous forests have disappeared. The soil which has been washed down from the hill-sides accumulated to a depth of 11 ft. in the orchestra of the theatre. The photograph in Plate I shows the deep gullies cut in the sides of Mt. Olytsika and the deltas of debris and scree at the foot of the gullies. The slopes of the mountain carry only a few remnants of the great forest which once conserved the rainfall and made the roots of the mountain famous for its hundred springs. Much greater destruction has been caused on the western slopes of the mountains. The plain of the Acheron is widely strewn with the

¹ Pliny *HN.* 2. 201 mentions a great withdrawal of the sea at the mouth of the Arakhthos, but he does not say whether the river changed its course.

² D. S. 15. 13. 3.

³ Str. 7. 7. 9.

⁴ Plb. 30. 15; Liv. 45. 34; Plu. *Aem.* 29.

⁵ Beloch *GG*² 3. 1. 293 puts the ancient population of Epirus without Athamania, Atintania, Parauaca, and Tymphaea at 220,000, which is 30 persons to a square kilometre. This is based on conditions in the 1920's soon after liberation from the Turks.

boulders and shingle which have been carried down for centuries on to the level ground; the extensive swamps have been drained only partly in recent years, and the famous groves of poplar and other trees have disappeared. The Arachthus river, 'the tearer', has filled the wide bed at and above Arta with barren tracts of boulders. On the sides of Mt. Xerovouni there are extensive areas of barren limestone where small towns stood in the Hellenistic period.¹ The stock of all variety of animals has deteriorated since ancient times, and uncontrolled endemic malaria has reduced the vitality of the Albanian-speaking peoples of the coastal plains. The centuries of Turkish occupation saw a deterioration in husbandry and agriculture of all kinds, and many of the peasants of Northern Epirus in particular are, through no fault of their own, ignorant and illiterate and incapable of winning more than a meagre subsistence from the soil. It is doubtful if any part of modern Europe is as backward as the hinterland of the Acroceraunian mountains and other parts of Epirus, where families live in single-roomed hovels and women pull a wooden plough. On the other hand, the canton of Ioannina has developed rapidly under the stimulus of union with Greece, and the artistic and intellectual qualities of its people have produced fine local embroideries and original writings on local history.

The Epirotes of classical times were certainly warlike. Spear, bow, and shield appear on their coins, and sacrifice was made each year to Zeus Arcius as the god of war, when the king and the Molossians exchanged their oaths.² The great number of fortified sites tells its own tale. But they also excelled in some of the arts of peace. They were famous for the breeding of cattle, sheep, and sheep-dogs, and they were good agriculturalists. Their skill in building was of a high order. The magnificent theatre at Dodona with its massive retaining walls is a fine achievement of architecture, and there are several other striking theatres in Epirus. Cities such as Cassope were symmetrically planned, and even a small town, such as survives near Ammotopos, was laid out on the same basis.³ The houses there show skilful masonry. More striking are the great walls which surrounded the cities and the towns and the elaborate gateways with their defensive towers. But it is doubtful if they had artistic qualities; for the bronzes at Dodona and the fine bronze and silver coinages are more likely to have been designed and made by the descendants of the Greek colonists on the coast of Epirus than by the indigenous Epirotes. In the third century

¹ See, for instance, Hammond *HH* fig. p. 35 and pl. 34. I noticed similar erosion and depopulation on the western side of the Megarid; see *BSA* 49 (1954) 116 f.

² Plu. *Pyrrh.* 5.

³ Hammond *HH* 136.

Pyrrhus wrote a manual on tactics,¹ and his reign was chronicled by an Epirote historian, Proxenus. But the chief function of the Epirotes was to hold the frontier of the classical and Hellenistic world against the Illyrians, and their finest achievement was to evolve an original form of political organization which was particularly well adapted to the geographical and ethnographical conditions of Epirus.

¹ Acl. *Tact.* 1. 2.

II

THE ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE SOUTH-WESTERN DISTRICTS

I. THE CANTON OF PREVEZA

PREVEZA has no ancient remains. This is not surprising because the site has no natural strength (indeed the Venetian forts were surrounded by moats), good water has to be brought from elsewhere, and the harbour is not as sheltered nor as suitable for beaching ships as the Greeks and Romans desired. The name is probably from the Albanian word *prevëzë*, meaning 'the crossing place', and the place may have been founded by Albanians who moved down the coast and entered Acarnania. The place is first mentioned in *The Chronicle of the Morea* (ed. J. Schmitt, 9108) with reference to the year A.D. 1292, which implies that Nicopolis was by then uninhabited. Nicopolis too, the foundation of Augustus, was not on a site which has natural strength or good water, and it too was not built on the site of any earlier Greek city.¹

Setting out from Preveza I walked through the beautiful olive-grove which covered the low-lying peninsula and had 135,000 trees in 1912. The great olive-grove was planted under the supervision of Venetian officials in the eighteenth century. Before this there was a great forest composed mainly of chestnuts and velani oaks; it was cut down gradually and was used for ships' timbers, building material, and fuel.² After an hour I passed through the south-west wall of Nicopolis and ten minutes later reached the small village of Mitikas, oriental in appearance, with its squalor and cactus. On the east side of Cape Mitikas there is a small cove sheltered from the west and south-west but open to the north-west; between Cape Mitikas and Cape Kastro-sikia there stretches a shelving sandy beach exposed to winds except

¹ The town and its forts are described in *MP* 3. 108; in 1928 its population was 8,632 and its exports were olive oil, wool, butter, cheese, valonia acorns for dyeing and tanning, and fish. There are articles on the history of Nicopolis and Preveza in *Ep. Chr.* 3 (1928) 117 f.; 4 (1929) 263 f.; and 5 (1930) 211 f. by P. Phourikis, who proposed the origin of the name. He is supported by M. Vasmer, 'Die Slaven in Griechenland' in *Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Ph. h. Klasse* 12 (Berlin, 1941) 64. It is commonly suggested that Preveza and Nicopolis were built on ancient sites, e.g. in P-K 2. 1. 110 of Preveza. The suggestion in local papers that Preveza is derived from a Greek predecessor 'Promethiupolis' has little to commend it.

² See E. Vasila, *ὁ ἐλαιὼν τῆς Πρεβέζης* in *EE* 1954, 606 f.

in the northern corner, which is sheltered from the north-west and west by the Ittisa reef. In offshore winds the best anchorage between the two capes is half a mile offshore WNW. of Mt. Mikhalitsi (correctly Ta Mikhailitsa); for the beach is bordered by a bank 5 fathoms



MAP 3. Ancient remains in the Cantons of Preveza, Paramythia and Margariti.

deep, except in the northern sector. Small coasting vessels anchor at the north end of the bay, where there used to be a customs-house in Turkish times; somewhat south of the centre of the bay there are the remains of an ancient mole, now submerged.¹ In Mitikas village no ancient remains are reported and I could not learn of any; but the Mitikas bluff shelters a small anchorage which must have been used in the time of Roman Nicopolis. Strabo (vii. 7. 5) describes the coast

¹ MP 3. 114-15. This indicates a rise in the level of the sea since antiquity.

The Geography and the Ancient Remains of Epirus

South of Glykys Limen (at the mouth of the Acheron) as follows:
 μετὰ δὲ Γλυκὺν Λιμένα ἐφεξῆς εἰσι δύο ἄλλοι λιμένες, ὁ μὲν ἐγγυτέρω
 καὶ ἐλάττω Κόμαρος, ἰσθμὸν ποιῶν ἐξήκοντα σταδίων πρὸς τὸν Ἀμβρα-
 κικὸν κόλπον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος κτίσμα, τὴν Νικόπολιν. ὁ δὲ
 ἄπωτέρω καὶ μείζων καὶ ἀμείνων πλησίον τοῦ στόματος τοῦ κόλπου,
 διέχων τῆς Νικοπόλεως ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίου. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὸ στόμα
 τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου· τούτου δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ μὲν στόμα μικρῷ
 τοῦ τετρασταδίου μείζον. . . . As Strabo goes on to locate Nicopolis
 on the coast of the Ambraciote Gulf, it is clear that his measurement of
 60 stades from the harbour Comarus is across the width and not
 along the length of the isthmus; in other words, it is probable that he
 is giving the distance from Comarus to that part of Nicopolis which
 lies on the Ambraciote Gulf. The only anchorage which lies at the
 required distance, some 7 miles, is that afforded by the ancient mole;
 it may then be identified as Comarus harbour of which the name sur-
 vives as Gomaros, applied nowadays to the bay itself.¹ The mole is
 probably of Roman construction, built to serve Nicopolis, for there is
 no reason to believe that an artificial harbour existed there in Greek
 times. The second and larger harbour is placed by Strabo *outside* the
 mouth of the Ambraciote Gulf; and he emphasizes this by using the
 word ἐφεξῆς twice to mark off the sector of the coast between Glykys
 Limen and the mouth of the Gulf. There is, however, no such harbour
 before we come to the mouth of the Gulf, which Strabo places at the
 narrowest point, with the correct measurement of 4 stades, and even
 if there were such a harbour, it would be considerably more than 12
 stades distant from Nicopolis. The best harbour near the mouth of the
 Gulf but *within* the narrows is that of Vathi, which lies some 12 stades
 from Nicopolis. It has a sandy beach, fresh water and shelter, and
 there are ruins of Roman warehouses, which I visited. Large amphorae
 are said by the local fishermen to lie on the sea bed in Vathi and also
 in the bay to the east. We must conclude then that Strabo obtained
 correct figures for this area from his source, but failed to understand
 exactly the position of the second harbour; that he may have been
 using a source which was proceeding in the direction opposite to that

¹ The name Comarus derives probably from the plant κόμαρον or κόμαρι, *comarum palustre* L. It was valued in antiquity for yielding purple dye, a process described in the fourth-century A.D. recipe book *PHolm*, ed. O. Lagercrantz, 13. 37 and 16. 5, with commentary pp. 197 f.; it is also used in the preparation of leather. The sandy and marshy shore of Mitikas Bay is suitable for the plant. It also provided fodder for goats (Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 2. 16). This seems more likely than the derivation, suggested by Lehmann-Hartleben 241, from κόμαρος, the *arbutus unedo* (Theophrastus *HP* 3. 16. 4 and Pliny *HN* 15. 98), the strawberry tree of which one eats the fruit only once. Leake, however, did see some *arbutus* in a valley near Mt. Topolia. *The Mediterranean Pilot* 3. 107 mentions the scarlet and yellow dyes produced from blossoms of plants on the hills round the Gulf of Arta.

of Strabo's description; and that Strabo had not himself visited the terrain at the mouth of the Gulf.¹

Proceeding from Preveza along the coast I reached Kanalia in two hours forty minutes, and twenty-five minutes further north a small mill, fed by a very strongly built aqueduct which is 230 m. long and ends in eight fine arches. The aqueduct is out of all proportion to the mill and may have carried water in medieval times to port Comarus; it presumably follows the line of a Roman predecessor. Next I came to Kastrosikia, a village of some thirty-five houses, four hours distant from Preveza. Standing on a small plateau, between a ridge on the east running parallel to the coast and a series of low cliffs on the west descending towards the sea, it commands a fine view to the south and has good springs of water issuing from under the cliffs. Several small overhanging caves in these cliffs are walled up to form shrines and the rock-face has been cut for emplacements; there are the remains of a monastery nearby and a church into which are built some fragments of good marble, including one of a cornice with egg-and-tongue frieze. Round the church are some fragments of marble, a column 21 cm. in diameter with a socketed base, a capital, and a sarcophagus (1.50 × 0.40 × 0.25 m.) with egg-and-tongue cornice, which depicts a flying boy within a surround of flowers corded like a chain. Above the village the ridge of limestone rock is narrow but defensible at its southern end; several large limestone blocks on the western side of the ridge probably came from an acropolis on this part of the ridge, although none is *in situ*. On the northern part of the ridge there are a number of ancient tombs, made of local limestone slabs or sometimes cut into the rock, extending over an area of some 600 m. The villagers had found coins here but did not produce any. The south end of the ridge overlooks the anchorage sheltered by the Ittisa reef, which may have formed a natural breakwater in antiquity because the water over it is only four feet deep and the sea has risen some five feet since Roman times. Small coasting vessels load here now, according to *The Mediterranean Pilot* (3. 115). The site was probably a small town of the Hellenistic period, with a shrine and a harbour. It lost its importance after the construction of Port Comarus; and the blocks which formed its acropolis were probably removed to Nicopolis or to Comarus for building the mole.²

From Kastrosikia I turned inland behind the coastal range to reach

¹ Leake 1. 195-6, Oberhummer 206 n. 2, Lehmann-Hartleben 241, P-K 2. 1. 109 suggest the same identifications. P-K offers, and seems to prefer, the Mazoma Lagoon to Vathi for Strabo's second harbour, but the Lagoon is adjacent to Nicopolis and not 12 stades distant, and the idea should be discarded. On map 3 Vathi is shown by the ring.

² Leake 4. 48 visited Kastrosikia but saw no remains; the village was then of fifty houses. The people made blankets and carpets for sale. It is not mentioned by P-K.

in one hour the smaller village of Riniassa (Rizo), not in view of the sea, and at half an hour's distance on the coast beside a small stream the derelict church of Ayia Trias, set among trees. The altar-stone is an ancient tombstone with an inscription (no. 18). On either side of the door there is a marble fragment, carved in relief with a leaf, which I take to be an oak-leaf. On a knoll across the stream and opposite the church I picked up coarse red sherds such as occur on all Hellenistic sites in Epirus; there was probably a small settlement here in Hellenistic times, living on the land now worked by the village of Riniassa.¹ To the south-east of the church a steep and barren hill with a sheer cliff on the north side carries a fine Venetian fortress. The western face of the hill is split by a deep cleft which divides the fortress. A fissure has evidently developed in the rock since its construction, but not through any strong earthquakes, as the walls are standing. I saw no ancient blocks from below, and the situation did not strike me as suitable for a Greek acropolis.²

From Ayia Trias I followed a narrow strip of sandy shore, behind which the hills rise steeply, to reach in one hour forty minutes the small village Liyia (Elia) and one hour twenty minutes further on the village of Loutsa (thirty-five houses), notable for its fine spring near the shore and for its Albanian speech; in neither village are any antiquities known to the locals. Loutsa lies on a saddle of the ridge, which forms the watershed between the Acheron plain and the streams running south-west into the sea, and it is the most southerly of the villages of Tsamouria, the Albanian-speaking area of which Margariti and Paramythia are the centres. The coast between Loutsa and Kastrosikia affords little footing for habitation and has no anchorages.³ The Venetian fort is a relic of the days when Venice held a thin coastal strip of Epirus. In 1809 Leake found it was being repaired by the

¹ Leake 4. 48 saw no remains.

² P-K 2. 1. 108 quotes Leake *ibid.* and *MP* 3. 115 for the castle; Pouqueville 2. 180 describes it.

³ Leake 3. 5 and 4. 49 did not visit this part of the coast but he reported on information which was given to him that a small harbour lay two miles north of the castle 'below the village Elia' and that there were 'Hellenic remains at Klarentza'. In fact the information was wrong, as I saw for myself; the shore is a mass of boulders, *MP* knows nothing of any anchorage there, and there is no village of Klarentza. The Austrian Staff Map did indeed put the name in the place of Loutsa, but it is not on the Greek map, as P-K 2. 1. 105 n. 3 notices. The name with which Klarentza was confused is *Κερέντζα*, the correct name of the bay called Karatza on the English edition of the Greek Staff Map, and there are Hellenic remains on the ridge just north of it (*Hammond CC* 29); but the bay and the ruins are further north by the mouth of the river Acheron. Leake's erroneous report caused much confusion. Bursian 1. 30 put Buchetium 'mit ziemlicher Sicherheit' at Klarentza one hour south of the Acheron's mouth. Philippson in *RE* 5. 2. 2224 put Elea there. Kiepert 15 put Elea at Leake's supposed harbour by Elia, and P-K 2. 1. 105 refers to a small bay between Klarentza and Riniassa, which does not exist. These identifications can now be abandoned.

Vezir as his boundary ran here with the province of Hassan Aga of Margariti. The settlement at Ayia Trias lies at the mouth of the only valley which penetrates any distance inland. All the villages on this coast grow a small number of olive-trees.

Leake (4. 49) stayed the night at Riniassa and then set off for Kastri in the plain of the Acheron. He reached Kanallakion in three and a quarter hours; he passed Topolia, a village in ruins, and then went east of a village Babatsiko. These names do not appear as those of villages on the Greek Staff Map, but Topolia is there as a mountain's name. His route was to the west of the modern road, which has been built since I was in this area. Above Riniassa he noticed fine trees of *Quercus ilex* and commented that 'this kind of oak is supposed to furnish the best ship-timber of any'.

The road from Preveza to the north skirts the east side of the Preveza peninsula. There is some lignite or coal on the coast by Ayioi Apostoli, between the entry to the Gulf and the Mazoma Lagoon.¹ Just north of the Mazoma Lagoon at Mikhalitsi village a cemetery was excavated by S. I. Dakaris in November 1961, and the preliminary notice reports the discovery of cist graves, lined with slabs of sandstone or limestone and containing three or four skeletons; the bones of the earlier interments were laid on one side and the last corpse was laid full length on his back. The graves measured 1.70 × 0.70 × 0.80 m. deep, and the interments were dated to the latter part of the fourth century by coins of Philip II of Macedon and of the Molossian *koinon*. One large tomb, measuring 5 × 5 m., was built with small Ionic columns. In the graves there were bronze coins, an iron currycomb, a gilded trefoil *oenochoe* of bronze of the type used in worship of Dionysus, a gold necklace, and two gold fillets, one of which represented oak leaves and acorns.² This cemetery belonged probably to an open settlement near the mouth of the Louros river, which may have entered the sea at the Mazoma Lagoon in the fourth century.

North of the Mazoma Lagoon the main road skirts the marshy plain to reach Louro, 24 kilometres from Preveza. The village lies on a tributary of the Louros river. It forms a centre for produce sent from the villages in the hills to the north, and it is rich in cattle, which browse on the rich pastures of the plain. Ten minutes west of Louro I visited the church of Ayia Panayia, which has in the floor a marble fragment decorated with rosettes in poor style, and also at the edge of the

¹ Reported by J. Wolfe in *JRGS* 3 (1833) 78; there is no indication of lignite here on the Greek Geological Map.

² *Eleutheron Bema* 14. 21. 61 and *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961-2) 2. 187 f. with pls. 222 and 223. A tomb with a bronze cinerary urn, which contained very small votive pots, was found recently on the hill north-east of the large theatre at Nicopolis; Dakaris dates it to the fifth century B.C. (*Arch. Delt.* 16. 2. 207 and pl. 173z).

foothills the church of Ayios Ioseph, which contains some ancient blocks. Near it a leaf-shaped spear-head of iron and a bronze urn-handle were found; they were shown to me by a peasant. One hour west of Louro, and on the right bank of the stream in a thick olive wood, I came to a large site, just below the village of Palioroforon.¹ The circuit of the walls, measuring rather more than one mile, encloses a hill which is steep except on the east side where it falls in gentle slopes (see Plan 1). Here where the site is weakest, the wall is 2.30 m. wide at B, faced with large polygonal blocks of limestone, e.g. 1.30×0.90 m. face; rectangular blocks are used at the corners, each block being rabbeted to form a bed for the one above. At the north corner of the circuit polygonal and rectangular blocks are intermixed, the average size of block being 1.00×0.90 m. face and 0.60 m. thick, and smaller blocks are also used; at this point, A on Plan 1, I picked up some sherds identified later by H. G. G. Payne as Attic of the period 525–500 B.C. and also some good black glaze, probably of the fourth century. Outside the circuit at C, beside the old Turkish road from Louros, I was shown in 1930 three rifled tombs, in which 'rings and other objects' had been found. The tombs were built of narrow limestone slabs and measured as much as 4.50 by 3.70 m. In the bed of the main stream at E and of its tributary at D there are remains of walls; at D, where there is an 11-ft. deposit of soil, 7 m. of wall is showing, the wall being 1 m. wide with well-cut rectangular blocks (e.g. $0.80 \times 0.50 \times 0.45$ m. thick), and at E in the main stream, where the deposit is 20 ft. deep, there are remains of a wall of a Roman type, which is evidently part of the Roman aqueduct serving Nicopolis. Only at D did I see sherds; they were bright red. In the church of Ayios Demetrios an ancient marble cornice is built into the wall. I was told that a fine marble slab depicting two doves had been found here and removed to Preveza; this was published in *Eph. Arch.* 1950–1, 36 and fig. 11 by Ph. M. Petsas. It is a Byzantine capital. Below the walls at G, near the main stream, there is a remarkably fine well, probably of the sixth or fifth century;² it is lined with large, neatly

¹ This site, it seems, had not been visited or at least had not been described by anyone. Ser. Byz. reported that an inscription was found at a church in the district Strounari at half an hour's distance east of the site.

² The lining of a well with stone is uncommon at Athens after the fifth century, because terracotta was used instead of stone in the fourth century and later. In early times the shaft was normally unlined, but 'occasionally, especially in the sixth century B.C., it was curbed with small-stone masonry' (H. A. Thompson in *The Athenian Agora* 1954, 92, and *Hesperia* Suppl. 4 (1940) 26). The size of our well is unusually large, as the normal diameter of wells at Athens is 60 or 70 cm. A larger one, nearly 5 m. in diameter, cut in rock and unlined, was excavated at Isthmia, and its construction was dated to the sixth century or earlier (*Hesperia* 28 (1959) 301 f. and 31 (1962) 1–2). The dating which I have suggested for our well is based upon the nature of the lining and upon the size, and it is no more than probable.

cut blocks of limestone, measuring, for example, 1×0.80 m., in ashlar style. The face of each block is concave and the whole forms a circular shaft, some 8 ft. in diameter, with a present depth of some 20 ft. The villagers state that three inscriptions were found on the site and removed to Preveza, but I could not trace them there. A fine bronze mirror-stand in the form of a *kore* holding a dove is said to have come from Palioroforon and is now in the Museum at Athens. It is dated to the period 500–475 B.C.¹ Together with it there were found a plain mirror-disk and a plain ear-ring, both of bronze. There can be little doubt that these are 'the rings and other objects' from the rifled tombs which I saw. In 1953 I was sent a copy of a small book written by the schoolmaster of Palioroforon, in which he reported his discovery of a water-conduit of terracotta, one kilometre in length, a tombstone, and a bronze statuette with the name ΑΛΙΚΕΑ inscribed on it. The statuette was the handle of a mirror. He said that it was in the Museum at Preveza and the tombstone was in his house.²

The natural strength of the hill on which the site lies is inferior to that of most fortified sites in Epirus, but the polygonal wall on the east side of the site is correspondingly stronger. The position at the first narrow point of the stream bed blocks the entry into the upper valley, into which the Turkish road penetrated. There are two good routes north from the site towards the valley of the upper Acheron. I followed the main valley, in which cereals are grown, for two hours to Kravari (Anorrakhi), where no antiquities are known; I then crossed over a low saddle an hour and a quarter later, and came to Trikastron beside the Acheron, having taken four hours from Palioroforon. The other route follows the parallel valley to the east; it crosses a low saddle below Zermi (Vrisoula) and enters the Acheron valley at the same point as the first route. Clarke used this route and took five hours from Palioroforon to Trikastron.

In one and a half hours from Palioroforon one climbs to one of the finest ancient cities of Epirus, lying above the village of Kamarina. Situated under the crags of Mt. Zalongo it commands a superb view of the Gulf of Arta lying some 1,500 ft. below and of Leucas and Acarnania stretching into the distance. The main site occupies a plateau sloping towards the south and its walls also link the highest crags of the mountain. The total circuit of the defences is some one and three-quarters miles (see Plan 2). The style of the walls is polygonal, the blocks being of medium size (smaller than those of the east wall at

¹ Athens Museum No. 15214, published in *Arch. Anz.* 1938, 543 f., where the illustrations fail to show the pair of fine cocks on the mirror-frame. For discussion of this bronze see p. 435 below and Plate XXa.

² A. N. Georgantzis, *Ἀρχαῖα ἱστορικά κέντρα τῆς περιοχῆς Πρεβέζης* (Ioannina, 1953) 24. He kindly gave me a copy.

Palioroforon), but the corner-angles are usually formed of rectangular blocks. The small gate at Z on Plan 2 is 1.30 m. wide and is roofed with blocks hollowed out to form an arch; the two other gates at c and d are in ruins but appear to have been minor gates. I saw no sign of a main gate. A vertical slot, 0.20 m. wide, runs down the wall at B. There is a deposit of fan-shells at X; and an underground tomb at Y, cut in the rock. The ground plan of part of the agora can still be traced. The rectangular layout is Hellenistic. There are two theatres. Leake (1. 245 f.) saw the larger one only, and the following description of it is the result of his and my observations (see Plate IIa). Its high position (see Plan 2) gives a wonderful view southwards over the city and the Gulf. The diameter of the orchestra is some 50 ft. The distance from the upper edge of the orchestra to the middle of the back wall of the cavea is about 135 ft., and the distance from the side of the orchestra to the back wall at the side of the cavea is in each case about 120 ft. The cavea is more than a semicircle; it is divided into cunei, separated by steps, which are each 60 cm. deep and 20 cm. high. The seats are divided by a diazoma; below it and above it there were respectively 24 and 13 rows of seats according to Leake, and 20 and 15 in my estimate. The circular back wall, standing to a height of 1.20 m., and the retaining walls of the wings, standing to 3 m., are entirely of polygonal masonry; the western wall of the latter has three projections like diminutive buttresses. I paced out the length of the circular back wall on the periphery of the cavea and made it 166 paces, i.e. about 500 ft. The interval between the line of the retaining walls of the wings and the stage building is 4 m. I traced the stage building as a long narrow platform 1.90 m. wide and some 23 m. long, so that it overlapped the diameter of the orchestra by some 6 m. on either side. Leake, however, traced an entirely different structure abutting onto the orchestra and of the same length as its diameter, and having behind it a second almost square structure of half its length. It seems likely that Leake saw a more recent building, which was removed by stone-lifters before I got there, and that I saw the earlier stage building below it which was invisible to Leake. The so-called smaller theatre is a small concert hall or council house, of which the southern part has collapsed through a fall of rock. The entire building was originally a rectangle of about 30 × 60 m. The cavea faces west, and the stage platform abuts onto the western line of the building and measures about 5 × 20 m. The foundations of a small temple are visible (see Plan 22, 5). Part of the site has been excavated by S. I. Dakaris since the time of my visits, and I shall mention his interesting discoveries later.

The hinterland north of the sites at Kamarina and Palioroforon consists of narrow valleys, in which small villages grow maize and

wheat, and of steep slopes well wooded with scrub and oaks (see Plate XVIIa). From Kamarina I entered the valley to the north-west, which afforded a good route in three and a half hours to Ftina (Aidhonia). From there I went to Kanallakion in the plain of Fanari in one and three-quarters hours, crossing a steep ridge, which forms the watershed. Shortly after leaving Ftina and just above the path I noticed the remains of house-foundations, which may be ancient; and the rock is cut for foundations. The villagers of Ftina, however, knew nothing of sherds or tombs. The entry from Kamarina into the parallel valley further east is less easy. I reached Anorrakhi in some three hours, where ancient tombs had been reported to Clarke, but I could obtain no information on the spot, and from Anorrakhi I passed over a low saddle to reach Trikastron in the upper Acheron valley in two hours. The next valley to the east was traversed by Clarke, who took five hours from Palioroforon to Trikastron via Vrisoula. He stayed at Arassos monastery near Ano-Kotsanopoulon, where Leake had been told of ancient tombs (I. 243), and decided the report was unfounded. The main value of this hinterland consists in its oak scrub which affords fodder in winter for cattle and sheep; it is a belt of difficult and poor country separating the Acheron valley from the two ancient sites at Kamarina and Palioroforon, which control its exits towards the south.

Some 2 kilometres from Louro the road passes above a deep pool fed by *kefalovrisia*; near this Leake (I. 255) noted the remains of a Hellenic tower. At 4 kilometres from Louro a narrow defile guards the entry into the valley of Lelovo (Thesprotikon), which is well watered and fertile in corn, pasture, oak woods, and olives; within the defile there are large cuttings in the rock-face, probably made to carry the Roman aqueduct to Nicopolis. This valley was controlled by the ancient site known as Kastri (see Plan 3), situated on a limestone outcrop some 200 ft. high in the middle of the southern part of the plain; it is one and a half hours from the southern exit of the defile, and one and a quarter hours from Thesprotikon. The circuit of the walls is 2,260 yds. and for the greater part of its length it follows a line of 50-ft. cliffs; the east and south sides are the least strong in natural defences. The wall is three metres thick, faced on each side mainly with rectangular but occasionally with polygonal blocks and filled in the centre with rubble; the blocks are large but not massive (e.g. $1.00 \times 0.70 \times 0.35$ m.), and the rock is cut to form a base for the bottom course. At some points the wall is over six metres high. Rabbling is common in all courses. All angles or corners of the walls are cut with a recessed edging, which I call 'drafting of the corner-stones' and illustrate on p. 584, below. The towers, which are placed

at the weaker points of the natural defences, are built of massive blocks even in the upper courses ($1.80 \times 1.10 \times 0.80$ m. at I), and they generally measure 8×8 m. Three gates in the outer circuit are at B, C and F (see Plan 20, 1-3). The strongest is that at B; flanked by a tower on one side and reinforced by an inner wall, it had an arched roof formed of massive blocks (e.g. $2.30 \times 0.90 \times 0.65$ m. thick), cut to represent an arch but devoid of a keystone (see Plate II*b* and *c*, and Plans 20, 1 and 22, 2*c*). Vertical channels (0.18 m. wide) and vertical grooves (0.225 m. deep) are cut down the face of the wall at several points, presumably for the fitting in of wooden or terracotta drain-pipes, and sockets (e.g. $0.35 \times 0.25 \times 0.20$ m. deep) for the gateposts are cut into the blocks. Inside the circuit the foundations of houses, built in smaller blocks than the main wall, are visible over the whole area. At the highest point, where the church stands, there are the foundations of a large building and the remains of a flight of steps. Towards this two inner walls lead from X and A, and in one of these at H I thought I saw signs of an inner gate. There are no springs inside or outside the walls, but there is a well by the church and the remains of a cistern 8 m. square inside the walls. In one or two places I thought some repairs to the top courses had been made in medieval times, but if this is so it was on a small scale. The church itself is early in style.

I walked in an hour and a half from Kastri to the lake of Xerolimne, which is deep on the south side and has densely wooded shores; here a peninsula jutting into the lake carries a small fort, which I found to be medieval. The local name of this fort is Gazghá. Another fort was reported on two occasions to lie on a similar peninsula in the lake of Mavrolimne to the north-east, but I was unable to visit it. A further site is reported south of Xerolimne on the mountain above the village of Kantasa; this I tried to find without a guide and I was unsuccessful. Leake describes (1. 256) a wooded height on his left, i.e. on the west side of the plain of Lelovo as being 'surrounded with remains of the inclosure of the Hellenic city which possessed this beautiful vale, consisting only of the foundations of town walls, chiefly of the third order; the site is now called Kastri'. I was not told of any site there, and it seems likely that Leake made a slip, putting left instead of right.

Within half an hour of Thesprotikon I visited the remains of a crude fortress, formed of slabs of schist limestone laid one on another, which is not ancient. A fine Byzantine church is reported at Pandanemi, east of Thesprotikon; it is said to be by the architect of the famous Paregoritissa church at Arta. Proceeding north from Thesprotikon I reached in two and three-quarters hours the village of Nassari (Assos); twenty minutes north of this I noticed sherds on the path and found nearby the open site of an ancient village. A low ridge some 400 m. long and

varying in width from 300 to 100 m. is covered with red sherds, among which I picked up a clay spinning-weight and a fragment of pithos-lip; the ridge is named Ayios Minas after a church now in ruins. From this village, which is Albanian-speaking, I walked in an hour to another Albanian-speaking village, Rusatza (Polistafilon); here a ruined church contains some large limestone blocks, rather roughly shaped, and I noticed some ancient graves formed of limestone slabs. There was probably a village site here in ancient times. From Rusatza I walked in two hours to the large village of Derviziana in the upper Acheron valley. During the first hour I passed through fine forests of oak. The olive reaches its northern limit at this longitude in the village of Rusatza. The mountain range on the east side of the valley of Thresprotikon forms the watershed of the Louros river.

The main road from Louro skirts the foothills above the edge of the plain. At kilometre 70, where the road crosses a spur before turning north-east up the valley to Filippias, the ancient site known as Rogous lies between the road and the Louros river.¹ It is built on a steep limestone hill, round which the river curves; the limestone is covered in prickly maquis with a few trees and thorn bushes, and it is frequented by eagles, snakes, and pigs. The river is navigable to this point at least; for I saw a small caique there. The plain to the south and west is thickly wooded. From the top of the site I had an extensive view of the whole plain, in which large herds of cattle were grazing. The walls have been repaired in medieval times and stand in some places to a height of twenty-three courses. They are faced on both sides with shaped blocks and the space between them is filled with rubble; the blocks are of the hard grey limestone of which the hill is composed. The inner circuit of some 800 m. is comprised between points A, B, and C (see Plan 4), and the outer circuit is some 1,300 m. long, if one assumes a wall running from A to H.

After careful examination on more than one visit I decided that the ancient walls are the result of three periods of building: the earliest is represented by A-B-C, the intermediate by B-D-F-C and the latest by D-G-H. The wall A-B and the tower B are in ashlar style (see Plate XIXa), whereas the wall thence to D and the towers too are in polygonal style; this change is due to taste and not to the nature of the ground, for the slope is fairly uniform. So too at C the style changes abruptly from ashlar to polygonal. The change at C is particularly instructive. The wall onto which the large tower C abuts was originally itself a tower, of which only 0.55 m. of the face is now visible. The

¹ The Staff Map uses the name Louros for the river above Rogous, and therefore I use it here; but the local name changes to Viros, as noted by P-K 2. 1. 107, or to Ayios Yeoryios, as in Leake 4. 254.

projection of this tower from the main circuit-wall is 1.95 m. on the east side and 1.20 m. on the west side, and the corner-stones are recessed at the angle in each case. The larger tower has been added without any bonding of its walls into the face of the original tower; it is simply set against it. Whereas the original tower and the circuit-wall are ashlar in style, the large tower is polygonal in style; it projects 7 m. and its corner-stones are more deeply recessed than those of the original tower. The lack of bonding is justified by the strength of the position, since the tower stands on an inaccessible bluff.

It is a feature of the oldest circuit A-B-C that the towers project a small distance from the main wall except in the case of tower B. If we proceed south-westwards from A and omit the first tower, which is medieval, the distance of projection is respectively 1.50 m., 1.45 m., 2.40 m., 1.95 m. (the original tower at C), 1.35 m., *c.* 1.50 m. (this tower being inaccessible), and 1.55 m. Tower B projects 3.20 m.; when the circuit was in its original form, this tower formed the corner at the most vulnerable point and probably covered the main entry. Of the wall B-C the north-eastern half has disappeared, and it has been replaced by a medieval wall and gateway Z. The faces of the towers we have described are from 5.70 m. to 6.60 m. in length. The three towers on the north face are each 6.20 m. in length, whereas the later tower west of B is 4.20 m. in length; this indicates that the three towers were probably contemporary with one another.

The masonry of A-B-C apart from tower C itself is ashlar, or near-ashlar, in that the horizontal courses are regular and the vertical joins are usually but not always perpendicular. The blocks are finely cut, precisely laid, and have a bulging face. The corner-stones at the angles of the towers are recessed but not so deeply as in the later parts of the walls. At two points I noticed small grooves in the blocks which were presumably designed for small clamps: in the stretch A-C they measured $0.15 \times 0.05 \times 0.03$ m. deep and in the wall to the west of the church $0.16 \times 0.05 \times 0.03$ m. deep (the difference being no doubt due to weathering). The towers are bonded into the main wall (except the later tower C). At the angle where the wall A-C joins the original tower at C some blocks are cut in one piece to form an angle-block, thus, the arrow pointing outwards:



The corner north of the original tower at C is rounded, and the corner-blocks there are snubnosed, the arrow pointing outwards, thus:




At this part of the wall there are a few blocks which are rabbeted to form a bed for the adjacent block, thus:



and in the stretch A-B there are a few polygonal blocks in upper courses; both of these variations from the normal style are probably due to repairs. The foundation courses consist of large blocks: for instance, just south-west of A, where nine courses are *in situ*, the top blocks measure 1 m. long by 0.35 m. high and the lowest blocks measure 1.80 m. long by 0.60 m. high, and in the first ancient tower south-west of A the blocks measure 1 m. long by 0.70 m. high. In the arrangement of the courses there are two styles in A-B-C. In one style the bottom course is formed by large high blocks and the other courses are of a uniform height, which is less than the height of the bottom course; and in the other style there are several equal courses of large high blocks and the upper courses are of varying height.

The next circuit begins with the polygonal style immediately west of tower B, runs B-D-F and up to the bluff on which tower C (also in polygonal style) stands. The towers of the west wall are larger than those of the older circuit; for, like tower C, they project some 7 m. from the main wall and their faces measure some 8 m. The tower at D was obviously built to form the strong point at the corner of the second circuit; its shape shows that the wall D-G-H is a later addition. The tower west of B is asymmetrical, its east side projecting 4.30 m. and its west side 2.40 m. from the wall; the face measures 4 m. The short side of 2.40 m. is in ashlar style; some rectangular blocks are used at the corner near F and in the rebuilt upper courses of tower D, where twenty-three courses now stand. Otherwise the masonry is polygonal, both large and small blocks being employed. The corner-stones at the angles are deeply recessed. A small postern gate 1.15 m. wide is built through the thickness of the wall just south of tower D; this gate is made of ancient blocks (see Plan 22, 4) but it may be medieval in date, since this part of the wall was then repaired.

The latest part of the ancient circuit D-G-H is polygonal in style and the masonry consists of massive blocks. There is, however, one stretch of ashlar style but with rabbeted blocks  to the north of D. The towers are even larger than those of the intermediate period, and they measure some 9 m. along the face and project 7 m. or more. The corner-stones at the angles are deeply recessed and the masonry is well cut. The ramp eastwards of G marks the main approach to the outer circuit. The wall G-H can just be traced, but no sign remains of any wall connecting H to A.

Extensive repairs and additions have been made to the site in medieval times. High walls and towers were raised on the foundations of the ancient walls and towers; old blocks, smaller stones, Roman and Byzantine tiles were set in thick cement, and the walls stand to the height of 30 ft. or more in several places. The main gateway at E is medieval. The high tower at F is built of smaller stone set in cement and pieces of shrunken timber are visible, inset in the walls; this tower is later than the other repairs. The cross-walls at X and Y and part of the cross-wall at Z are not built on any visible ancient foundations; they are composed of tiles and stones, set in very thick cement, and are pierced with gateways at X, Y, and Z. The gateway at Y is 2.30 m. wide and the thickness of the wall is 2 m. These walls were originally reinforced with timbers, some rounded and others squared, as appears from the apertures; of the timbers most ran at right angles from the face into the thickness of the wall, but some were set lengthwise inside the wall. The tower near Y measures 8 m. and projects 6.20 m. and the tower near X measures 4.40 m. and projects some 3 m. The rebuilt towers on the classical circuit contained windows, of which one survives in the tower north-west of A. The window, cut in the width of the wall (here 1.70 m.), narrows outwards: the inside width is 1.37 m. and the outside width 0.25 m. Its height is 2.20 m. The mortar overhead shows traces of the original rafting.

The church of the Virgin Mary contains an inscription which shows that the church was repaired between 1669 and 1687. In its threshold a block of smooth limestone carries a Byzantine design in relief, and nearby there is a Byzantine capital, 0.58 m. in diameter across the top, with sixteen tongue-like volutes, which fits a column 0.33 m. in diameter. The whole site is thick with debris, which accounts for the luxuriant growth of prickly scrub. On my first visit I found no ancient pottery. The second visit was more fortunate: on the outside of the circuit-wall southward of the church, where the ground had been washed away by rain, I found a number of sherds ranging from the mid-sixth century B.C. to Roman times.¹

The modern name for the site is Rogoús. This name goes back at least to the ninth century A.D. when the first mention is made of the bishopric of Rogoi (*ἐπισκοπή Ῥωγῶν* in Geltzer, *Noticiae Episcoporum*, pp. 557, 568, 598, 635). The Byzantine city was the scene of a curious episode. During the sack of Constantinople in 1204 a Frankish captain stole the sacred remains of St. Luke the Evangelist and brought them on his ship to the realm of the Duke of Cephalenia, whence he set his course for the city 'Rogos' and stopped in the harbour (*τὸ πλοῖον*

¹ The sherds are in the Museum of the British School of Archaeology at Athens; the then Director, Professor J. M. Cook, kindly helped me to date them.

ὁρμῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν 'Ρογὸς καὶ σταματᾷ εἰς τὸν λιμένα).¹ But, the winds being adverse, the captain sold the relics to Carolus, Duke of Cephalenia, who placed them in a shrine at Rogous. The city 'Ρωγώ (genitive 'Ρωγοῦς) was one of those of which the possession was contested in 1339-74 during the period of the Despotate. On the day of St. Luke, 18 October 1448, Cyriacus of Ancona came from Arta to make his prayers to St. Luke at Rogous ('ex eadem Arachthea Astaico . . . per sylvam Acherontei ad fluminis ripas . . . ad arcem quam hodie accolae Roghum vocitant').² On 12 January 1453 the remains of St. Luke reached Smedcrevo, having been removed from Rogous on the advance of the Turks. Thereafter Rogous was evidently abandoned save for a monastery beside the church of St. Mary and for a later rebuilding of tower F. There is a strong probability that the Byzantine fortifications go back to the tenth century A.D., when the city ranked above Arta and played the role of modern Preveza. It is particularly interesting to note that it was the main port of call in the Gulf, the river Louros being navigable for schooners in the thirteenth century, as it is to this day.³

To the south of Rogous the plain is very fertile and provides excellent pasture throughout the year. There are extensive floods in the winter, and even in the summer there are marshes as one approaches the shore of the Gulf. A ridge of limestone, called Vigla, separates the plain from the Tsoukalio Lagoon. At its northern end near the village of Strongili, Ph. M. Petsas saw the remains of a Roman building, probably a bath, but no sherds of any earlier period.⁴ Villagers near Rogous told me that there is an ancient fort on the top of Mt. Vigla, and Seraphim Bishop of Arta reported two rock-cut cisterns and the remains of two ancient buildings, built with large blocks, near the only well which has good water, that is to the south-west of Strongili. He mentioned Roman baths also. Although I have not visited the place, it is safe to assume that it was occupied in classical Greek times, as well as in Roman times, and was a dependency of Rogous. It is well placed to exploit the prolific fisheries of the Tsoukalio Lagoon. When Cyriacus of Ancona was staying at Rogous, which he generally called Astacora, he wrote in a letter describing a visit to Nicopolis from Rogous 'egoque cava trabe per amnem ad Dodonaëum Iovem Nicopolimque vado'.

¹ These words, written in 1453-8, were edited in 1882 by J. Pavlović, in *Glasnik srpskog učenog društva*, vol. 51, pp. 70-100. They are quoted in *Ep. Chr.* ii (1927) 105 by Professor G. Sotiriou in a short article on Rogous. Although he visited the site, he did not realize that the river was navigable.

² Cyriacus, *Itinerarium* (ed. L. Mehus, 1742) and E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Collection Latomus 43, Brussels, 1960) 65.

³ Leake 1. 258 and 4. 255 gives a cursory report of the site at Rogous.

⁴ In *Eph. Arch.* 1950-1, 40 f. with a figure and a plan of the Roman baths.

The 'cava trabs' sounds like the hollowed-out tree-trunk type of boat which is still used in the lake of Butrinto and in the lagoon of Artë, north-west of Valona, and is called a *monoxyla*; and he would use such a boat for crossing the shallow Mazoma Lagoon to reach Nicopolis.

I have not described the ruins of Nicopolis, impressive though they are, because I did not make a special study of them and they are still being excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service. The best general account is still that of Leake 1. 185 f., with his plans of the theatres, baths, and citadel at the end of the volume. Unlike the Greek sites, this Roman foundation was built on good land, was very large in extent and had no natural defences; for the prospects of peace and prosperity seemed to be almost unlimited. The positioning of the Greek sites was different. The towns were built on unproductive outcrops of rock and were strongly defended. Nicopolis was admirably placed as a port for the great number of large merchant ships which plied between Italy and the Levant (such a one brought St. Paul to the city) but had no interest in the interior of the Gulf of Arta. The function which Nicopolis served on the main sea-lanes was performed in earlier times by Actium on the other side of the strait of Preveza from Nicopolis. I crossed over to Actium, now Cape Akri, and noticed that the foundations of some buildings were under water, which shows that the level of the sea has risen; the promontory is low and flat, with no natural defences and little fertility, but the beach is shelving, sandy, and suitable for the beaching of triremes. It formed a base for Corinthian triremes and troops in 434 B.C., when they gave protection to Leucas against the Corcyraeans (Th. 1. 30. 3). Any shipping which wished to trade with towns inside the Gulf would have preferred to deliver a cargo and load a return cargo at a point nearer the source of supply. The most central ports in the Gulf for this purpose were Rogous and Anactorium. The former was better for Greek ships, because the river was safe and sheltered and one penetrated into a rich plain with a prosperous hinterland. Anactorium had good fishing but no large fertile district adjacent to it. When I visited the site of Anactorium, I noticed building blocks *in situ* in the water by the shore of both bays; here too the level of the sea has risen since antiquity. There are two harbours, one on either side of the peninsula, and these are needed because of the winds in the Gulf. A west wind rises about 9 a.m. in the midsummer months and blows strongly until it falls in the evening. On the occasion in July when we set sail from Anactorium to Preveza, the wind blew longer than usual and we had to tack against it along the south shore and then come up under Actium point to reach Preveza at 9.30 p.m. This experience made it clear that entry into the Gulf might delay any

ship which intended to sail from Leucas to Corcyra. Thus Actium was the port of call for the Corinthian fleet proceeding to Corcyra and Epidamnus in 435 B.C., and for Cicero on his voyages from Italy to Athens.¹

Rogous was not only the chief port for the peninsula of Preveza. It also defended both the entry from the north down the Louros valley and the entry from the eastern part of the plain into the peninsula. The other large sites—Lelovo, Palioroforon, and Kamarina—form a group close together, situated in or near the most fertile land and having ready access to Rogous. Each of the three is well placed to control the hinterland of narrow valleys and forested hills, in which there were only open settlements. Fortified sites are lacking in the northern part of the peninsula of Preveza, which suggests that attacks were not expected from the people of the Acheron plain. Finally, the fortified site at Kastrosikia is best placed to serve Kamarina, but its harbour was not likely to be used by ships on the coasting route if they had access to Leucas and Actium.

2. THE CANTON OF PARAMYTHIA

This area comprises the valley of the lower Acheron, known as the plain of Fanari, and the valley of the Vouvos with its tributaries. It is cut off by watersheds on the south from the canton of Preveza and on the north-west from that of Margariti. Its short stretch of coast, from north of Loutsa to south of Ayios Ioannis, contains two anchorages, Port Kerentza and Port Splantza (also named Port Fanari); both are used for the excellent fishing off the mouth of the Acheron, and the latter has some traffic with Parga. Both harbours are exposed to the south-west. Port Kerentza seems to mark an earlier mouth of the Acheron; it is not mentioned in *The Mediterranean Pilot*, but it is named 'Kataphygia' in the Greek Portulan² and it was used by small craft during the last War. Port Splantza can be difficult to enter or leave in a heavy sea running from the south-west because a sand bar lies across the mouth, but there is good shelter and anchorage within the port itself, and a sandy shore. Between the two harbours a narrow limestone ridge rises sheer from the sea and falls steeply on the landward side into the marshy plain. The ridge is covered with dense undergrowth and some trees. At the highest, southern end of it an area of some 400 m. by an average width of 40 m. is enclosed by

¹ Th. 1. 29. 3; Cic. *Fam.* 16. 3; *Att.* 5. 9. For the site of Actium see P-K 2. 2. 380; for the difficulty caused by the westerly wind see Leake 4. 17, and for the Corinthian operations see Hammond NO 28 f.

² Delatte 204. 29: τὰ Καταφύγια ἐναι πόντος διὰ ξύλα μικρὰ καὶ ἡ μπουκά του ἀνοίγει ὁσπρια σιρόκο. The Portulan describes the entry into Fanari thus: κράτει δεξιά· ἔχει μία ξέρα κακή· καὶ ὡσὰν ἔμπης μέσα, ἐναι τὸ πόντος μεγάλο.

the remains of a wall of medium-sized polygonal blocks; the longest piece of continuous wall is 5 m. with two or three courses standing, and the slopes below are strewn with fallen blocks. At the highest point there are the remains of an inner fort, built of large rectangular blocks in regular courses, of which three are standing; inside the fort the rock has been hewn to form a hollow with a surface area of 5×2 m., which may have once been a cistern.¹ Inside the circuit of the walls and on the slopes below there are many coarse red sherds and I noticed one piece of poor black glaze. I was not able to visit the north end of the ridge, on which the monastery of Ayia Eleni is built, but the villagers at Splantza told me that there are no remains of any fortress there. Dakaris has noted remains of a fort of polygonal style on the coastal ridge just north of Splantza.²

Turning inland from Splantza I crossed the marshes by a derelict Turkish causeway. As the Acheron deposits much silt, the land just inland of the port must always have been marshy. I then walked through a flat and thickly wooded plain with small clearings which provide pasture for cattle, until I reached the small village of Likouresi in one hour. The plain is here narrowed by a limestone spur which projects from the north; the Acheron runs so close to the foot of its southern extremity that the path from Splantza to Likouresi climbs over the spur. On the eastern side of the spur the Vouvos flows to its confluence with the Acheron. In earlier times the Vouvos seems to have run close against the eastern side of the spur; for its lowest declivity on this side is washed smooth. A knoll which forms the south-east tip of the spur is enclosed by a rectangle of ancient walls, inside which stands the monastery of Ioannes Prodhromos. The outer wall, 2.50 m. thick on the south side, is faced with massive polygonal blocks on both sides and is filled with rubble (see Plate IVc). The circuit of this wall is only some 250 m. (see Plan 5). The entrance near the north-west angle is defended by a small tower projecting some 3 m. beyond the gateway. On the outside of the west wall a block at E projects from the wall and carries a drainage channel 0.17 m. wide, cut into the upper surface of the stone. The blocks at the corners are deeply recessed and rabbeting is used to form a bed for the block above. The inner walls are 1 m. thick, formed of two blocks fitting side by side; they are built in medium-sized polygonal blocks. The corner-blocks are treated in the same way as those of the outer wall, and both walls are excellently cut and fitted. They seem, then, to be contemporary with one another.

¹ I referred to these remains in CC 29; they were known to Ph. M. Petsas in *Eph. Arch.* 1952 (1955) 15, but he did not visit them. For the anchorages see MP 3. 115.

² See *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 205.

The monastery walls cross an ancient passage-way. The entry at D is formed by a false arch consisting of hollowed blocks (B-B on Plan 22, 2a). The passage D-K runs in for 3.70 m. and is then walled up, but a hole shows above the walled-up end. The passage is 1.30 m. wide and is roofed with single rectangular blocks (A-A on Plan 22, 2a), measuring $1.90 \times 0.40 \times 0.40$ m.; the height of the passage is 3.30 m., the arched entrance being slightly lower; the sides are built of polygonal blocks; and on the east side of the entry three square socket holes are cut in the blocks, the sockets being in a vertical line one above another. The corner-stones at the entry of the gate are rectangular save on the face which joins the polygonal walling.

A description of the other passage-ways which were visible at C and A is omitted here, because S. I. Dakaris has carried out his important excavations, of which the preliminary reports have appeared in *Ergon* 1958, 95 f.; 1960, 102 f.; and 1963, 57 f.¹ The passage-ways, he has shown, are part of the labyrinth through which the worshippers passed into the hall of Hades, when they came to consult the Oracle of the Dead, the *Nekyomanteion*. The building is dated to the third and second centuries B.C. by the pottery and the terracotta statuettes of the goddess Persephone, and its occupation came to an end with a violent conflagration. His discovery of the bones of sheep, cattle, and pigs in small pits, of grain, of libation-dishes, and of urns which once held honey shows that the procedure described by Odysseus in *Od.* 10. 508 f. and 11. 23 f. was followed to the letter in the third and second centuries, whether as a result of continuous tradition or of priestly scholarship in the Hellenistic age.² Almost every object he found was of terracotta, stone, or iron, perhaps for reasons of local cult, but the impression is of a rather impoverished shrine. Evidence of earlier worship was found in a dump at the foot of the spur; this contained many sherds of the sixth and fifth centuries and terracotta statuettes of the goddess, which date from 550 to 425 B.C. 'A little farther north' (that is on hill 83 on the Staff Map) he found many prehistoric sherds and a few sherds of tall *kylikes* of Mycenaean type at Xylokastro, a hill-top with three circuits of ancient walls. This site was noted by Ph. M. Petsas in *Eph. Arch.* 1955, 15. It is stronger than that of the monastery. I did not hear of it on the two occasions when I visited Likouresi. The name which S. I. Dakaris uses for the site at Likouresi is Mesopotamon.³

¹ Add now his general account in *Antike Kunst Beiheft I* (1963) 35 f.

² Even the two piles of stones, which Dakaris explains as having been thrown over their shoulders by the worshippers, may have a parallel in Odysseus being told to turn his head aside during the sacrifice (*Od.* 10. 528).

³ Leake 4. 53 knew of the site but did not visit it; P-K 2. 1. 104 describes the area. The village Likouresi has been renamed Ayios Kharalambos on the Staff Map. See *Antike*

On leaving the monastery I went for some 200 m. uphill to the NNW. and found a number of large blocks, mostly poorly cut but including a few ancient blocks, but I saw no sign of any ancient building. Between the monastery and this higher point I picked up some black glaze and coarse red pottery sherds. From the spur one has a fine view of the Acheron plain stretching to Gliki in the east and to Splantza in the west. The spur occupies an excellent strategic position at the narrows of the plain and the confluence of the Vouvos and Acheron. Several routes meet at Likouresi; it lies an hour from Splantza, one and a quarter hours from Loutsa on the ridge which forms the southern watershed of the Acheron, eight hours from Paramythia at the head of the Vouvos valley, and four hours from Gliki at the exit of the Acheron gorge; there is also an easy route northwards to Margariti—one which I have not used.

The plain south of the Acheron is marshy and the foothills carry few villages save in the south-east corner. Here at Tsouknidha, half an hour from Likouresi, I heard of no ancient remains and could learn of none in the southern foothills; these I have not traversed. The foothills jut forward to the north at a place called Pounda. It is reported by Dakaris that, before the marsh was drained, a highly phosphorescent stream ran past Pounda, and that between March and June there used to be a noise of subterranean waters rumbling and echoing (*βήχει καὶ βουίζει*, said the peasants). No doubt this stream was the Pyriphlegethon, 'the fire-blazer'.¹ Like the Cocytus (now the Vouvos) it joined the Acheron after the Acheron issued from the Acherusian Lake (*Odyssey* 10. 513 f.), that is by the Likouresi spur on which the Nekyomanteion was built. To the east of Pounda and about half an hour to the south-west of Kanallakion the excavation of a drainage channel revealed ten oak balks, roughly hewn with an axe, measuring 4 to 6 m. long, square in section and slightly curved in their length; they lay 0.30 to 0.45 m. apart. Dakaris has suggested that they are pieces of the keels of ancient boats, which were used on the Acherusian Lake, and he added that the place is still called the 'Dromos Skalomatos' or place of embarkation—which reminds one of the adventures of Dionysus and Xanthias in Aristophanes, *Frogs* 137 f. The famous double bridge a thousand feet long over the Acheron probably started from Pounda and crossed to Kastrion.² Pilgrims coming by land from the south would have had the choice of embarking for the Nekyomanteion or crossing the bridge to Kastrion.

Kunst Beiheft I (1963) pl. 23 no. 1 for Xylokastro; and pp. 314 f. below for a Mycenaean burial inside the Nekyomanteion and a Mycenaean dagger found recently.

¹ *Arch Delt.* 16 (1960) 2. 204 f. and pl. 172. The view in Hammond *NO* pl. 3a was taken from Tsouknidha.

² Pliny *HN.* 4. 1 and p. 236, below.

Between the Acheron at Gliki and Kanallakion I visited the following sites. At Klisoura, one hour south of Gliki, the foundations of an ancient wall, composed of two limestone blocks fitting side by side, can be traced for a length of 125 m.; the wall has two right-angle changes of direction and runs along the north side of a small rise at the edge of the plain below the village. The situation is not suitable for an acropolis. Between Mouzakeika and Khelidhon a fort was reported on a peak above the path, but search yielded no results; nor could I learn of anything at Kanallakion, a scattered and dirty village. From Gliki to Kanallakion is some two and three-quarters hours, and from there I crossed a high pass over the watershed to Ftina (Aidhonia). It was disappointing to find only one site in this part of the plain; later I was told of a site on a ridge between Artza and Paleohori, where coins have been found; I was shown one of these, a coin of the Aetolian League. The village of Artza is apparently the Artissa through which Leake passed without hearing of any antiquities;¹ its name has gone from the Staff Map, but I think it has become Narkissos.

At one hour's distance from Likouresi the limestone outcrop of Kastrion is a prominent landmark in the middle of the plain. The Acheron runs close to the outcrop on the east and south-east sides; it is crossed by a wooden bridge, if one is taking the path to Kanallakion.² On the south side of the outcrop there are large sources of water which form a swamp, and the hill itself is thinly covered with bushes of sage. The outer circuit of the walls which gird the foot of the hill must have exceeded 2,500 m. in length, although I was unable to trace them on the east side (see Plan 6). There appears to have been an inner circuit E-B-K-L of about half that length, from which a long wall ran westwards to join the outer circuit at S. Within the inner circuit there are remains of an equally strong wall, still standing up to 12 ft. high, which may have formed a third line of defence or perhaps served as a retaining wall for some large building. The walls are of the normal width, 2.50 m., faced on both sides and filled with rubble. The style of the walls is entirely polygonal. The outer circuit is built of large blocks, and some sectors of the inner circuit are built of large blocks and some of medium-sized blocks (the latter especially at M-J). Both circuits have numerous towers but not of a standard size. For instance, the tower at F projects 6.20 m. from the main wall and its outer face is some 8 m. long; the towers at D and the first tower west of E measure 8 × 8 m.; the tower at Z 4.30 × 8.60 m.; and that at K projects only 3.50 m. Most of the towers of the inner circuit are smaller than those of

¹ Leake 4.51.

² Leake 4.51 was unable to reach the site as the bridge was down.

the outer circuit. Some towers on the south side are backed by an inner wall. The ground plans of five gates can be traced (see Plans 20 and 21). Four of these are defended by towers. The fifth at Q is of a different type. There are remains of a sixth gateway at R in the innermost line of wall; the aperture measures 2.40 m., one threshold block of 1.10 × 0.70 × 0.70 m. being *in situ*, and stone steps 1.40 m. wide lead up from the gate. Many, but not all, of the corners or angles of the walls are marked by deep recessing of corner-blocks. I noticed rabbeting on a corner-stone of tower F and in the wall K-S, which is on an incline, and gate-sockets, horizontal drain and vertical drainage channels only at gate Q (*b* and *c* on Plan 20, 5). The only block marked with a clamp-slot 0.045 m. long was at gate *g*; it presumably came from some earlier building. The rock is cut to form a bed for the bottom course of the walls. The remains of many buildings, built of polygonal blocks, can be traced within both circuits; the general layout of streets seems to have been rectangular and terrace-retaining walls are visible on the north and east slopes. Some of these buildings were as large as 40 × 21 m. An ancient well or large cistern, north of the church, has a circular aperture of 1.20 m. circumference in a cover formed from two limestone blocks 0.50 m. thick; the interior appears to be cut from the rock but there are signs of plaster on the sides. There are abundant sources of water just outside the south and west walls. The line of the west wall is not discernible and may have enclosed some of the springs. On the spur south-east of the site there is an ancient cemetery and some foundations of walls. A medieval fort is built on the highest part of the hill, and medieval repairs to the ancient walls have been made at M-J and L. Not many sherds are showing on the surface, but I picked up some examples of black glaze and coarse red. Coins from this site are noted on p. 718.

Leake and Clarke did not visit this site, but Clarke was told that there were metal rings in the rocks by the Acheron at Kastri. It is conceivable that this is so. *The Mediterranean Pilot* (3. 116) says that boats can ascend some distance up the river, and the fall is certainly very slight from Likouresi, which is some 4 kilometres inland; and the river is so deep that I had to swim when I crossed it to see the fort south of Splantza. In its upper course the river travels very fast through the gorge. It has poured a vast deposit of boulders, rubble, and silt onto the plain during the period since antiquity. The plain was drained in the years after the First World War (see Plate III *a*). Leake has left an excellent account of its flooded state. The water came not only from the river but also from the copious springs which formed 'the marsh near Kastri'. The Acheron, he says, 'leaves the foot of the hill of Kastri on its right bank, turns towards the western height and

enters the marshes, which at the present season' (on 30 April 1809) 'begin a little below Kastri and Kanalaki, extend to within a short distance of the sea and occupy all the eastern side of the plain. In summer . . . some large lakes still remain . . . particularly one not far from the sea, and another to the south-east' (this is the Elos Pounda). The Acheron 'having traversed the marsh, is joined below it by the Vuvo. The water of the Vuvo is reputed to be bad.'¹ The Acherusian Lake, then, will have extended in ancient times from Kastri to the Elos Pounda, which is bounded on the south by cliffs and lies south-east of Likouresi; and the Acheron will have issued from the Lake just before its juncture with the Cocytus (now the Vouvos), which then washed the side of the Likouresi spur. The area between Likouresi and Splantza, which now has a marsh near the shore, must have silted up considerably since ancient times. We may suppose that the basin of the Acheron's mouth then extended further inland. In any case it seems beyond doubt that boats could ascend into the Lake, and through it probably to Kastri, in ancient times.²

From Kastri it is a walk of fifty minutes to Koroni. Here there are the remains of an ancient wall near the village mill, and the villagers report the finding of tombs and coins in the area. Dakaris has reported a fourth- or third-century trefoil *oenochoe* from a cist-tomb here.³ At half an hour's distance from Koroni the monastery of Ayios Demetrios, north of the village Tourkopaloukon, contains some marble fragments and two pillars, of which the circumference is 1.40 m.; the church is a very fine example of early Byzantine style (see Plate III *b*).⁴ The foundations of an ancient wall, 1 m. wide, consisting of two rectangular blocks of limestone laid side by side, are visible for some 4 m. near the monastery, and I was told by a peasant that a circuit formed by this wall can be traced within the wood surrounding the church. As the ground here is flat, the wall probably enclosed an ancient temenos. Dakaris has noted ancient blocks and marble pieces at the church of the Koimesis Tes Theotokou to the west of Koroni, and a small fort with walls in polygonal style 2 kilometres north-west of Koroni at Kastri on the way to Margariti.⁵ North of Tourkopaloukon the limestone hills which bound the Vouvos stream on the west are thinly clad in scrub and fall steeply to the plain. After three and a half hours on foot from Tourkopaloukon I reached a break in the range at Sevaston. Here an isolated hill at the

¹ Leake 4. 52.

² Dakaris, *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 202, also holds this to have been the case; but I disagree with his view that the Acherusian Lake extended almost 'to the Ionian Sea'.

³ Ibid. 204.

⁴ Leake 4. 64 was told that it was of the Theodosian period.

⁵ Dakaris, *ibid.* 203.

edge of the plain affords a natural emplacement for a site, but I could find no traces of ancient walls.¹ A route into the plain of Margariti passes from Sevaston up the valley of a stream which runs from the south-west. From Sevaston I crossed the valley of the Vouvos to reach Paramythia in less than an hour.

The east side of the Vouvos valley is bounded by the steep range of Korillas. The flysch bed of the valley extends high up the mountain slopes, and the line of juncture with the limestone is marked by copious springs. At this level there are numerous villages, set among fruit-trees and situated above extensive olive-groves. The largest and most beautifully placed of these villages is Paramythia at the head of the valley; I was told there that the entire valley from Fanari up to Paramythia grew olives 'in Venetian times'. In the south the village of Gliki lies on the foothills just north of the exit of the Acheron from the long gorge which starts at Trikastron. In contrast to the malarial climate in the plain of Fanari the air is fresh and invigorating at Gliki, which lies three hours distant from the site at Kastriion. There are two fords through the Acheron near the village. Close to the more western one are the ruins of the cathedral church Ayios Donatos, which was destroyed during the wars of Souli. Several columns of grey granite and of bluish-white marble, 0.50 m. in diameter, and one fragment of a limestone column, 0.75 m. in diameter, lay among the ruins in 1930, just as they were described by Leake in 1809. As he remarked, these columns may have been taken from some older building when the church was built. The fragments of pottery are mostly medieval and Byzantine, but I found some black glaze sherds of good Hellenistic type. It is clear that the ruins lie above a considerable depth of deposit. The area is open and unsuited for defence. The site was excavated in 1956 and 1957 and the preliminary report is that the basilica is of an early Christian date, but it is not the basilica of St. Donatus.² I saw pottery found in the upper part of Gliki village, including a large pithos about a metre high. When I was there, a school was being built some 200 yds. from the ruins of the church in the direction of the village. In excavating the foundations a marble block had been unearthed, some 1.50 m. in length, with socket-holes cut in one side. Near the second ford, higher up the river, the remains of an aqueduct and some foundations, apparently those of a bridge, are of medieval date.

Proceeding north from Gliki up the east side of the valley one reaches in an hour and a half the village of Gardhiki, where I noticed four limestone blocks, evidently taken from some ancient building; two

¹ I was told later that ancient tombs had been found at Skandhalon.

² *PAE* 1953, 159 and 1954, 194.

are built into the beautiful church Ayia Kyriake, which dates from the thirteenth century.¹ In less than half an hour from Gardhiki one reaches Dhragomi (Agora). North of Dhragomi and to the east of the path a high ridge carries the small church of Ayios Donatos. This church rests on ancient foundations. It lies within an ancient site. The north face of the ridge is formed by sheer limestone cliffs, where no wall is required; the east and west slopes are steep, but the south side falls less steeply into a valley running north and south, in which there are the foundations of ancient houses. On the south slope above the valley a wall 2.50 m. wide, faced on both sides and filled with rubble, is extant up to a height of five courses and for a length of 500 m.; the masonry is large polygonal (e.g. blocks of 1.40 × 1.00 × 0.60 m.), and the rock is cut for the emplacement of the wall. There are two right-angle turns of direction in the wall and two towers on the north-east face, of which I failed to note the dimensions. All corner-blocks at the angles are deeply recessed and rabbeting occurs. The area enclosed between the cliffs and the south wall is only some 100 m. wide. There are two pieces of wall which appear to be the remains of a cross-wall running from north to south. This wall is 1 m. wide, being formed of two limestone blocks set side by side. At some points the main south wall is backed by short lengths of smaller polygonal walling. The church is built upon a line of large conglomerate blocks which appear to be *in situ*; in the lower course of the church wall some ancient limestone blocks have been inserted. There are also three sculptured blocks, 1.50 × 0.60 × 0.25 m. thick. Conglomerate stone is found with limestone in this area. I was told later that graves, evidently of Hellenistic date, had been opened on the slopes north of Dhragomi.

The village of Veliani is two and a half hours north of Dhragomi. It is a small and straggling village, perched on high ridges of limestone and conglomerate, which fall steeply into the plain. Above the village a large ancient site occupies the top of a limestone ridge at a point where it is joined to the cliffs of Mt. Korillas by a low saddle.² The site lies a good hour above the level of the plain. It possesses great natural strength (see Plan 7). The total circuit is some 1,800 m. There are cliffs on all sides of the circuit except on the east, where an unusually strong wall stands 5.70 m. high (see Plate XX *d*). This wall is pierced by two postern-gates, 1.35 m. and 2 m. wide respectively, which are roofed with massive rectangular blocks, e.g. 2.30 × 0.90 × 0.60 m.

¹ For the church see D. Evangelides in *Ch. S.* 129 f. There is a small medieval fort above Gardhiki which I visited.

² Clarke A 93 and C 45 visited the site; he saw an ancient well and tombs just below the kastro but did not leave a description. It is mentioned in P-K 2. 1. 102, and in Leake 4. 59.

(see Plan 22, 3a). The more northerly of the two gates penetrates 3.90 m. into the thickness of the wall and is then blocked by the collapse of the inner side of the wall, while the other gate is still open and penetrates a 2-m. thickness of wall (see Plate Va). The sides of the gates are built of rectangular blocks in regular courses. The style of the walls is massive polygonal, some blocks in the second course measuring as much as $2.10 \times 1.90 \times 1.20$ m. There are projections on the outer face of some blocks, and these were probably used for raising the blocks into place. The wall is faced on both sides and filled with rubble; its width seems to have varied from 2 to 3 m. There are no towers but there are changes of direction and right-angle recesses in the line of the wall. On the west side the foundation course only of the wall is *in situ*; here a gate 4 m. wide, set between flanking walls 8.50 m. in length, can be traced. On the south side there is another example of massive polygonal walling, very neatly cut. Inside the circuit four rectangular blocks of limestone measuring 0.65×0.86 m. and set 2.30 m. apart were the bases of a colonnade. Nearby there is an 8-ft. length of limestone column, 0.50 m. in diameter, and a rectangular block, 0.65 m. wide and some 2 m. in length, on the long side of which three socket holes, 0.10 m. square, were cut into the block at a distance of 0.45 m. from each other; from an end socket hole there runs a groove, forming an arc, to the edge (see Plan 22, 3b). There are two springs within the circuit of the walls, and other springs outside on the south side. I picked up some sherds of black glaze pottery as well as the usual coarse red variety. To the south of the circuit there are signs of ancient terracing; both inside and outside the circuit the rock is deeply cut for the bedding of house foundations. The church of Ayios Yeoryios, west of the site, is built on ancient foundations. Over its door there is a well-cut limestone block $1.50 \times 0.40 \times 0.30$ m., with slots for clamps; inscription no. 23 is in the house of Mr. Papaioannis near the church. I saw an inscription (no. 15) in the garden of Mr. Shahin Magdis at Paramythia, which he told me he had found in a field of maize near the east bank of the Cocytus river below Veliani, in a district called Paliuriá. It is of the Roman period. In this part of the plain, north-west of Veliani, Leake visited a ruin which 'appears to have been a temple of the time of the Roman Empire'. This has been excavated by Evangelides and is a trefoil or three-apsed basilica of the late sixth or early seventh century A.D. This basilica and a similar one at Dodona are the earliest examples in Greece of this form of basilica, which was derived from Syria.¹

From the site at Veliani I walked in one and a half hours to a very similar site above the upper houses of Paramythia. This site holds an

¹ Leake 4. 60 f.; P-K 2. 1. 102.

even stronger natural position on the summit of a ridge, which is joined by a narrow saddle to Mt. Korillas. On all sides except on the west the ridge is almost surrounded by high limestone cliffs. Wherever gaps occur in the cliffs, there are remains of ancient walls, mostly in large polygonal style but employing rectangular blocks and regular courses at angles of the wall. The site was evidently a fortified one from ancient times down to the death of Ali Pasha, and it is not possible to establish the line of the ancient walls. On the narrow saddle east of the site there are remains of a well and of a ramp, which leads to the modern gate. This gate is probably in the position of the ancient gate. In the north-east corner there is a 9 m. length of wall, which is built over a subterranean entry partly natural and partly cut in the rock, 13 m. long, 1.50 m. wide, and over 2 m. high. Beside this entry the rock is cut for bedding foundation blocks. The rock cutting forms a channel 9 ft. deep and 0.65 m. wide, perhaps for a portcullis. On the south side, some 100 m. west of the north-east corner, a tower follows the curve of the cliff; the corner of the tower is composed of large blocks with a curved outer surface overlapping the corner. The four lower courses are ancient and a medieval wall is built upon them. The gate at the south-west corner is probably not ancient, although some ancient blocks are used to buttress the wall; near the north-west corner there is an ancient postern-gate, similar to those at Veliani, 1.20 m. wide and roofed with a single large block, which is pentagonal in shape but is flattened on the face which forms the roof of the gate. The blocks forming the angle with the outer wall are recessed to a depth of 0.12 m. in order to form gate-jambs. One has a socket hole 0.09×0.11 m. This gate is probably that mentioned by Leake as being trilithic; the wall here is 1.80 m. wide. There are indications of a transverse wall from north to south, but its date is doubtful. I estimated the circuit of the defences at one to one and a half miles. Leake noted some remains of a Hellenic wall to the south-west of the above circuit and gives the circumference of the city as between 2 and 3 miles.¹ My impression is that the remains below the main circuit belong to houses or terrace-walls, and the size of the acropolis was rather in accordance with my estimate.

On the upper, eastern side of the acropolis there is a ramp linking the acropolis to the hill-side and the route northwards, which one would take if one was proceeding to Filiates or to Ioannina. The ways part in the area known as Liboni, which is due west of the Kaki Skala and half an hour away from Paramythia; one proceeds either up the Kaki Skala towards Ioannina or turns left to cross the watershed and go down to the Kalamas valley. At this cross-roads there are

¹ Leake 4. 59; *PAE* 1930. 62.

many remains of buildings and quantities of pottery, which show it was the site of a city in Roman and Byzantine times. A number of inscriptions have been found here, and three of them mention Photice, which is therefore indisputably the name of the city.¹ Clarke copied an inscription there (no. 33 fin.), and he saw a fine sarcophagus of marble with 'a closely packed flower pattern' on the lid and two griffins on one side. It is probable that the city was well spread out. For on taking the path to the left from Liboni I entered a little plateau with a lake and found on its south-east edge a knoll, which is covered with a quantity of red sherds and many wall remains of the same kind as those at Liboni.

The inscriptions show that Photice was an important city at the end of the third century A.D. It was repaired by Justinian in the sixth century at the same time as Nicopolis and Phoenice, and Procopius mentions that Photice and Phoenice were both in a low position and 'surrounded with water which formed marshes'; this is true of parts of Photice, namely those below the Kaki Skala and in the little plateau, and it is, of course, true of the plain below Phoenice. Procopius goes on to say that Justinian left the cities where they were, but built their forts 'on steep and strongly rising ground'. This is an admirable description of the position held by the fort at Paramythia. It stands high and overlooks Liboni. This explains the words which are found in another passage of Procopius, where he gives a list of repaired forts. In all other cases a name only is given, but here we find *καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰουστινιανοπόλεως καὶ Φωτικῆς φρούρια δύο τοῦ Ἀγίου Δονάτου*, and this means 'at a distance from Justinianopolis and Photice two forts of St. Donatus'.² Photice was the seat of a bishop until the sixth century at least; it was replaced by Vela some time before the thirteenth century. The most famous bishop and the most distinguished writer of Epirus was Diadochus of Photice, born about A.D. 400, who opposed the Monophysites at the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451. His see was the most westerly in the Eastern Empire, and he may have composed the appeal in Latin which was delivered by the Episcopate of Epirus to Leo I; but his writings in Greek are admired for their purity of style and their high degree of learning.³ Another inscription from Liboni is of great interest. It was found together with a marble statue of Artemis and the inscription in Latin concerns a dedication

¹ *C.I.L.* III Suppl. 2. 12299; *BCH* 31 (1907) 38 f. See E. Oberhummer in *RE* 20. 1 (1941) 660 s. *Photice*.

² Procop. *Aed.* 4. 1. 34 (ed. Haury, p. 107): ὕδασι περιρρεόμεναι τῇδε λυμνάζουσι and 4. 4, p. 118.

³ His works are edited by E. des Places in the series *Sources chrétiennes* (Paris, 1955), who says of him 'le style est celui d'un homme de haute culture en même temps que d'un écrivain-né'; cf. H. Chadwick in *CR* 7 (1957), 258.

to Diana. The existence of a temple of Diana here led to the suggestion that the station 'ad Dianam' in the Peutinger Table of roads in the Roman Empire should be identified with this spot. This is discussed below (p. 693). The name Photice continued to be in use. Hierocles named it as one of the cities of Epirus and not only as the seat of a bishop. And we may assume that the name reached back to the founding of this Greek city.¹

The broad mass of the Korillas range, which is east of the Paramythia plain, is split by a valley which sends a tributary south to join the Acheron where it flows in a deep gorge. This valley is entered by a difficult pass to the north-east of the site at Veliani. I walked from Paramythia over this pass to the village of Frosini in three and a half hours, and thence to Tsangarion in one and a half hours. In a side valley east of Tsangarion two hoards of coins and a bronze statuette of Eros were found in a cultivated dell which contains a spring. The dell is called Avlotopos. The coins, which were said to include many silver coins of Alexander, had been dispersed, but I found some sherds of rough black and red pottery and one piece of black glaze at the spot. An hour south of Tsangarion three paths meet at a narrow pass, where there are remains of a small Greek fort, built of medium-sized blocks which were, I think, rectangular. The three paths come from Tsangarion, Gliki, and Kakosouli, the last half an hour distant. When I reached the fastness of Kakosouli, the centenary of Greek Independence was being celebrated with song, dance, and *ouzo*. It was an epic occasion. We descended with much noise and some shooting along a precipitous path to the Acheron gorge and then climbed over rocky spurs and through thick woods above the gorge to reach Gliki in two hours.

Clarke attended a similar celebration. He went in a party by horse from Gliki. The horses forded the Acheron with difficulty below and then above Skala Tzavalainas, and they reached Kakosouli in three hours. He noticed 'a prominent acropolis' on the east side of the Acheron where it runs north and south, above Skala Tzavalainas, but he did not visit it. He remarked that the Acheron's water was bitter to drink. The view up the gorge from Gliki is most impressive; for one sees, as Leake expressed it, 'three tiers of steep and almost precipitous rocks' and above them two separate levels of the mountain. A find of coins was reported on the north slopes of the Korillas range at Popovo (Ayia Kiriaki), where ancient tombs had been opened. To judge from the description of the coins they included both Greek and Roman pieces. There is a magnificent forest of pines on

¹ Hierocles, *Synecdemos* 652, and *Notit.* 3. 529 (ed. Parthey, Berlin, 1866); cf. P-K 2. 1 102 n. 2.

Mt. Korillas above Popovo; Leake noticed 'a continuous forest of fir' on the summit of the mountain from Dhragomi to the Kaki Skala.¹

Before we leave the canton of Paramythia, we may notice that the main Roman and medieval sites are in the plain. The main Greek sites, on the other hand, are on barren ground, either on the comparatively low outcrops of limestone near Splantza and Likouresi and at Kastrion or else on the very shoulders of the mountain at Dhragomi, Veliani, and Paramythia. Their strategical position is interesting. The first three protect the Acheron plain from the sea and dominate the route inland. There are no fortified outposts, as far as we know, on the south and south-east sides of the plain, from which we may assume that this side of the plain was not threatened. But in the Cocytus valley the entire defence is high up on the east side of the valley. Any army entering the valley from the north or the east, through Liboni or over the difficult pass through Mt. Korillas, and descending to ravage the plain would be enfiladed by these three fortified towns and could be cut off from retreat northwards or eastwards. There are suitable sites for an acropolis or fortified town on the west side of the valley, e.g. at Sevaston, but they are not used; we may therefore infer that attacks were not expected from the west, where the plain lay open to foraging parties without fear of being cut off.

3. THE CANTON OF MARGARITI

This canton forms the heart of the Tsamouria, the region of Albanian-speaking villages. It is a remote and rather backward territory, of which Margariti is the geographical centre, and it trades both with Paramythia and through Parga with Preveza and Corfu. Leaving Splantza at the mouth of the Acheron I walked for an hour and a half to reach the bay of Ayios Ioannis, where the coast takes a turn due west. The bay provides shelter from northerly and westerly winds and has deep water; but it is used only a little by caiques; for its shores are rocky and the vicinity is uninhabited, except for a shepherd or two at Easter when I was there, who pastured their sheep on the scrub and in the dells among the limestone. The bay is remarkable for the freshet of good water rising from a *kefalourisi* in the sea-bed; there is a spring among the rocks on the shore, but I found no water further inland. The shepherd I met knew of only one ruin, which proved to be that of a large Turkish house. In 1960 Mr. Dakaris published a preliminary report of a Mycenaean tholos tomb and a Mycenaean acropolis at Kiperi, which is a little inland between Ayios Ioannis and Parga. In the tomb, which measured 4 m. in diameter, there were found pottery of Mycenaean III B style and a leaf-shaped bronze

¹ Clarke B 59; Leake 4. 57 f.

spearhead of Hallstatt A type.¹ He noted remains of ancient walls in the nearby village of Ayia Kiriaki.²

On leaving the bay of Ayios Ioannis I had some three hours of rough going to reach Parga, a beautiful little town and port, set among extensive groves of olive and citrus. The harbour has two sandy beaches, which are exposed to the south and south-west, except in the north-west part of the western beach, where there are remains of an ancient mole. I was told that coins were found in the immediate vicinity of Parga, at a small village called Rapeza, north-west of Parga, and at Ayia, further to the north-west, and that ancient tombs had been opened near Rapeza.³ I did not see from outside any ancient blocks in the wall of the Turkish fort, but Mr. Petsas reported in *Eph. Arch.* 1955, 14 that there is a 10 m. length of polygonal walling under the fort. He also saw cist tombs and a piece of polygonal retaining wall, and he heard of Byzantine and Venetian coins, all in the vicinity of Anthousa, which I take to be the new name of Rapeza. It seems that there was an open settlement to the north-west at the head of the valley above Parga, and that the harbour was in use; the ancient walling in the Turkish fort is suggestive of a small ancient fort or blockhouse rather than of any walled settlement (for the rock on which the fort stands is quite small), and the mole is on the opposite side of the main beach from the fort. Parga was linked with Margariti and Paramythia by a cobbled road in Turkish times; only fragments of the road survive. It takes some three hours to walk from Parga to Margariti, and one crosses two steep ridges on the way.

I have not walked from Parga via Ayia to Arpitsa (Perdhika), but I sailed along the coast fairly close inshore. After rounding Cape Trofali I saw one strip of sandy shore some 30 yds. long and then a rocky coast with oaks, planes, olives, cypresses, and some terracing. Then, just before turning Cape Varlam, I saw a strip of sandy shore of similar length, and immediately after turning it about 600 yds. of sandy shore. From this point until the island of Sivota the coast is rocky, except that there is a stretch of sand and rock in Arilla bay below the village of Arpitsa; there is a tiny cove between the 600 yds. of sandy shore and Arilla Bay. On another occasion I reached Arpitsa on foot from inland and went down to the 600 yds. of sandy shore, into which a stream flows (called the Paramythia stream in *The Mediterranean Pilot*) past the church of Ayia Panayia.

¹ *MP* 116; *Ergon* 1960, 110. The freshet, I was told, 'whitens the sea'.

² *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 205.

³ My informant was the scholarly Bishop of Paramythia, Athenagoras, with whom I sailed along this coast from Preveza to Corfu; he had coins from the area of Parga which included one of Elea with the trident (Franke, *AME* Gp. 1, ser. 3) and several of the Epirote League.

The south end of the shore is bounded by a high limestone ridge ending in an isolated summit 225 m. high, on which are the remains of a strong acropolis (see Plan 8). The slopes of the ridge are steep and thickly clad in oaks and scrub, and it takes almost half an hour to climb up from the shore to the walls. The upper circuit of the walls is some 1,400 m., enclosing an area almost square in shape. In addition a wall, some 250 m. in length, runs north-east from the main circuit to enclose a spur which descends towards the bay. The walls are 3.30 m. wide, faced on both sides and filled with rubble, and as many as nine courses are standing. The style of the walls is polygonal. They are built of large limestone blocks, and all angle-stones are deeply recessed at the corners. The towers measure 8×8 m. except the tower at C, which is advanced from the corner of the wall and measures 10×7 m. along its two outer faces. In the outer face of the walls I noted several vertical channels, which varied in size from 0.20 to 0.14 m. wide and from 0.09 to 0.05 m. deep; they were probably used for fitting drainage pipes. The summit of the acropolis is joined to the main ridge by a narrow neck. A ramp leads from this neck to a gate, of which the width was probably 3.80 m. At D on Plan 8 a flight of steps descends outside the wall, the drop of the step being 0.15 m. and the surface 0.72×0.30 m. Inside the circuit the wall at E is made of smaller polygonal blocks. One block lying on the ground was neatly hollowed out, like the drinking-block of a Turkish fountain.

On the neck joining the acropolis to the main ridge there are several neatly worked limestone blocks which probably formed the lower courses of a temple. There is a spring on the east side of the neck near the top. Towards the foot of the slope, down by the shore, there is a tower built of large rectangular blocks in regular courses, with deep recessing of the angle-stones at the corners. From this tower a well-cut polygonal wall ascends the slope; the wall is 2.80 m. wide, and is faced on both sides and has a rubble filling. There are numerous foundations of buildings on the slopes between the harbour and the acropolis, within the acropolis itself, and on the saddle of the ridge. The rock is cut for bedding the foundation courses, and there are terrace walls of neat polygonal style which have small blocks. The church of Ayia Panayia, standing on a low eminence a little back from the shore, contains a number of ancient blocks with sockets in the shape of a single axe, probably for clamps, and a fragment of conglomerate pillar, 0.50 m. in diameter. There was also a conglomerate block with a socket hole $0.25 \times 0.25 \times 0.15$ m. deep. It seems likely that the church occupies the site of an ancient shrine beside a harbour which has been silted up by debris from the stream of Paramythia. On the Greek Staff Map the name of the site is given as Dhimokastron; Leake (3. 3), who did not visit it,

gives the name as Erimokastron, but I was told by the villagers of Arpitsa that the correct form is Elimokastron, of which I find in Clarke's notes a variant form Elinokastron.

I published a brief description of this site and four photographs of the coast and views from the site in *JHS* 65 (1945) 27 and plates ii and iii, when I was discussing the naval operations of 435 to 433 B.C. Brief notes on the site have been given in *Eph. Arch.* 1955, 14 by Ph. M. Petsas, the then Ephor of Antiquities in Epirus. He made a collection of objects found by the villagers, which included a bronze urn, two bronze coins of the Epirotes, and six or seven Byzantine and Venetian coins. The finder of the bronze urn said he got it from a tomb together with some iron spear-heads. Mr. Petsas said there was probably the emplacement of a theatre in the valley leading up to the acropolis, and the city is certainly big enough to have had a theatre. I was told of a small fortified site at one hour's distance inland from Elimokastro. It is probably on the hill Kastelli further up the stream of Paramythia.

The village of Arpitsa, north of the site, consists of 600 houses and claims to have the finest olives in Epirus. The bay of Arilla, like that of Elimokastron, is exposed to the west. From Arpitsa I crossed a low pass, on which there is a dew-pond and groves of oaks, to enter the plateau of the hinterland at Smoktovina (? Kerteriza). There is a small fort above the village to the SSW. on a flat-topped hill; I did not visit the site but saw it from the path between the pass and Smoktovina. The plain between Smoktovina and Margariti was flooded in April. I crossed the plain on a raised causeway and reached the town of Margariti in two hours from Arpitsa. The villagers of Arpitsa stated that there are remains of small forts on the south point of Arilla Bay and on one of the Sivota islands, but none at Mourtos. I did not visit these places but proceeded north to the village of Koutsi, which consists of sixty houses and is an hour and a half distant from Arpitsa. Koutsi stands high on the southern side of the valley which terminates in Plataria Bay, but it has easy access to Mourtos. Close to the village there is a limestone summit with cliffs round most of its circumference, and this summit forms the site of an ancient acropolis of which the circuit is some 1,200 m. (see Plan 9). The walls are faced on both sides and filled with rubble, and the style is mainly regular with large rectangular blocks laid in regular courses and tied at the corners, but some parts of the walls are polygonal. The tower near A measures 8×8 m., while that at C projects 6 m. and has an outer face of 10 m.; the latter was probably part of the defences of a main gate. The gate at A is 3.70 m. wide and a block in the side-wall has a socket hole 0.20×0.15 m. The gate at B is 4.20 m. wide; one of its side-walls projects 2.40 m. and the other has a turn of 0.45 m. in order to narrow the inner side of the

gate. The outer walls of the two gates are built of very large blocks in the upper as well as in the lower courses, e.g. $1.40 \times 0.75 \times 0.65$ m. The angle-stones of the corners are deeply recessed, and rabbeting is used to give a bed for the blocks in the next upper course. Some twelve springs issue from under the cliffs of the acropolis. To the south-east of the acropolis in the area known as Klisha I saw several ancient cist tombs lined with limestone slabs and I picked up sherds of black glaze. Here too are the remains of what I take to be a temenos wall; the two lowest courses are formed of large rectangular blocks laid on their longer side, and above these thin slabs of limestone stand upright. One right angle of this wall is standing; the sides of the angle are 5 m. and 4.50 m., and each consists of five blocks. The villagers of Koutsí call the acropolis by the name of Elimi.

From Koutsí I descended to the small and fertile valley of Platária, where olive-groves fringe the edge of the plain. Above the village of Nista, on the east side of a high peak, there are scanty remains of a small ancient fortress, which I did not visit but could see from the path north of Nista. I estimated its size at 75 by 150 m. From Koutsí to Nista is one and a half hours, and from Nista over a high and rugged pass to Igoumenítsa two hours. At Igoumenítsa, which is a port of call for small coasting steamers, I found no signs of Greek remains. An arch on the north side of the Turkish fort contains some tiles which I consider to be Roman, and some fragments of sculptured marble were found during the excavation of the modern road and now adorn a Christian shrine (Plate XXc). At Igoumenítsa one enters the area of Parakálamas.

The inland part of the canton contains the two swampy plateaux of Margaríti and Mazarakia which are very rich in rice, cereals, and pasture; but they used to breed malaria. At Margaríti I copied inscription no. 20, which is built into a fountain on the west side of the village. South of Margaríti, at a place known as Mouri, I saw the remains of a small fort, built of large polygonal blocks and standing to a height of three courses, and I could trace 25 m. of wall which formed a right-angled corner. The fort is situated where the level plain is pinched between limestone spurs and a small stream runs alongside. The path from Margaríti to the lower Acheron valley passes through this gap. I walked from Margaríti to Paramythia in four hours, via the valley of Karvounari where I visited a fort made of rough blocks, which is not ancient. I was not able to traverse the northern part of the inland section between the plateau of Margaríti and the Kálamas valley, but the following information may assist another traveller. At Nounesation two inscriptions are reported (nos. 19, *a* and *b*); at Vrisi there are hot springs and blocks of marble, which may indicate the

site of an Aesculapium; below Skorpionia ancient tombs have been found. Near Kourtesion there are ancient tombs and at Grika there are two pillars *in situ*. Prathola and Pitsari have the remains of ancient forts.

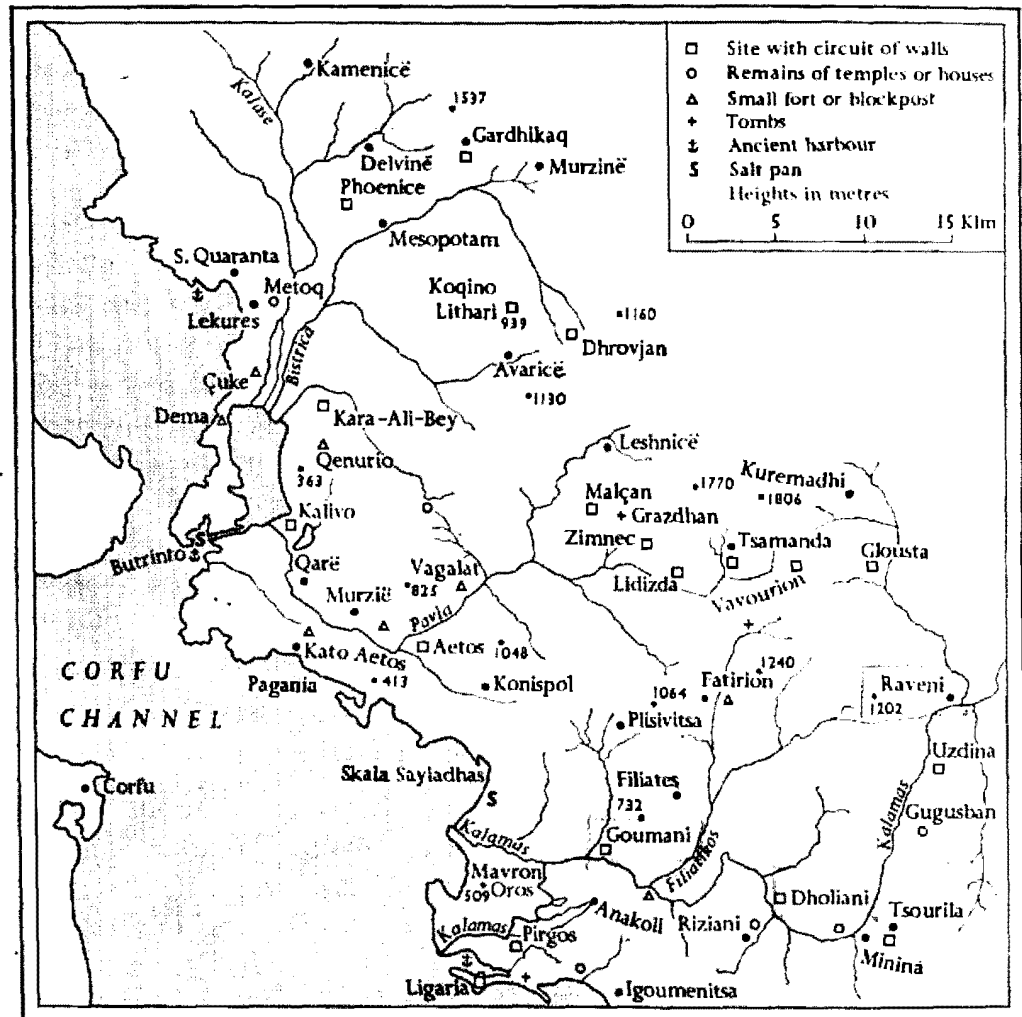
The two large sites in the canton are at Koutsí, which is on the inland side of the coastal range and corresponds to Mazaraki and Margariti, and at Elimokastro, which is on the coast and corresponds to Parga. The rest of the area seems to have been occupied by small villages, as it is today, with an occasional fortified village such as that near Nista and another near Smoktovina. The inland frontier towards the valley of the Cocytus was open, and so was that towards the river Kalamas. The large fortified towns look more towards the sea. Platária Bay and the valley behind it provide the only easy entry from the coast into the hinterland, and the fortified town at Koutsí controls the upper part of it. Elimokastron faces the Corfu Channel. It is a better port for trade with Corcyra than Parga is, because it is difficult to round Cape Trofali and Cape Varlam from Parga in a northerly wind, which is common in the Corfu Channel. When I was sailing up this coast from the south I noticed that one first received some shelter from Corfu when one was half-way between Elimokastro and Sivota. Koutsí is also well placed for trade with Corcyra; for it can use the sheltered bay of Mourtos and boats can be beached on the strand of Platária Bay, which is, however, a squally anchorage in southerly gales.

4. THE CANTON OF FILIATES

The marshy delta which is formed by the river Kalamas is very extensive. It reaches from Igoumenitsa to Skala Sayiadhas, and its size is due to the many shifts in the course of the river during a great many centuries. Today Igoumenitsa is the chief port, and in medieval times Skala Sayiadhas held that position. Igoumenitsa, as we have seen, has no ancient remains. Nor has Skala Sayiadhas. I visited a small fort at one hour's distance to the north of it, on a peninsula which affords good shelter; but the fort is made of roughly shaped blocks and is not ancient. *The Mediterranean Pilot* (3. 119) describes as Livitazza port a stretch of water which lies south-east of the present mouth of the Kalamas (or rather the main mouth, because there are small outlets from the delta both north and east of it). Port Livitazza has good holding ground, shallow water inshore and a sandy or muddy coast, which is suitable for beaching small boats; and it is sheltered except to the west. The river itself is navigable for some distance inland; its water is brackish and unfit to drink. K. A. Papageorgiou has reported¹ that there are some ancient walls in ashlar style, some tombs

¹ *EE* 1953. 252.

and many sherds on Ligaria, a limestone outcrop, which encloses Port Livitazza on its southern side. He also reported that ancient tombs had been found on a very small outcrop in the marsh east of Ligaria; the tombs are described by him as being chamber tombs and as having



MAP 4. Ancient remains in the Cantons of Filiates and Delvinë.

been rich when they were found and robbed. The fact that Ligaria was occupied in antiquity can be explained only on the ground that either Port Livitazza then existed with the main mouth of the Kalamas beside it or the Kalamas itself ran past the rock of Ligaria. On the other hand, there is a better site for ancient shipping at Pirgos (called R. Peria on the Austrian Map), which can be reached by sailing up the river. Whereas I did not know of or visit Ligaria, I walked in two hours from Igoumenitsa to Pirgos, since it was marked as a ruin on the Austrian Map.

Pirgos is a steep limestone outcrop on the south side of the river, some $3\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres upstream. To the north-east of it there is a very strong source of good water, called Anakoli, which can be drawn upon by people at Pirgos. The circuit of the walls on the summit of Pirgos is some 250 m. The walls are 3.50 m. wide, faced on both sides and filled with rubble, and are standing to a height of 3.30 m. in five courses. The masonry, mainly rectangular, is laid in regular courses, the blocks being of medium size; at the angles of the wall the blocks are tied and deeply recessed (to a depth of 0.09 m.), and rabbeting is used extensively. In some parts of the wall the blocks are tetragonal, the upper and lower faces forming regular courses, but the vertical faces being at a slant; there is also some well-cut polygonal walling. There are three towers. One of them measures 6.50 m. on the outer face and projects 3.80 m. from the main wall. At the highest point inside the circuit the rock is cut for foundation layers of large blocks; a vertical channel 0.10 m. wide is cut down the face of the wall near the west tower, evidently for fitting a drainage pipe. Towards the east side of the enclosed area there is a seat cut in the rock measuring 0.80×0.70 and 0.50 m. deep. The top and the slopes of the hill are strewn with sherds including a number of examples of good black glaze; at the foot of the hill on the south-east side a clay pit is in use for making pottery. Some of the sherds are, I think, of the fifth and fourth centuries, and the biscuit is grey or red. The site commands the rich but swampy plain and has a fine view of Korfu. At a distance of half an hour south-east of Pirgos and at the foot of the slopes descending into the plain there are the scanty remains of a rough polygonal wall of small blocks, which encloses a flat-topped rise. On the top there are the foundations of a building 8.50 m. square; the wall is 0.95 m. thick, consisting of one block, and the masonry is ashlar with large blocks. Its position suggests that it was an ancient temple.

The capital of the area is Filiates, a small Albanian-speaking town, set on the hills north of the stream Kalpakiotikos and surrounded by olive-groves. The town lies on the route for pack-animals from Ioannina to Sayiadhës. Its ancient counterpart lies at one and a half hour's distance down the valley where the Kalpakiotikos stream enters the Kalamas river (see Plan 10). The ancient town, now called Goumani, is situated on the spur between the stream and the river; it is at this point that the river enters the coastal plain. The acropolis sits on a narrow spur, some 500 ft. above the river (see Plate XXV*b*). On the saddle which joins the spur to the main ridge there is a cistern which is no longer in use. The entry from the saddle to the acropolis is defended by a fine semicircular tower (see Plate XIX*b*). The base of the semicircle measures 14 m. From the centre of the base three internal

walls formed of single blocks run out to meet the semicircular external wall. The end-block of each internal wall is cut with slots measuring 0.12 m. long, 0.06 m. deep, and 0.11 m. wide on the face joining the external wall, and measuring 0.12 m. long, 0.06 m. deep, and 0.08 m. wide on the face joining the internal wall. These slots were cut to receive the halves of four butterfly-shaped clamps. Two of the clamps joined the end-block to the external wall, and two joined it to the adjacent block on the internal wall. The end-blocks measure 1×0.75 m., with a longer curved face joining the external circular wall. The blocks of the external wall are neatly rounded; they are set in regular horizontal courses but the vertical joins are irregular, some being perpendicular and others slanting; they measure, e.g., 1.05×0.53 m.¹ The style of masonry resembles that which I observed in a round tower in the Megarid.² The tower at Goumani is exceptionally strong, at least in the foundation courses; for the three internal walls are finely built and the interstices between the walls are filled with rubble. The external wall stands to a height of 2.65 m., in five courses. Little is left of the other walls which enclose the ridge-top, some 200 paces by 100 paces in size; there are signs of a ramp and gateway at the south-west angle.

The city itself lies some 300 ft. below the acropolis on a low hill which falls sharply towards the river (see Plate XXVb). A very considerable circuit is required to make it defensible, the minimum being indicated by the broken line from D to E (see Plan 10); and the entire circuit including the acropolis is some 3 kilometres. A peculiar feature of the fortification is the use of internal walls and towers on the west and north-west sides, e.g. at F, C, and A, in order to reinforce the outer circuit; this is doubtless due to the weakness of its position on the crest of a not very steep slope. The distance between the internal walls and the outer circuit-wall is from 4.50 to 5.50 m., and the space between them formed a road just inside the outer circuit-wall. At C, for instance, the road through the gateway was 5.30 m. wide, and it then turned north-eastwards through an angle of exactly 90° and narrowed to a width of 4.50 m. The road at G is some 5 m. wide and was flanked by houses; it probably ran down to the main gateway at C. The tower inside the circuit-wall to the west of C is 5 m. distant from the side-wall of the gateway (see Plate IVa). The towers on the outside of the wall measure 7 m. wide by 2 m. projection at F, and 7 m. wide by 7 m. in the case of those on the north side. The width of the circuit-wall is 3 m. on the west and north-west and 2 m. on the south-west and south-east; it is faced on both sides with limestone blocks and packed with

¹ Dakaris has a photograph of the external face in *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) pl. 173.

² *BSA* 49 (1954) 109 and pl. 5 d.

rubble. The inner wall was also faced on both sides and measured some 2 m. in width.

The masonry of the many terrace-walls and house-walls which are visible inside the city is polygonal in style. The inner wall parallel to the circuit-wall is also polygonal; it is made of neatly cut medium-sized blocks. The angles of the inner towers at C and E are made of rectangular blocks. In the wall south of the gateway the masonry is ashlar but many blocks are rabbeted, and the outer face of the blocks has a bulge of 0.25 m.; both square and oblong blocks are used. In the outer circuit-wall there are several styles of masonry. The wall between the two towers west of A is laid in regular horizontal courses, but the vertical joints are slanting. The rest of the north wall is built in an accurate polygonal style, but the angle blocks are rectangular. The west wall is mainly in polygonal style, using large blocks, but the entry of gateway C is ashlar in style, the foundation course being formed by massive blocks and the next course by thin slabs; and the entry to the gateway is rounded (see Plate IVa). At all angles of the towers the corner-stones are deeply recessed; this is true of both the outer and the inner towers. The gateways at A and B are less than 3 m. and 2 m. wide respectively; and the gateway at D is 2.30 m. wide, being set in an angle of the wall.

Outside the circuit at T the *cavea* of a small theatre faces due west over the river. It is set in a natural cup of the slope, and the wings alone need the support of walls. These walls are built in polygonal style with large blocks; only three courses are extant on the south side, and there was probably a tower at this point. The distance between the two side-walls was 32 paces, that is about 28 m., and the top seat was some 70 ft. above the stage. The seat-blocks are scattered and I could not estimate the number of rows. At a point, which I have marked as H but which is not accurately placed, there are the remains of a wall 1 m. wide in polygonal masonry, which runs down to the flat space beside the river; it ends in the foundations of what may have been a small tower. The river is not navigable to this point nowadays; its bed consists of boulders and it shelves gradually downstream, where it can be forded in midsummer. Yet the narrowness of the wall suggests that it was not built for a military purpose but may have led down to a quayside on the river. Ph. M. Petsas, in *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 13, saw a retaining wall of polygonal masonry just east of the junction of the Kalamas and the Kalpakiotikos, which he thought was intended as a breakwater. It is likely, therefore, that the river was navigable to this point in antiquity. I saw no sign of any source of water inside the city. The shepherds who pasture their flocks in the vicinity drink the river water, which is cloudy but not unpleasant. Cist tombs with cinerary

urns of third-century date have been found further downstream.¹ For an important inscription from the vicinity see p. 652 below.

At Goumani there is no sign of later building. But about a kilometre down the river on the same bank, at height 59 of the Staff Map, Ph. M. Petsas found a large number of tiles, loom-weights, disks, 'gutter rosettes', and so on, which suggests that it was a site where terracotta objects were made. A roof-tile of Laconian type had an inscription stamped on it in relief (see p. 667), and the lettering is of the time of the Roman Empire. Nearby he found a wall of burnt brick, and traces of early churches. The area is called 'Klisia'. It was evidently the site of an open settlement in Roman and Byzantine times, when the population moved down from Goumani. Further north on the ridge which ends in point 59 there is a medieval fort which Clarke visited and I saw from a distance; it is half-way on the three and a half hours' walk from Filiates to Sayiadhes, and it is set on a conical hill which dominates the route. An open medieval site was reported at Plisivitsa (Plasion).

On the north-east slopes of the hill of Filiates prehistoric hand-made sherds were found by Evangelides (*BE* 24). I failed to find any such myself. Dakaris has recently found prehistoric pottery in a cave by the village Sidheri, two hours south of Filiates (*Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961/2), 2, 195). A few miles above Goumani a ferry crosses the river Kalamas at a point due south of Filiates. Just above the left bank of the river an isolated outcrop of rock with a flattish top bears remains of a tower, built of large limestone blocks. The top measures some 40 × 20 m., and the rock has been cut for the laying of the foundation course. The existence of this fort points to the importance of the ford. The river is dangerous for men or pack-animals to ford even in the summer months, and the points at which fording is ever attempted below the level of Minina are very few. For this reason the villages on the south bank are to be reckoned with the canton of Margariti for purposes of trade rather than with that of Filiates.

From Filiates two routes lead inland, that to Paramythia passing through the gorge of the Kalamas and that to Ioannina cutting across the territory enclosed by the great loop of the river, which one rejoins at Raveni. The gorge passes below the red limestone cliffs, which Lear painted so strikingly, and one enters the inner and very fertile basin of the Kalamas, in which olives and cereals are grown. Here the largest site is near Dholiani. It occupies a limestone hill on the right bank of the river and is washed on two sides by it.² At this point the

¹ *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 207.

² In 1931 I crossed the river from Riziani to reach the site; it took me two and a half hours from Minina via Vratilia.

river enters an impenetrable defile, which is higher upstream than the main gorge. The position is one of great natural strength. There are cliffs on the south side and on part of the south-west side, and steep slopes on the east and north. The inner circuit of walls and cliffs measures 550 m. The wall is 2.50 m. wide, faced on both sides with limestone blocks and filled with rubble. The style is ashlar with large blocks, which are placed on their sides, so that the courses are a short distance apart; for instance, on the north-west side twenty-one courses stand to a height of 5.30 m. The inner circuit has three towers. These vary between 12×12 m. and 8×9 m. in projection; at the angles the corner stones are deeply recessed, the blocks are tied, and rabbeting is used here and in the main wall. On the west side of the inner circuit two parallel walls run out at right angles from the circuit in order to enclose a spur which culminates in cliffs on its west side; both walls end in large towers built of more massive blocks than the inner circuit. The south wall is 60 m. long with an angled recess, and the north wall is 2.70 m. wide and is bonded with large blocks at intervals through its width. The gap in the inner circuit between the points from which these two walls run out to the west is closed by a medieval wall continuing the line of the inner circuit. Some 200 m. below the north-east corner of the inner circuit there are remains of an outer circuit, which appears to have run parallel to the inner circuit on the east and north sides, rejoining the inner circuit at the north-west corner. The circuit of the whole area so enclosed is some 900 m. The outer wall is of the same width and style as the inner; in the 150 m. length of wall now standing there is a right-angled corner, which is marked by a recess, measuring 2×2 m. In the north face of this outer wall there are the remains of an arched gate (see Plate IVb), the arch being formed by concave blocks measuring, e.g., $1.20 \times 0.50 \times 0.40$ m. The walls enclosing the gateway run back 8.50 m. from the outer wall and are 5.80 m. apart, but the arch was built over a space of 2.70 m. and rested on two cross-walls, one block thick and 1.35 m. wide, which are set at right angles to the side walls of the gateway (Plan 20, 18). On each side of the gate the top block, from which the arch sprang, is shaped like a pediment; the height of the block in each case is 0.38 m. Below the pediment stone on each side the wall is recessed to form a right angle, 0.45×0.55 m., on the angle which faces the inner side of the entry.¹

The route from Filiates to Paramythia passes to the north of Dholiani. One crosses the Kalamas by ferry between the villages of Mantzarion and Minina. In the neighbourhood of Mantzarion and forty minutes

¹ S. I. Dakaris, in *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961/2) 2. 196 f., has described the masonry of the site with photographs in pl. 225.

before reaching the ferry, the path passes through fields, where large blocks of a hard marble-like limestone, and a flat round stone shaped like a solid wheel, 1.30 m. in diameter and 0.15 m. thick, with a groove cut just below the circumference, had been unearthed, probably from the site of an ancient shrine. At Minina I saw no signs of remains, although it marks the beginning of the pass to Paramythia; but I was told later that there are some piers of a bridge in the river here. Minina is four and a half hours distant from Filiates and two and a half hours from Paramythia. On the south side of this stretch of the Kalamas the road from Igoumenitsa crosses a high pass south of the Kalamas gorge and descends into the inner basin at Riziani. Below this village, on the edge of the plain, I saw the foundations of several ancient buildings on a low rise of ground; the buildings are rectangular, measuring, for example, 26×30 m. and 25×8 m., the latter with a cross-wall at right angles from a point 8 m. short of the end of the 25 m. wall. The foundations are formed of large rectangular blocks of limestone, e.g. $1.20 \times 0.75 \times 0.60$ m., the wall being one block thick, and the style of building is ashlar. Of the best-preserved building the porch and doorway are extant (see Fig. 29b). I walked from Riziani to Minina in two and a half hours. Shortly after leaving the remains of these ancient houses I crossed a small stream by a bridge, to the north of which are remains of ancient buildings and a considerable amount of coarse red sherds and some thinner better-made sherds (cf. p. 303). Dakaris reports the finding of an axe here (*Arch. Delt.* 17. 2. 196).

North-east of Minina the Kalamas valley is narrowed by the limestone range and the villages stand high on the mountain slopes. At a distance of three-quarters of an hour from Minina and close to the village of Tsourila, there are the remains of an acropolis on a limestone spur, which has cliffs on three sides. The circuit of wall and cliff is some 800 m. The walls are faced on both sides with limestone blocks and filled with rubble. The style is ashlar, with large but narrow rectangular blocks so laid that the courses are close together; for instance five courses measure 1.40 m. in height. Rabbeting is employed, but the corner-blocks at the angles are not recessed. There are no towers extant. There is a gateway 2.20 m. wide, of the simple type, similar to gates A and B at Goumani. This site commands the entry from the interior into the inner basin of the Kalamas. Petrovitsa, a village to the north of Tsourila, is reputed to have the oldest church in Epirus, and it has been described briefly by Ph. M. Petsas in *Eph. Arch.* 1955, 12; it is a three-aisled basilica.

At a distance of two hours from Tsourila I reached the village of Plakoti. Half an hour before entering this village I passed through an area, known as Gugusban, in which there are the remains of ancient

houses, built apparently on an open site without a ring-wall. The foundations consist of medium-sized blocks of conglomerate, cut in polygonal style. The walls are one block thick; most of them are 0.60 m. wide. The buildings are rectangular in plan, often with a cross-wall, measuring, for example, 25 m. long by 6 m. wide, with a cross-wall dividing the length, and 15×28 m. In three-quarters of an hour I reached the village of Uzdina (Pende Ekklesies) lying high up on the western slopes of the range which divides the lower Kalamas from the upper Kalamas. In cutting through this range the Kalamas forms a deep gorge. At the western exit of the gorge there is an ancient site, situated on the left bank. The site is famous for its fine Byzantine churches.¹ They are built inside the circuit of the ancient acropolis, which is defended on the north by cliffs and on the south and west by steep slopes. The circuit of the walls and cliff was probably some 350 m. The style is ashlar with large blocks, measuring more than a metre in length. Rabbeting is used, and the rock is cut to form an emplacement for the foundation layer; there are the remains of a tower in which the corner-stones at the angles are tied but are not recessed. The courses are a fair distance apart, e.g. five courses measuring 4 m. in height. It is reported that remains of ancient walls exist on the lower ground near the river. In the middle of the river below the site is a bridge pier built of small brick. It is some 4 m. long by 1.50 m. wide, so shaped in plan as to withstand the current (Fig. 3 a). At Uzdina the olive reaches its eastern limit in the Kalamas valley. The villages east of this gorge look to Ioannina rather than to Filiates as their centre.

The greater part of the canton of Filiates lies north of the lower Kalamas. It is contained between the river and its northern watershed, along which the present frontier runs between Greece and Albania. There is little fertile land except in the delta and the inner basin of the Kalamas. The northern part of the canton is broken up by a tangle of mountain peaks, and I found it difficult to traverse. The mountain slopes which face west are bare and barren, while those facing east and south are thickly wooded, with firs at the higher altitudes and with oak, holly, and dense maquis lower down. The villages of this upland area are rich in fruit-trees, especially the pear and the fig, and in nut-trees, especially the sweet chestnut; they grow wheat and maize in the valleys, and have large flocks of sheep and goats. In contrast to the Albanian-speaking villages of the Kalamas delta and basin, these villages are Greek in speech and outlook, and have been so for centuries, as is testified by their fine old monasteries and by their retention of dialect words in Greek.² As they are unable to support

¹ *Ep. Chr.* 1931, 274.

² N, Nitsos in *Ep. Chr.* 1931, 170 f. and 1937, 185 f.

any increase in population, they send many emigrants to mainland Greece and overseas. The leading village is Tsamanda. It has 350 houses. It is situated at the headwaters of the Albanian river Pavla, but it trafficks with the valley of the Kalamas. The other villages have on the average some 200 houses, and they are considerably larger than the scattered Albanian-speaking villages of the Kalamas basin.

There are the remains of an acropolis at half an hour's distance from Tsamanda and to the SSE. of the village. It is on a limestone spur, called Lemiko, and it overlooks a sharp and deep-cut bend of the Pavla. As two sides of the summit are under cultivation, the circuit of the walls cannot be traced with certainty, but it is probable that the circumference of the acropolis was some 500 m. Some short stretches of wall on the west side are standing up to four courses. The style is ashlar, with the courses 0.30 to 0.35 m. apart, and the blocks are large but rough-hewn. There is one right-angle turn in the wall, and there are indications of a tower defending a main gateway at the south-west corner. The east and south sides are defended by cliffs. The site is well placed to control the routes from the Kalamas valley over the mountains to Markat, Leshnicë, and Sotirë in Albania. The easiest of these routes is that to Markat. It follows the northern slopes of the Pavla defile, from Lidizda on the Greek side to Zimnec on the Albanian side of the frontier. I used this route (illegally) to cross the frontier, as it affords the best entry through the hills of Tsamanda. There is an easier pass in the coastal area by Konispol. The permitted crossing of the frontier is inland in the Drin valley.

To the north-east of Lidizda, and high up on the north side of the Pavla, I visited a site called Sinou. It occupies a limestone summit, which is almost entirely surrounded with cliffs. The circuit of the walls and cliff is some 650 m. The wall, which is built of local limestone, is 2.80 m. wide, and it is faced with masonry on both sides and filled with rubble (see Plate V *d*). The style is mainly ashlar, but many parts of the wall are built with slanting vertical joins and even tend to the polygonal style. The rock is cut for emplacement of the foundation layer, and rabbeting is much used. The blocks are of medium size, but small blocks are also used for filling interstices. The cutting and the fitting of stones are good. At the north-east corner eight courses are standing to a height of 3.70 m.; this corner of the wall is right-angled and encloses the highest part of the site. On the north face of the corner there are signs of a tower; for two walls, which are 5.70 m. apart, have been built across the width of the main wall. The tower seems to have protected an ancient cistern, 4.80 × 1.30 m., cut in the living rock and inside the circuit. The site is otherwise devoid of water, and the Pavla river is far below. On the outer side of this corner and

facing east there is a medieval wall which has been built to form a semicircle. On the east side the wall can be traced throughout its length. There is a right-angled recess, 2.50 m. deep, and the remains of a gateway 1.25 m. wide (Plan 20, 17). On the south and west sides there are impregnable cliffs; there is one gap in the cliffs on the west side, and here there are remains of a wall, which appears to have included a gateway some 4 m. wide. One block, 1.30 × 0.80 m., which is cut to provide a socket, 0.11 × 0.10 m., probably belonged to the gateway. Ancient tombs, lined with limestone slabs, are reported on the main ridge north of the site. I walked from this site to that of Tsamanda in less than one hour.

In the area east of Tsamanda the old monastery of Ayios Yeoryios was visited by Clarke, who found no antiquities there. From Tsamanda one passes through Vavourion (locally called Babourion) to reach the village of Lia (locally written as Ilia) in two hours; both are villages of some 200 houses, and are almost equidistant from a site known as Kastro or Kastri, which is situated on a spur running down from Mt. Murgana. As I visited this site in mist and rain, the following account is drawn from Clarke's notes as well as my own. The site, which is at three-quarters of an hour's distance from Lia, is defended by cliffs and steep rocky slopes, except on the north, where a saddle connects the spur to the main ridge. The extant walls are mainly on the north side. The circuit of cliff and wall is some 400 m. There is a mixture of rectangular and polygonal blocks with few regular courses, and the blocks are both big and small. They are in general roughly cut. The towers are built with more skill than the rest of the walls. The style is mainly ashlar but some polygonal work occurs; the corner-stones at the angles are neatly recessed and carefully squared. The three towers on the north side measure 3.50 m. (projection) by 7.00 m. (face), 3.50 m. by 5.00 m., and 3.50 m. by 4.00 m. There are remains of a fourth tower on the west side. The wall is 1.50 m. wide, faced on both sides and filled with rubble. On the north side there is a small tower behind the outer circuit which seems to have protected a gateway (Plan 21, 9). In the south-east corner of the site a space between the south-east cliffs and the west cliffs is enclosed by a wall some 60 m. long and 1.70 m. wide, so as to form an inner citadel. The blocks are roughly cut and poorly squared. On the south side there is an abundance of red pottery sherds and a level space, probably made for the foundation of a large building. The foundations of two other buildings are traceable on the west side.

One and a half hours south-east of Lia the scattered village of Glousta, totalling 100 houses, also has an ancient site. This lies three-quarters of an hour north of Glousta, and some 600 ft. above it, on

a narrow ridge running north and south. I made only a brief visit to this site and I use Clarke's notes for what follows. The main defences now extant are on the north side, which is by nature the weakest. Here an outer wall is 2 m. wide, and is backed at a distance of 7 m. by an inner or main wall 2.50 m. wide. The walls are faced on both sides and filled with rubble. The inner wall has two towers, 6 m. square in dimension, the tower wall being 1.50 m. thick, and the towers are linked by a wall 8.50 m. long; the style here is ashlar with medium-sized well-cut blocks, and the corner-stones of the towers are recessed. Where the outer wall unites with the inner wall on the north-east side, there seems to have been a gateway defended by a tower. At the SSW. angle of the main circuit there is a small tower 4.50 m. square. Except in the two towers and the inner wall on the north side, the cutting of the blocks is mainly rough, and the style (so far as I remember) is a mixture of rectangular and polygonal blocks. An inner citadel is enclosed in the southern part of the site by cliffs on the south and by walls on the other sides; the walls are 2.50 m. thick, built of medium-sized and well-squared blocks, although some of the cutting is rough. The circuit of wall and cliff for the citadel is some 200 m.; a tower 12 m. square encloses a knoll at the north-west angle and what Clarke judged to be the remains of a cistern, some 2.20 m. in diameter. The outer circuit is in the region of 700 m. There are foundations of buildings within the circuit, and large quantities of coarse red sherds both inside and outside the circuit. At the neighbouring village of Lista graves were reported to Clarke in the area known as Kuremal; I visited this area but could not find or learn of any graves. The village of Kuremadhi, north of Lista, was reported to have an ancient site, but neither Clarke nor I visited the village. The Greek Staff Map shows a hill named Kastri just west of the village.

The villages of Tsamanda, Lia, and Glousta communicate with Filiates down the narrow valley of the Kalpakiotikos stream. Walking from Filiates, I reached the fine monastery of Yeromeri, the Moni Panayias of the Greek Staff Map, after one and a half hours; the sides of the valley here are thickly clad with maquis and small timber. Some forty minutes further up the valley the stream passes through a narrow defile. This defile was blocked in antiquity by a small fort, formed by some 60 m. of wall beside the stream-bed and by two high spurs of rock projecting from the steep side of the defile. The wall is built of large blocks, finely cut, and it still stands in six courses to a height of 4.80 m. The corner-stones at the angle of the wall are recessed, but I failed to make a note of the style of the masonry. The village of Fatirion is at ten minutes' distance from this fort. Two hours further up the valley I reached the village of Ayios Pandes, from which

it is three hours to Vavourion. On this path one reaches the summit of the ridge after one hour from Ayios Pandes. Just to the north of the path and on the top of the ridge I noticed some ancient tombs, made of roughly shaped limestone slabs, and some sherds of coarse red pottery.

The best route from Filiates to the upper Kalamas basin and thence to Ioannina passes north of the inner Kalamas basin and descends to Raveni near the confluence of the Langavitsa and Kalamas. One follows the long valley of the Dhafnis stream, then climbs steeply over a shale ridge to descend to Raveni. This walk took five hours, and I passed only a few small inns. Although this route is much used, I learnt of no ancient remains in its vicinity. In the last week of April many flocks of sheep were moving along this route from the winter pastures of the lower Kalamas towards the high country above Konitsa. On crossing the ridge above Raveni I opened up a fine view of the rolling uplands of the upper Kalamas, backed by the snowbound mountains of Olytsika, Gamila, and Nemerçkë.

The distribution of ancient sites in the canton of Filiates is unlike that of the other areas we have considered. The group of four fortified sites, relatively small in size, within a short range of Tsamanda is surprising, and we shall see that a similar pattern continues along the sides of the mountain range to Platovouni. It seems likely that these fortifications were built against enemies in the lower Pavla valley and perhaps also in the Kalamas valley. The very large site at Goumani must have had a considerable territory on both sides of the river. One imagines that it possessed the site at Pírgos and the fort by the ford of the Kalamas, and that the fortification in the Kalpakiotikos valley marked a frontier with the group round Tsamanda. Dholiani, Tsourila, and Uzdina are strong points in defence of the inner basin of the Kalamas; their citizens must have had some regular means of crossing the river. It is noticeable that Dholiani and Tsourila have the same style of masonry, with narrow courses. Lastly, one would expect a site in the hills above Sayiadhes; both Clarke and I were told of a small fortified site, perhaps of medieval date, in these hills, but investigations were not possible so near the frontier.

III

THE ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE NORTH-WESTERN DISTRICTS

I. THE CANTON OF DELVINË

THE centre of the southern part of the canton is Konispol, a village of some 1,500 houses, situated high above the plain on the headwaters of a tributary of the Pavla. The people are entirely Albanian in speech and Mohammedan in religion, and the houses are built as strongholds and widely dispersed. The village owns most of the valley down to the shores of the lake by Butrinto and lets out the fine winter pastures to the Vlach shepherds. It is said to breed the best horses in Albanian Epirus. Konispol controls the easiest route of entry from the canton of Filiates. Clarke crossed the coastal range from Sayiadhes village to Konispol in one and a half hours. It has been thought that there is an ancient site near Konispol. Clarke visited a ruined fort which he decided was of Turkish construction, the masonry being similar to the Turkish masonry in the fort of Ioannina; and I heard of no other site from the villagers. The ancient counterpart of Konispol lies at one and a quarter hours' distance down the valley, at the confluence of the stream of Konispol (called locally the Afyena) with the Pavla. The site is built on an isolated conical limestone hill (272 m.), which is locally known as Aetos. It controls the entry into the Pavla gorge as well as into the upper valley towards Konispol. The sides of the hill are steep, with precipices on the north face, so that the site is very picturesque and has great natural strength. The summit is a narrow spine, some 20 paces wide. The outer circuit is built of well-fitting polygonal masonry with large blocks, between which small blocks are commonly used (see Plate VI*a*).¹ On the south-east side the wall is built in ashlar style but with oblique vertical joins, the blocks being mainly large. Clarke noted one tower on the north-west side. On the south side the polygonal wall is standing to a height of 4 m. in nine courses, and on the south-east side the ashlar wall to a height of 2.50 m. in five courses. An inner circuit of wall is built of mixed rectangular and polygonal blocks, inferior in workmanship to the outer circuit; the corner-stones at the angles are deeply recessed, and rabbeting is used. There are many terrace walls and

¹ Illustrated in Ugolini, *Butrinto* figs. 136 and 137.

foundation walls within the outer and inner circuits, the style being mainly good polygonal. The north-west angle of the outer circuit was excavated by L. M. Ugolini. Here a gateway 2.60 m. wide penetrates the outer circuit. It is flanked on the inner south side by a wall 12 m. long. From the inner part of the passageway a drainage channel is cut for a distance of 8 paces and terminates on the outer face of the main circuit in a projecting block, the channel in this block being 0.31 m. wide. The buildings cleared by L. M. Ugolini are known locally as 'the palace'. The doorway (Plate VI*b*) is 0.91 m. wide and 2.25 high. The rock has been cut to form emplacements for blocks.

An ancient quarry has been reported in this area.¹ Blocks from it are said to have been used in the citadel of 'Malathre' (perhaps Aetos). The method in breaking off blocks was the same as that used in the region of Koritsa today. Grooves 14 cm. wide and 12 to 14 cm. deep are cut on the rock face, and then, at intervals of 18 to 20 cm., ellipsoidal cavities, 18 to 20 cm. deep, and with diameters 6 to 8 cm. and 14 to 15 cm., are sunk inside the grooves to a depth of 18 to 20 cm. Iron points are then driven into the cavities, and the rock splits along the line of the grooves. The quarry is certainly ancient; for there are no remains in stone in this area ancient or modern except at Aetos and Vagalat.

The small hamlet of Çiflik lies below the hill of Aetos, and it is one hour's walk from there to Murzië, an Albanian-speaking village of 700 people, where there is a large ancient block with a socket hole 0.05 m. square and 0.05 m. deep in the church of Ayios Theodoros. An inscription with four or five Latin letters is said to be on a stone in the floor near the altar. Clarke visited a ruined church on the east side of the plain between Çiflik and Murzië, and he made a note of Roman and Byzantine tiles, a Byzantine capital and a piece of plain column 0.35 m. in diameter. There are said to be a number of early ruined churches in this area. Clarke visited also a site to the west of Murzië, across the plain and at the mouth of a prominent gorge (I imagine that leading to Kato Aetos), and here he saw several groups of medium-sized blocks of masonry scattered among the thick scrub. They may be from a block-post, designed to resist raiders from the coast. A bronze plate was said to have been found in this vicinity. The plain below Çiflik is marshy and malarial. One walks from Murzië to Qarë in three-quarters of an hour, and there is a ferry from Qarë to Butrinto. Two marble statues were said to have been found at Qarë, and Clarke noted the ruins of an early church, a medieval 'pill-box', and two fragments of a marble sarcophagus in the district called Dhiministra, some forty minutes from Qarë.

¹ *BUST* 1963, 1. 228 f.

Ascending the Pavla stream from Çiflik one reaches in two and a half hours the village of Vagalat, which overlooks a small fertile plain of alluvial soil deposited by the Pavla. To the south of Vagalat the Pavla enters a deep gorge. On the heights above the north side of the gorge and at a little over an hour's distance from Vagalat there is an ancient site, which was visited by Clarke and not by me.¹ The ground plan of the walls is shown in Plan 21, 17. The masonry is ashlar (see Plates Vc and VIIb), the courses being rather close together, for instance, eighteen courses standing to a height of some 6.80 m.; slight rabbeting is used occasionally and breaks the horizontal regularity. Some blocks have one or even two projections for lifting, and the corner-stones at the angles are deeply recessed. The wall of the tower is 1 m. thick. The masonry facing the main wall is 0.70 m. thick. The total width of the wall is 3.20 m. where it joins the tower, and 3.50 m. where the walls break off at a distance of 25 m. from the tower; a line of headers in alternate rows shows that a cross-wall was built through the thickness of the wall. One window is roofed with a single block measuring $2.10 \times 0.10 \times 0.45$ m. (the adjacent block has fallen out), and across the embrasure a block $1.25 \times 1.10 \times 0.20$ m. is standing, which probably served as a shutter. The other windows are roofed with two large blocks, placed side by side in the thickness of the wall. Clarke was informed by a villager that there are traces of the walls extending for some 300 m. up the steep slope, until they terminate in a circle of some 20 paces' radius formed of large undressed stones. It seems probable that the site is a citadel defending the entry of the Pavla gorge. Mt. Milë on the northern side of the gorge has fine timber, which the French bought for ship-building (Leake 1. 97).

To the north of Vagalat the plain extends to the head of the Lake of Vivari. An almost invisible divide marks off the tributary of the Pavla from the stream (called Posla on the Staff Map) which flows into the lake, and it seems certain that the Pavla once flowed through this plain into the lake, then silted up the narrows of the plain and finally forced its way through the limestone range into the synclinal valley to the west. On the west side of the divide a small knoll called Dobra, some 40 ft. above the level of the plain and with a flat top measuring 56 by 30 paces, carries the remains of a temple enclosure, the wall of which is 1 m. wide. Inside the enclosure are the foundations of a rectangular temple, $6.20 \times$ about 6.60 m. The wall is 1.20 to 1.25 m. thick, built with large squared blocks on the outer face and with smaller blocks on the inner face; there are up to five courses standing, the average depth of the course being 0.30 m. One block

¹ Clarke A 101. This is evidently the site whose position Ugolini describes rather vaguely in *AA* 3. 19.

has a projection for lifting; the stone is grey and non-porous, and is found locally. There are also the foundations of a church, in which ancient blocks are used, measuring 6.70×5.30 m. On the north-east side Clarke, whose description I am giving here, saw two fragments of a marble torso of the imperial period.

Ascending the Pavla stream Clarke reached the Greek-speaking village of Karoq in some six hours; it numbers sixty-nine houses and is some six hours distant from Filiates. Two forts were reported but not visited; both are about half an hour from the village, one being called Palio Monastiri and the other Sigcunai. On visiting Zimnec I was told that the former is not an ancient site but consists of a ruined monastery, and the latter is a ruined village. From Karoq Clarke passed through Perdikar and thence to Vavourion in four and a quarter hours. I crossed the frontier from Lidizda to Zimnec. A quarter of an hour above the village of Zimnec a wall 2.50 m. wide and 95 paces long encloses three sides of a crag, the fourth side being formed by a precipice. On the south-east side at the weakest point there are the remains of a tower or gate; the wall is shattered and broken, probably through the site being razed. The blocks were small and on one I noticed rabbeting. The blocks are of limestone and conglomerate, both found locally, and I believe the site to have been an ancient one, similar to but smaller than Sinou near Lidizda. From Zimnec I reached in half an hour the village of Grazdhan, where tombs formed of slabs were said to have been found in the centre of the village; from Grazdhan it was an hour's walk to Malçan. A larger site near Malçan is set on a conical hill linked to the main ridge by a low saddle on the south-east (see Plate XXVa). The circuit of the outer wall is 810 paces and on the north-west side cliffs extend for a further 425 paces; the enclosed area is in the shape of a pear, most of one side being formed by the cliffs. In the south-west portion, where the enclosed area is widest, an inner circuit of 325 paces in length lies up against the outer circuit, and forms a citadel of almost circular shape with a circumference of 450 paces. The outer wall is 3.80 m. wide, faced on both sides with limestone blocks and filled with rubble. The style is ashlar with large and medium-sized blocks. Rabbeting is occasionally used in the towers, and the corner-stones at the angles are deeply recessed. Of the eight towers, which are fairly evenly spaced along the east side, six are square, being 6 paces by 6 paces; at the south-east angle a larger tower projects 7.10 m. and measures 6.85 m. across its outer face. This tower is built of large blocks and four courses are standing to a height of 3.50 m. (see Plate Vb). Another tower projects 5.10 m. and measures 6.50 m. across its outer face. In the south-west part of the wall there appears to have been a gateway 2 m. wide, built through

the thickness of the wall, without any tower to give protection, and leading into the inner citadel. This gateway has been filled up with a wall of smaller stones. The inner wall is of inferior workmanship, and the blocks are smaller than those of the outer circuit; the style is ashlar, and there are two towers measuring 7 paces by 7 paces, which face east and north-east onto the area enclosed by the outer circuit. The rock is cut for the emplacement of foundation blocks, especially beside the gateway. The highest point carries a church, which I was unable to enter, and to the south of it there is a short length of medieval wall. Apart from the towers, there is only one right-angled turn in the wall; this gives a projection of 5 paces and lies just east of the juncture of the inner and outer walls. An inscription (no. 45), which I copied at Santi Quaranta, was said to have come from Leshnicë, just north-east of Malçan.

From Malçan I descended in half an hour to the Monastery of Theolog, where I found no antiquities; thence to Vagalat is three and a half hours. To the south of the confluence of the Leshnicë and the Pavla, the village of Markat claims an ancient site, which proved to be a ruined Turkish fort, known as Kaljas, on the east side of the Pavla. When Ugolini was excavating Butrinto he and his assistants noted the following sites in addition to those I have mentioned. Kalivo, a hill beside the lake, has a large site which was washed by the lake on some sides and was defended on the landward side by a wall which is partly polygonal and partly 'pelasgic', and which has towers and a gateway. Pottery and necklace beads were found here which are dated to the sixth century B.C. In the plain there are Roman buildings, an aqueduct and tombs; and at Diapori, further north beside the lake, there are Roman buildings and the ruins of a Byzantine church. He mentions too a small Hellenistic fort, called Malahuna, between Murzië and Aetos.¹ At Qarë and in a cave called Ayia Marina, beside the river Pavla between Murzië and Vagalat, some palaeolithic remains were found (see p. 289 below); the bones of a chamois (*Capra ibex*) were also found in the cave.

From Qarë to Qenurio is two and a half hours. Ten minutes WNW. of the village Clarke noted the remains of a small fort of the pill-box type at the head of the small pass. The blocks were rectangular and of medium size, and the fort stood on a small knoll. To the north of the pill-box one reaches the isolated hill of Kara-Ali-Bey; just below and on the west side of the hill there is a 43-paces length of wall built with massive well-cut blocks, measuring, for example, $2.24 \times 0.90 \times 0.90$ and $2.20 \times 1.00 \times 1.00$ m. The style is ashlar, but in parts of the wall the courses cease to be regular. Four courses are standing to a height of

¹ *AA* 3. 19-20 and 25. D. Mustilli in *RdA* 1 (1940) 322.

some 3.20 m., but some small stones are used to fill interstices. On the south side of the hill there are remains of the foundations of a similar wall, the width being 3.60 m. and the wall being faced on both sides and filled with rubble. I did not have time to survey the site, but I estimated that the circuit of walls was probably over 1,000 m.; Clarke also visited the site, but he made few notes.¹

From Kara-Ali-Bey one crosses some eighteen small bridges to reach Çuke in one hour. In the village there are the remains of a small fort, which is larger than the pill-box type. The fort is rectangular with a tower on the north side projecting 11 paces and measuring 10 paces across its outer face. The style is good ashlar and the blocks are large; four courses are standing to a height of 1.65 m. One block has a slot $0.12 \times 0.09 \times 0.05$ m. deep, possibly for a clamp, and a socket 0.04 m. square and 0.03 m. deep. From Çuke it is one and a quarter hours to Santi Quaranta. Ugolini mentions the ruins of 'two Greek temples' near Metoq, which lies just inland of this track. He does not give their dimensions, but he illustrates the walls, which look to me very much like those of the houses at Riziani.²

Walking from Santi Quaranta I took two hours to reach the narrow neck of land between the sea and the lake which marks the entry into the Hexamili peninsula (see Plate VIII*a*). On the south side of the neck there is a limestone hill, 188 m. high, which commands the passage southwards, and the monastery of Dema stands on the top of the hill among trees and scrub. A long wall runs from the monastery to the sea coast. It is built of large rectangular blocks, measuring, for example, $1.30 \times 0.80 \times 0.60$ m., and the face of the blocks is smoothly finished; the wall is faced on both sides in good ashlar style and is filled with rubble. Some of the blocks contain sockets for small clamps, measuring 0.05 by 0.025 m. A similar wall descends to the lake near the beach; but I had trouble with some Albanian policemen and had to move on without inspecting that part of the wall.³

Proceeding from the monastery of Dema one walks along the barren or scrub-clad slopes of Hexamili peninsula for one and a half hours to reach the site of Buthrotum. It is situated at the south-east angle of the peninsula on a low hill of limestone formation, which is washed on three sides by the lake and by its outlet and is joined on the fourth side by a low saddle to the main ridge. On both occasions when I visited the site Ugolini was conducting his excavations and showed me his discoveries with the greatest kindness and courtesy. As this was his

¹ P-K 2. 1. 68 and a description in Philippson's *Thessalien und Epirus* (1897) 22.

² Ibid. and *AA* 1. p. 150 and pl. 86.

³ For a photograph of the wall at the seaward end see Ugolini *Butrinto* fig. 185; also *AA* 1 pl. 87 and pl. 104; *AA* 2. 63 n. 1.

territory, I did not take detailed notes and measurements at the time, and Clarke did not visit Buthrotum. In consequence, the following description is a summary based on Ugolini's publication and on general notes which I made.

The outer circuit-wall crosses the saddle on the west side of the hill and encloses the lowest slopes on the other three sides. Its length is about 750 m.,¹ and for the greater part it is built on level ground. The wall has undergone many repairs in ancient and in medieval times and contains the following broad variations of style:

(1) The most common is a variety of ashlar style in which rabbeting is liberally used. This rabbeting tends to upset the regularity of the horizontal courses. In addition the vertical joins are not always perpendicular. The size of blocks in this type of masonry varies considerably: sometimes both medium and small sizes are used, e.g. 0.80×0.65 m. and 0.20×0.10 m., sometimes long shallow blocks, e.g. 1.00×0.35 m., sometimes large blocks, e.g. 1.60×0.80 m., and sometimes almost square blocks, e.g. 0.80×0.70 m. It is possible that each dimension of block belongs chronologically to a different period; personally I think this is not probable, but if it be so, then these periods are sub-divisions of an epoch in which rabbeting was employed.²

(2) Less common is the variety of ashlar style in which rabbeting is not used. Here too the vertical joins are not always perpendicular. In one stretch of wall the blocks vary considerably in length e.g. from 1.50 to 0.60 m., while the courses are from 0.50 to 0.60 m. apart. In another stretch the blocks are long in proportion to their height, e.g. 1.10×0.30 . In yet another stretch of wall the blocks are, for example, 0.90×0.30 , and have the additional peculiarity that on the outside face each block has a cavity in the centre which is 4 cm. square and 3 cm. deep, this cavity being made perhaps to provide a hold for a lifting-brace. As this peculiarity may be attributed to a development in general technique, it seems likely that this last stretch of wall differs in date from the others.³

(3) Three pieces of walling are described as polygonal.⁴ In one case

¹ *AA* 3. 37.

² *AA* 3. 30 f. For the varieties in size of the blocks in the above order see p. 33 and figs. 21 and 68; p. 36 and fig. 52, and also *AA* 1. 153 and fig. 106, where one block is rabbeted; and *AA* 3. 31. The term used by Ugolini to express rabbeting is 'blocchi a sei lati oppure a otto lati' (p. 38).

³ For varieties in the above order see p. 31 and fig. 20; p. 31; p. 34 and fig. 22. In discussing the cavity in the face of the blocks Ugolini does not mention whether the inner face of the block also carries a cavity. He adds that the upper side of the cavity is at right angles to the bottom of the cavity whereas the lower side is at an acute angle, and he points out that this supports the view that the cavities were designed for taking a lifting-brace.

⁴ For the three pieces in the same order see p. 32 and fig. 68; p. 31 last paragraph; and p. 32. The term polygonal is clearly applied to a rabbeted block of ashlar type on p. 52, cf. fig. 52.

the term used by Ugolini is 'pseudo-poligonale' and refers to a mixture of ashlar and polygonal blocks; this type of walling climbs the slope towards the saddle on the west side of the circuit. In another it seems to refer to only two or three blocks. The third case, however, seems to be true polygonal, despite the odd feature that 'sometimes the blocks form regular courses'. This last stretch of polygonal walling is on the north side of the circuit, where it abuts on a stretch of rabbeted wall (type 1) at a right-angled turn. The stretch of polygonal wall contains the only obtuse-angled turn in the main circuit-wall. It seems most likely, therefore, that this polygonal walling is a later repair to a wall which was originally of type 1 and which was straight; the obtuse angle was devised in order to gain additional strength.

Before we pass on to a consideration of the gates and towers it should be noted that the summary given above reduces the number of styles in the outer circuit-wall from Ugolini's four to three.¹ It is not Ugolini's practice to give the thickness of the block, i.e. the depth of penetration into the wall. This would be of special interest in the case of the wall noted at the end of paragraph (2). In describing this wall Ugolini says that the smallest blocks do not have the cavity. The photograph of the wall (his fig. 22) reminds me of the wall-type at Saraginishtë and Lekel, where the blocks are laid some with their long side forming the outer face of the wall and others with their long side forming the thickness of the masonry, i.e. at right angles to the outer face; in the latter case the small butt-end of the block shows as the outer face. If the blocks were so laid here, then the long side likely to have a cavity would not show in those cases where the length of the block was at right angles to the outer face.

Of the gates in the outer circuit the best preserved is the East gate (Ugolini's 'Scaean gate'), 1.50 m. wide at the entry from outside and 2.10 m. wide at the exit leading to the inside of the town; the passageway is 5.25 m. long, but the south wall of the corridor is extended beyond the exit to form a protecting angle and is 8.50 m. long (Plan 21, 4 and Plate XVII b). The present paving of the passage is medieval; the ancient level at the entry was revealed by excavation and showed that the height of the gate was 5 m. and that the foundation course of the wall by the entry projected 0.10 m. from the second course. The ceiling of the passageway is formed by large monolithic blocks of varying size but mainly 0.50 m. wide and 0.40 m. thick, their length spanning the width of the passage which increases as one passes from the outside entry to the inside exit. These monoliths rest on corbel-blocks of which the curved ends project from the side-walls of the passage. The ceiling

¹ AA 3. 44, his category of blocks 'more tall than they are broad' is included under my type (I), because rabbeting is employed in the cases which he illustrates.

of the passage is in two levels: the lower level runs for 2.50 m. from the entry, then there is a step up of 18 cm. and the higher level continues for 2.75 m. to the exit. Ugolini believes that the two levels of ceiling with the corresponding sections of the passageway were not contemporary and that the upper level with its passage was added at a later date. He adduces the following reasons for his view: (1) in the upper level the blocks of the passage-walls are smaller than in the lower level and less frequently rabbeted; (2) the corner-stones at the angles of the entry are deeply cut, whereas those at the angles of the exit are not; (3) the corbel-blocks in the upper level are less strong than those in the lower level, the former being 0.30 m. thick and the latter 0.35 m., and the curvature of the former being more flat.¹ In my opinion Ugolini's view is not acceptable. The difference in size of blocks is due to the need of strength in the part of the passage which is close to the angle of entry, the point where battering-rams could be applied; rabbeting is also a feature which adds strength, and its greater frequency towards the entry can be explained on the same grounds. The cutting of the corner-stones is common to almost all large sites in Epirus, but it occurs almost always on the outside faces of the angles and not on the angles which face the inside of the circuit.² There remain the difference in level and the difference in strength of the corbel-stones, which do require an explanation. By suggesting that they are due to a later addition Ugolini provides an occasion but not a reason for these differences; nor does it seem more likely that a later architect would choose to make these variations than that the original architect (on my theory) would do so.

The differences of level and of the corbel-stones, like that of size and of rabbeting, is rather to be explained on functional grounds. The hill-side slopes upward from the entry to the exit; it is therefore probable that the original floor of the passage had two different levels linked by a step, and that the step in the ceiling levels corresponds to the step in the floor levels. There is, however, a further reason which derives from the matter of the corbel-stones. The use of weaker corbel-stones in that part of the passageway which is wider is at first sight surprising: for there the monoliths of the ceiling are heavier. But if one thinks in terms not of the passageway only but of the circuit-wall, the reason is obvious. The average width of the circuit-wall at its lower levels is 3 m.; the upper courses of this wall with the parapet and the core of rubble were carried by the outer section of the passageway, that is the lower level of ceiling with the stronger corbels. On the other

¹ AA 3. 54.

² Ugolini does not dwell on this cutting of corner-stones, which is so marked on many sites in Epirus.

hand, the inner section of the passageway has no main circuit-wall overhead to support, and the corbel-stones are therefore weaker. The reason for the step in the ceiling appearing at a distance of 2.50 m. from the entry will then be that it corresponds to the width of the circuit-wall above the passageway, and the step itself helps to mark the point where the pressure on the ceiling changes and the corbel-stones become less strong. However, the strongest objections to Ugolini's view derive from the fact that, if we take away the higher level of ceiling and the corresponding passageway, we are left with a passageway only 2.50 m. deep, i.e. less than the average width of the circuit-wall at its foundation level. Yet the passageway is 5 m. high: such a height relative to a width of 1.50 and a depth of 2.50 m. is difficult to explain on aesthetic or other grounds. Further the plan in section shows that the side-wall did not come to an end 2.50 m. from the entry but was in fact continuous when the original passageway was built. For, had it ended after 2.50 m., the vertical joins would have ended in a straight line; if one later added another piece of passageway, either the new side-wall would abut on the straight vertical line of the original side-wall's end, or else, if one were determined to make a continuous wall and break down that vertical line (and no such vertical line appears in the plan in section), it would have been necessary to underpin the upper circuit-wall and ceiling in order to take out the end-blocks of the original side-wall and insert new blocks to make the new and the old side-walls interlock.

These considerations leave little doubt that the gate and passageway were built in one piece contemporary with the circuit-wall which they pierce. In fact, the result is extremely effective on aesthetic grounds, largely because the proportion of height to width of entry is offset by the great length of the passageway. The height has also a functional value, for the only means of lighting so long a passageway is either to have a broad or a high aperture. A broader aperture would have been more vulnerable to attack and would have presented almost insoluble problems for the architect if he had had to devise a longer architrave. The higher aperture had three advantages: it did not make the gateway any more vulnerable, it did relieve the weight pressing down on the architrave, and it provided more light than a wider entry would have done. There remains one problem about this gate: how was it closed? Ugolini does not mention this problem, but the answer is perhaps provided by his plan and his photographs.¹ These show that two blocks, cut to receive door-posts, stand on the pavement

¹ AA 3, fig. 52 and pls. iv and v. It is not clear from the ground plan in fig. 54 what the meaning is of the two recesses in the side-walls, nor do the photographs supply any clue. One might perhaps be a socket-hole for a strong bolt, to judge from pl. iv. See Plate XVIIb.

of the passageway at a point just on the inner side of a perpendicular dropped from the step in the ceiling. It is then probable that these blocks are in the original position, that the gate occupied the top of the step up in the floor level, and that the defenders fought not only from a higher level but also from a wider part of the passage against any intruder from without.

Another interesting gate (which Ugolini called the Lion Gate) has a passageway 2.90 m. long, 3.40 m. high, and just before the entry 2.15 m. wide; for in this case, unlike the last, the passageway narrows from the outside entry to the inside exit (Plan 21, 5).¹ The actual entry, however, measures 1.19 m. wide and 1.50 m. high, the aperture being foreclosed from above by the insertion of an architrave sculpted with a lion devouring a dead bull and of a further course of masonry before the height of the passageway ceiling is attained. In the passageway corbel-stones, projecting some 30 cm. from the side-walls and presenting a triangular aspect to an incomer, support monoliths, varying in width and thickness, which form the ceiling. The technique of the passageway ceiling is thus the same as that of the first gate. In this case, however, some blocks of the outside layer of masonry above the entry have fallen away, and the gap enabled Ugolini to discern that there is in fact a double ceiling, with a space between the upper ceiling and the ceiling of the passageway. The upper ceiling is also formed of monoliths; these are supported at either end by a line of blocks laid at right angles to the monoliths, so that the two lines of blocks form, as it were, an upper continuation of the side-walls of the passageway.² The effect of this double ceiling is to throw the whole weight of the main circuit-wall above the gate on to the upper ceiling and the sides of the passageway; the lower ceiling in fact carries no weight from above, and thus both the lower ceiling and the corbel-stones are to this extent false (hence perhaps the triangular shape of the projection in the corbel-stones).³ The object of introducing a double ceiling, which must be original in the building of the gateway, is presumably to conceal the upper ceiling, which is in fact structural; the

¹ *AA.* 3. 56 figs. 57-64 and pls. vi-vii.

² I have here followed a note I made when Ugolini was showing me this gate. It does not agree entirely with the account in *AA.* 3 but the conclusion is the same, namely that the object of the double ceiling is 'per liberare le piattabande visibili del soffitto dal peso che avrebbe gravato sui di esse'.

³ This raises the question whether the visible ceiling in the first gate is also a false one. The answer is probably no, because the curving corbel-ends are stronger there and the thickness of the corbel-blocks varies with the changing level of the ceiling. In other words, the corbel-stones are functional in that gate, and there is no false ceiling. One reason for not using a double ceiling may be found in the great height of the gate, which made the architrave a high target for a ram, and in its narrowness as compared with the second gate.

reason for so concealing it springs from the need to deceive an attacking force. For if one had to assault such a gateway with a battering-ram one would aim first at the (apparently) weakest point of the structure, namely the monolithic architrave resting on its slim corbels. From the outside of the wall one would, however, be seeing the false architrave, that is the first monolith forming the lower ceiling, and the smashing of that architrave would not result in collapsing the main wall above, which is supported by the upper concealed ceiling.

The explanation advanced for the function of the double ceiling supposes that the original aspect of this gate was similar to that of the first gate, that is with the architrave and corbel-stones showing. As the principles of structure and the style of the passageway and outer walls are similar in each case, it is probable that both gates were built originally to present the same aspect at the entry. This supposition entails the conclusion that the present aspect of the entry is not original but is a later addition. Ugolini, for different reasons, has already drawn this conclusion; as he points out, the architrave and the left-hand door-post are not integrated to the walls of the passageway and must therefore be later insertions. How did they come to be inserted, and with what aim was a lower entry introduced? If the present entry with the outer layer of masonry of the upper wall is removed (as it has been in part by decay), the space between the double ceiling is visible; this means that the original architrave and corbel-stones and the upper courses which concealed the double ceiling have been removed or destroyed. It is thus highly probable that an assaulting force was one day deceived by the concealed ceiling, smashed the false architrave, and brought down nothing more than the outer layer of masonry. The double ceiling had in fact served its purpose; but the secret was out, and the plan of the next architect was to conceal the double ceiling by a new false front, namely the entry as we have it; for the destruction of this false front will again result in the collapse only of the outer layer of masonry. Finally, the position of the door within the passageway is not discussed by Ugolini. The plan, however, shows two socket holes in the side-wall of the passageway immediately behind the present entry; it is probable that these are the original socket holes and that the gate was built at the mouth of the entry (as in the North gate below).

Two other gates were uncovered by the original excavations, the North gate and the West gate. The former is 2.40 m. wide and the passageway is 5.50 m. long; Plan 21, 6, based on Ugolini's account, shows the ground-plan of the gate, the door itself being across the entry and the blocks of the side-walls of the passageway being rabbeted and varying in size from $1.30 \times 0.35 \times 0.60$ to $0.85 \times 0.55 \times 0.60$ m.

The plan of the gateway thus bears a resemblance to that of the second or Lion gate. It was also probably roofed in the same manner; for a fine corbel-stone was found. The West gate faces the saddle linking the hill to the main ridge and is the main landward entry. The width of the gateway is not known and the length of the passageway was not less than 2.70 m.; the ground-plan is therefore incomplete. In this gateway the upper courses of the sides of the entry are built of regular ashlar masonry with no rabbeting, that is, my type (2) above; whereas the lower courses are built of larger blocks with rabbeting, belonging to my type (1). Thus the relative chronology of type (1) is established: type (1) is either earlier than type (2) or is contemporary with it.¹ Of the gateway itself there is not sufficient evidence to judge whether it is built on the same principles as the other three gates. The ground-plan is in any case different from that of any of the others.


Further excavations have revealed another gate, which has much more elaborate defences. As one passes through the gate towards the sea, one has a square tower on either side, and that on the left is further extended by a semicircular projection; this offers a better chance of striking at the unshielded right-hand side of an assailant. There are signs of rebuilding of the curtain wall where the square tower joins it, so that the defences are probably a later addition. The masonry is generally ashlar but with a few trapezoidal blocks, and the courses vary in height; the walls of the towers are only two blocks thick and there is therefore no core of rubble, and some blocks are laid through the thickness of the wall both in the semicircular and in the square towers. The outer blocks of the semicircular tower are smaller than the inner ones, which are thus better fitted to take the pressure of a battering-ram. The gate was at the inner end of the passage some 3 m. wide between the towers, and there are grooves, probably for a portcullis near the outer end. This gate is referred by D. Mustilli to the Hellenistic period. His excellent plan of it is reproduced in Plan 21, 7. A piece of the circuit-wall near the theatre was exposed, and it was found to have small buttresses at short intervals on the inside.²

The walls which stand on level ground according to Ugolini's description are faced on both sides with masonry and filled with rubble; in such cases the width of the wall is almost always 3 m. and sometimes more, e.g. 4 m. in the case of the north side-wall of the Lion gate.³ Ugolini proceeds to say that most walls (on the hill in general) are built

¹ *AA* 3. 66 fig. 68; Ugolini distinguishes three styles in the gateway, because he separates the regular ashlar masonry into two divisions according to the size of the blocks.

² *Encicl. Ital.*, Append. 2. 109, and *Rendiconti Accad. d'Italia, Classe d. sc. morali e storiche* 2 (1941) 688 f., figs. 7, 8, and 18.

³ *AA* 3. 37.

with one face of dressed masonry, namely the external or visible one, a backing of other blocks 'disposti con un certo ordine', a further backing of rubble, and finally a mound of earth. The width of the masonry face and its two backings varies from 2 to 3 m., and the mound of earth is described as reaching from the top of the wall to the natural slope of the hill behind. This second type of wall will be discussed later, and it must be sufficient here to anticipate my conclusion that it is in fact not a defensive circuit-wall but a retaining wall for a terrace. In the case of the outer circuit-wall this distinction probably does not arise; for all the outer circuit is on pretty level ground, and the plans of the gateways at least show that the walls there are all of the normal type, that is, faced with masonry on both sides. The corner-stones at the angles which are illustrated, that is in the East gate, the Lion gate, the West gate, the north-east angle and the seaward gate, are all cut in the Epirote manner when the angle is visible from outside the circuit. In the line of the circuit-wall there are a number of right-angled and acute-angled turns (viewed from the outside), but towers are almost or entirely lacking except at the seaward gate.¹ Even at the East gate the projecting part of the flanking wall on the outside stands out only 2 m. (Plan 21, 4). Where the line of the wall turns thus:  the projection is usually small; the largest perhaps is one of over 5 m. in the case of the north-east angle. Here the angle is peculiar in being snub-nosed; the wall on the west side is thicker than that on the east side by 0.50 m.² There can be little doubt, in view of the uniformity of the defences as regards gates, turns of the wall,³ and the lack of towers except in the seaward gate, that the ground plan of the outer circuit is in general the original one. Where later additions or repairs have been made to the walls, they were put on top of the old walls, as we have seen in the case of the Lion gate and the West gate. Ugolini thinks there were more gates, his argument being that the four known gates are on the average 100 m. apart and the circuit of the site is 750 m. Where there are fields on all sides of a city, gates may be expected in all sectors of the circuit. But here three sides are washed by the lake and its outlet, so that exits are needed only to the port area or ferry area and on the one landward side towards the west. It therefore seems likely that there were only these four gates, one facing west and the other three facing the ferry across to Qarë and the passage over the lake. In that case the south side of the site would be all the stronger for its lack of gates.

¹ AA 3. 37; but see pl. i, where the only possible tower is on the south-west part of the outer circuit. As this is in black, it may be medieval, and it is not included in the detailed description of the Greek circuit-wall.

² AA 3. 165 and figs. 168 and 169.

³ The only obtuse-angled turn has been shown to be probably a later development.

In describing the outer circuit it only remains to deal with the surface of the wall. Near the north-east or snub-nosed angle there is a vertical channel 0.10×0.10 m. cut in the outer surface of the wall.¹ The amount of convexity on the outer face of the blocks in the different styles of walling varies considerably. The most marked convexity is in the polygonal walling with the obtuse angles² and in the walls of the East gate and the Lion gate; on the other hand, slight convexity occurs in part of the north wall where rabbeting is used and also in the ashlar wall without rabbeting, which has cavities for the lifting-brace.³ In one piece of walling, homogeneous in style, it is noted that both slight and marked convexity occur.⁴

The top of the hill whose foot is circled by the outer circuit-wall is a fairly level table from which the slopes fall steeply; the edge of this table carries medieval fortifications. In and among these Ugolini finds three types of ancient walling. The first is a short piece of walling, 3 m. long, incorporated in a medieval wall; it consists of unhewn rough stones both large (e.g. 1.40×1.00 m.) and small. The second is another short piece 4 m. long, incorporated in a medieval wall, and consists of a rough ill-fitting collection of large and small blocks, mainly irregular tetragons or triangular in shape. The third is a strong wall of well-worked and large blocks (2.40×1.00 to 1.00×0.75 m.), the style being polygonal; it runs near the edge of the table above the slopes for some 15 m. and contains a right-angle and an obtuse-angled turn in that distance.⁵ In all these walls small stones are used to fill interstices; they are properly fitted to their neighbours only in the third type of wall. Ugolini considers that the first is 'pelasgic', the second is 'primitive polygonal', and these are the earliest types of walling on the site.⁶ This is difficult to accept, firstly because both are above the modern ground-level, and secondly because their poor construction makes it unlikely that they could have survived for so many centuries without the protection afforded by the medieval wall. It seems more likely that they are pieces of rough wall or of retaining wall of the late Greco-Roman period which were incorporated in the medieval wall. The third, which was cleared by excavation, is described by Ugolini as large polygonal; it is not known whether it consists of only one wall-face⁷ or is a double wall filled with rubble. If it is the latter, its closest parallel in the outer enceinte is the piece of polygonal walling

¹ AA 3. 39.

² AA 3. 32.

³ AA 3. 33 and fig. 21; p. 34 top.

⁴ AA 3. 33.

⁵ AA 3. 26 f. figs. 25, 18, 19, and 26.

⁶ Half-way down the slopes of the hill Ugolini describes walls of similar type which he calls pseudo-pelasgic or rough polygonal (AA 3. 29-30). It seems more likely that these are late retaining walls or house walls.

⁷ If it consists of one wall face only, it may be a supporting wall for a road ascending to the summit of the hill at this point.

with an obtuse angle which has been noted as a later repair. Ugolini concludes from these three stretches of wall that the top of the hill was fortified by an ancient and early circuit-wall; the conclusion is, however, based on slender evidence and must remain doubtful.

Between the top of the hill and the outer circuit-wall at the foot Ugolini describes traces of walls midway down the slopes.¹ These consist of short stretches of wall including polygonal, pseudo-polygonal, ashlar, pseudo-pelasgic, and rough polygonal styles; rock-cutting for the laying of blocks also occurs at this level on the hill. Although Ugolini finds in these stretches of wall the survivals of a third enceinte between the supposed enceinte of the acropolis and the outer enceinte at the foot of the hill, it seems more likely from the variety and nature of these walls that they are only terrace-walls² and retaining walls. On other sites in Epirus such walls are in polygonal styles, and the rock is often cut for their emplacement. Moreover, in describing these walls Ugolini refers only to the face of masonry, which in itself makes it probable that he is dealing with terrace-walls and not circuit-walls.

In conclusion it seems to me, in view of the evidence, that we have only one circuit-wall at Buthrotum, 750 m. in length, containing four gates, and built in the usual Greek manner as a double wall filled with rubble. The seaward gate with the towers is a later addition. This circuit-wall encloses the foot of the hill and bars the approach also from the main peninsula. On the hill above this enceinte there is no clear evidence of any inner circuit-walls with their own gates and towers.³ The numerous remains of terrace-walls suggest that the sides and the summit of the hill were thickly covered with public and private buildings and with the streets onto which they faced. The rock-cut steps which he mentions are common in such areas.⁴

There is excellent evidence to show that the surface of the sea has risen by more than a metre since antiquity, both in the channel to the sea and on the lake side of Butrinto.⁵ Water was brought over the channel on an aqueduct in Roman times, and there are remains of it at Butrinto and across the lake in the plain (p. 98 above). The aqueduct is probably a contemporary of that at Nicopolis, and it is evidently portrayed on the Augustan coin from Buthrotum, which was made a Roman colony and became one of the imperial mints.⁶ The promised

¹ *AA* 3. 28 f.

² Ugolini illustrates an example of them in fig. 29; cf. p. 45.

³ I here follow the description in the text and not the plan of the site, Pl. I, in which the distinction between medieval and ancient walls is not clear.

⁴ *AA* 3. 45.

⁵ *AA* 3. 46; the examples are a 'pavimento' retrieved from the depth of 1 m., grave stelai awash and an early church, and these examples come from the isthmus as well as from the side of the channel which links the lake with the sea; also in *Rendiconti Pontificia Accad. Rom. di Archeologia* 11 (1935) 93.

⁶ *AA* 3. 46 fig. 50; M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge, 1946) 269 f.

publication of the theatre has not yet appeared, but the following points are mentioned in a smaller volume. The theatre is said to have been built towards the end of the fourth century B.C. The cost of part of it was met from the offerings made to a god who is to be identified with Aesculapius, as we learn from an inscription carved 'on the front of the third seat'. There are thirteen rows of seats below the *diazoma*, and at least six above it. The seats are large blocks of a hard white limestone, which is not local. The *cavea* is divided into five *cunei* by four flights of stairs. The orchestra is rather more than a semicircle, and the present paving is of Roman date. The scene and the stage are Roman, of the beginning of the Principate, but they include traces of the Greek original. There are good illustrations of the theatre, but unfortunately no measurements.¹ The theatre is inside the *temenos* of Aesculapius, whose sanctuary is described more fully. The present shrine or chapel dates from the earliest times of the Principate, and within it there are the remains of a small Greek temple, distyle *in antis*, measuring 7.04 m. long by 6.04 m. wide. Through the temple one approached a cleft in the rock, which once gave forth water or perhaps some gaseous exhalation but is now dry. This cleft is roofed over by a vault of large, unshaped stones, which is not Greek but rather prehistoric in appearance. This cleft is clearly the origin of the cult.² In the same way a spring of mineral water containing salt prompted the worship of the Nymphs, which is attested by an inscription of the period A.D. 100–150. The spring issued into a natural grotto, which was shaped into a well and enclosed with a wall of the fourth or third century B.C. (such as encloses the Castalian spring at Delphi).³ Proto-Corinthian pottery, Corinthian pottery of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., and Attic pottery of the sixth century have been found on the acropolis. One of the Corinthian vases shows that Athena was worshipped on the acropolis. On another part of the site there is a fine Nymphaeum of the Roman period. This had three niches, and for two of them Ugolini found statues of Apollo and Dionysus, dating to an advanced era of the Roman Empire but indicating the earlier worship of these gods.⁴

The Mediterranean Pilot (3. 121) says that Butrinto Bay is considered to afford the best anchorage on the coast abreast the island of Corfu, and that 'Butrinto River', which flows from the lake, can be entered

¹ *Butrinto* 130 f. and figs. 78–81 and 106.

² *AA* 3. 91 f. with figs. and plan. Fig. 103 shows the cleft; it does not look waterworn and there is no construction in it to contain water. See also *Butrinto* figs. 101 f.

³ *AA* 3. 69 f. with figs. and plan, and *Butrinto* fig. 98. Another salt spring is at the source of the stream north-east of Kalivo.

⁴ Reported in *Encicl. Ital.* Append. 2 (1938–48) 108, and *RdA* 1 (1940) 322. *AA* 3. 81 f.

only by small boats, because there is a bar. The lake has depths of 12 ft. all over it; the site at Kalivo shows that the lake extended at least from Butrinto Peninsula to Kalivo in antiquity, and the Dema wall shows it extended far inland. It may not have reached so far inland as it does today. It is very rich in fish. The plain and the hillsides are thickly wooded in places, and there are many varieties of water fowl on the lake and deer and wild boar in the hills to the south by the coast. The whole plain is extremely fertile and would be very productive with better husbandry. The fisheries, the main lake, and the two smaller lakes are most valuable. The salt-pans by the entry-channel provide salt, and the fish are salted at once. They are sold to Corfu and to the hinterland of Epirus.

Santi Quaranta is the only port in Albania south of Valona. It has a considerable trade when political conditions are favourable. In 1804 Leake (I. 8) mentions the export of grain, fish, salted fish-roe, cattle, and timber from Santi Quaranta to Corfu, and the import from there of oranges, lemons, figs, rice, olive-oil, and wine; and in 1919 Evangelides (*BE* 21) mentioned almost the same exports from Santi Quaranta. In antiquity Butrinto was better placed than Santi Quaranta to trade with Corcyra, but the development of Phoenice must have led to the need for a port in the vicinity of Santi Quaranta. The modern port is sheltered from all but westerly winds and a number of piers have been built out from its shores; but it does not have the qualities which one expects of an ancient Greek port. Leake described the extensive ruins of 'a town of the better times of the Lower Empire', surrounded on three sides by a circuit-wall and on the fourth by the sea, and containing remains of churches, cisterns, and houses; the wall formed a semicircle and had towers. Evangelides (*BE* 39-40) saw these ruins in about 1913 and noted also those of a small Roman theatre or *odeum* by the shore. They have now disappeared almost entirely, as the modern town has grown over them. The town took its name from the Byzantine church of the Forty Saints on the hill above the modern town, and to the south-east of it the remains of a Byzantine town at Likurës are reported by Ugolini. In the town I copied an inscription (no. 45) in the church of Ayios Karanomos; I was told that the stone came from Leshnicë, from the church of Ayios Georgios, and its origin was no doubt in the ancient town near Malçan. Ugolini saw a *stele* of the first century B.C. and noted some cist graves, lined with slabs, near the church of St. Kharalambos. As I was puzzled by the comparative lack of pre-Roman remains and by the nature of the harbour, I walked westwards along the coast and came to a small bay 2 kilometres out of Santi Quaranta. It was clearly a better harbour for small craft, but I was turned back by the Albanian police, on the

grounds that it was a forbidden area; and it was indeed a base for Italian motor torpedo boats in the last War. It seems most likely that this cove was the ancient port.¹

From Santi Quaranta I crossed two rocky ridges to descend into the wooded valley of the Kalasë stream. I crossed the swampy plain and reached the village of Finik, situated on the lowest slopes of the long narrow-topped hill, Mal i Finikut, 282 m. high. The hill is of a hard sandstone formation, mostly covered with soil, and the sides are steep.² It commands a fine view of Corcyra and of the plain down to the Lake by Butrinto. The south-eastern part of the hill-top varies between 60 and 20 paces in width, the broader part being at the south end of the ridge (see Plan 11). Here there are the remains of a massive wall (see Plate VII a). The style of this wall, which is 3.60 m. wide, is ashlar; the blocks are even larger than those of Kara-Ali-Bey, and measure, for example, from $2.50 \times 2.20 \times 1.90$ m. and $2.00 \times 2.00 \times 1.20$ m. to $1.80 \times 1.20 \times 1.00$ m.³ On the east side this wall is traceable for some 300 paces, following the curves of the highest slope in straight lines with right-angled turns, at which the corner-stones are tied; within such a recess at the north end of this stretch of wall there is a small gateway 2 m. wide, flanked on the inner side by parallel walls for a distance of 7 m. On the south side, which is 50 paces wide, there is a 7-m. length of wall of medium-sized blocks. The horizontal courses are regular but the vertical joins are often oblique, and an occasional polygonal block occurs. It is likely from its position that this was the inside wall of a large tower.⁴ At the south-east corner some foundations of a tower facing east are visible. At the south-west corner and facing west there are two massive blocks,⁵ similar to those on the east side, and some 50 paces north of them are two stretches of this massive wall, each 19 paces long;⁶ the more northerly of the two is set 12 paces further to the west and the angle between them probably contained the main gateway, to which a ramp leads uphill from the north-west. At this point the circuit turns north-west to enclose a spur, and the style of the wall changes. For this wall is well-cut ashlar with oblique vertical joins, the blocks being large and medium in size, and four courses are standing to a height of 2.70 m. This wall zigzags round the top of the spur in right-angled turns with a projection, for instance, of 6.50 m. On the northern part of the ridge there are only scanty remains of wall-foundations, the wall having probably been of the smaller type. On the west face of this

¹ AA 1. 144; P-K 2. 1. 67. MP 122 does not mention the small bay.

² See AA 2 figs. 3 and 146.

³ Illustrated in AA 2 fig. 12 and AA 1 pl. 72.

⁴ Illustrated in AA 1. pl. 78.

⁵ AA 2 fig. 16.

⁶ AA 2 fig. 19 appears to be one of these; see also AA 1 pls. 91 and 93. Occasional big blocks are found elsewhere, having fallen perhaps from the acropolis wall (AA 2, p. 63).

northern part and in the higher part of a recess between two spurs is the emplacement of the theatre, which Leake (1. 66) described. There is now little sign of any remains, the back wall being very roughly built of small rounded stones. On the north-east side of the theatre and overlooking it are large masses of Roman masonry, consisting of tiles and stones set in mortar. Ugolini did not find any remains of Leake's theatre, but he does not rule it out; and there is no doubt that so large a city had a theatre.¹

The south-eastern part of the hill-top which I have described seemed to me to be the original acropolis, some 300 paces long, and Leake was of this opinion as he gave its length as 200 yds. It is in fact the only area which has remains of continuous walls of massive blocks. Such a wall is visible along the whole length of the east side, which is one of the long sides of the narrow top, and it is reasonable to suppose that a similar wall once enclosed the west side, where isolated blocks and two strips of massive wall of 19 paces each are still *in situ*.

This style of wall, then, is the earliest on the site. The only alternative to my view is to suppose that an earlier wall once ringed this area of the acropolis and was entirely destroyed for most of its length (that is along all the east side and part of the west side), and that it was replaced by the present wall of massive blocks, which then formed an ugly patchwork against the remainder of the earlier wall, itself having been made of medium-sized blocks. But a destruction of this sort and a willingness to end up with a patchwork for the acropolis of a great city are almost inconceivable. I take it then that the wall of massive blocks is original; the stone is local, and the blocks were probably quarried on the spot, when the site was being levelled, and came from a special vein of rock which is faulted in large blocks.

In his publication of the site Ugolini here adds to what I regard as the original acropolis an area northwards along the ridge-top. Here there are no traces of a wall of massive blocks, but there is a wall of large and medium-sized blocks with inclined vertical sides, regular horizontal courses, and some rabbeting. In my opinion this area belongs to the extension of the acropolis, which has walls of this type. In the west wall of the extension there are diminutive towers, like buttresses, with a projection of 0.60 m. and a face of 0.80 m., and only 3 m. apart from one another.² I take this to be the second type of wall chronologically. The residential part of the city was at first on the west slopes of the hill, which are very steep and serrated with little gullies, separated from each other by spurs. It is very difficult to distinguish the retaining

¹ AA 2. 76.

² These are Ugolini's 'trapezoidali' and 'blocchi a sei lati'; for the diminutive towers fig. 21 and p. 37.

walls of houses and streets from those bits of wall which may have belonged to a defensive circuit, and it seems unlikely that Ugolini's scheme of three circuit-walls, all parallel to one another and also to the western wall of the acropolis, can be correct, because the building of circuit-walls is expensive, takes up much room, and would not be unnecessarily repeated.¹ The final, that is the lowest circuit-wall in this area, which is not in dispute, has the following features. The wall on the south side, running down the steep hill-side, has rabbeting, mainly rectangular blocks and a fair number of polygonal blocks, the combination being adapted to the requirements of the steep slope; medium-sized and small blocks are used.² The circuit-wall on the west side and those parts of the south wall which are on more level ground are built in ashlar style with blocks of a more uniform, and moderate, size.³ Finally, there was an extension of the residential area to the north and this brought about the last extension of the circuit-wall; this was built with small blocks, generally in ashlar style.⁴ In this part of the wall there are cross-walls within the thickness of the wall, linking the outer face to the inner face of masonry.

It is, I think, likely that between the acropolis wall and the outer circuit-wall on the south side there had been a circuit-wall, intermediate in time and in place, which corresponded with the extension of the acropolis; and that it was in the same style as the wall of the extension of the acropolis. I base my view partly on the great size of the enclosed areas. The final version of the walls gives a circuit of almost 5 kilometres.⁵ This can have been reached only by stages; and one of these stages should have occurred in the main residential area, that is on the western side between the acropolis and the lowest circuit-wall on the west side of the city.

The main gateway to the acropolis is of the simple type, shown on Plan 11 as A,⁶ and there are probably two other gates which pierce

¹ See *ibid.* figs. 28 and 35.

² *Ibid.* fig. 34, and AA 1, pl. 95.

³ Figs. 25 and 15.

⁴ Ugolini's report is very detailed and difficult to reduce to general conclusions. As he starts with a different definition of the original area of the acropolis, he gives a different chronological sequence of the styles of wall. This is as follows, beginning with the earliest: polygonal (I regard the polygonal blocks as a technical device used to strengthen the south wall on the steep slope); trapezoidal; blocks which are rabbeted (his 'six-sided blocks'); the massive blocks; and lastly the small blocks of ashlar or near-ashlar style. His summary is in AA 2. 69-70. His sequence means that the wall encircling the acropolis was originally one of polygonal masonry, but it was so totally razed that only a few blocks were re-used in the back wall of a tower in the later circuit; and that the inhabitants proceeded to demolish some buildings on the acropolis, quarried the massive blocks on the spot (one could not have brought such blocks, weighing 25 tons apiece, up the steep hill) and built with them a new wall for part only of the acropolis circuit. This conclusion—which is not expressed by Ugolini—is a *reductio ad absurdum*.

⁵ AA 2. 64-65.

⁶ AA 2. 56 and fig. 31, Ugolini's gate no. 1.

the wall at points where there is a right-angled turn and an obtuse-angled turn in the line of the outer face of the acropolis circuit-wall. In the extension of the acropolis there is a gate (shown as B) of type B on the Plan; and in the last extension of the city to the north there is a gate shown as C on the Plan and also a gate, shown as E, 2.70 m. wide, of type A.¹ The ground-plans of the gates are shown in Plan 21, 1-3. Relatively few towers for so large a circuit-wall are shown on Ugolini's plan, and the dimensions are not given. That the inhabitants relied on cisterns for a water-supply is shown by Ugolini's discovery of three large cisterns, two with the type of walling which I regard as being of the second type chronologically, and one of Roman times. Cistern C, of which the original dimensions have been obscured by the Roman cistern, is just outside the west wall of the acropolis. This position can be understood only if the cistern was built at a time when the acropolis was not the only fortification on the site (had it been so, the cistern would have been made inside the acropolis), but when the part below the acropolis was already enclosed by a wall of the second type in my chronological series. Cistern B is of the same style of masonry as cistern C; it measures some 16 by 12.50 m., may originally have been lined with a lime-stucco, and was re-used in Roman times. The only spring on the hill-side today is in the last and northernmost extension of the city.² Ugolini excavated a fine *thesaurus* on the hill-top outside the area of the original acropolis. It is excellently illustrated, and it is dated by Ugolini to the fourth century B.C., but without an exposition of the grounds for the dating.³ Close to it he uncovered a large Byzantine church. Of the sherds which he found some few were pieces of black glaze pottery from the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third century B.C.⁴ No Greek graves were found inside the city, but a necropolis was found nearby; of seven graves which were excavated four yielded coins of Pyrrhus, of the Epirote *koinon* (238-168 B.C.) and of a Hellenistic type, one had some black glaze sherds, and two had no objects in them.⁵ The earliest inscriptions

¹ AA 2. 57 and figs. 29 and 30, Ugolini's gate no. 5 for my type B; and figs. 25 and 32, Ugolini's gate no. 8 for my type C; for the wide gate of type A, Ugolini's gate no. 7 on p. 57 and p. 46 and figs. 24, 26, and 31.

² For cistern C see AA 2. 33, 47 and 116 and figs. 51 and 58; for cistern B 119 and figs. 59, 60, and 61. For the spring p. 46. These cisterns are unusually large. For instance, the cistern at 'le palestre du lac' in *Délos* 25 (1961) 114, 144 and fig. 133 has a surface of some 85 square metres as contrasted with cistern C's 192 square metres; that at Delos dates to c. 150-125 B.C. but the walling style looks later than that of cistern C. Ugolini offers no clue to the Greek method of roofing so large a cistern; at Delos this was done with a cross-wall and wooden cross-beams carrying a flat roof, on which exercises could be carried out.

³ AA 2. 93-107.

⁴ AA 2. 191: 'qualche raro frammento di vaso a vernice nera . . . in generale trattasi di ceramica greca della fine del IV e principio del III sec. a. C.'

⁵ AA 2. 193-209.

found here were of the third century B.C., and of the numerous coins a rather small number were minted in the fourth century and the bulk were minted in the third century B.C. or later, with those of the Epirote *koinon* most strongly represented.

It is the opinion of Ugolini that Phoenice was founded as a city in the fifth century B.C. and that its civilization corresponded to that of classical Greece and then to that of the Hellenistic period. If we leave to the end the vexed question of the date of the walls, I can see no evidence in support of his view. The pottery, the architecture of the *thesauros*, the inscriptions, the coins found in the graves, and the coins found on the site are all dated by Ugolini himself after the fifth century. The only objects which could date from even the first half of the fourth century are five coins (one each from Phlius, Larissa, Syracuse, Rhegium, and Corcyra), and these are likely to have been lost after they had been in circulation for some time both elsewhere and in Phoenice. Out of 75 coins found at Phoenice 60 were probably minted after 300 B.C., and more than half of the remaining 15 were minted after 350 B.C.¹ Thus the evidence points strongly to the conclusion that Phoenice was founded on this site as an urban settlement after 350 B.C. Let us now consider the dating of the walls. Ugolini dated his chronological sequence of wall styles as follows: polygonal about or soon after 450 B.C.; trapezoidal soon after; six-sided blocks, i.e. rabbeted blocks, soon after; massive blocks still in this period; then medium-sized and more regular rectangular blocks about the middle of the fourth century B.C.; and finally the small blocks with regular courses and the supporting buttresses as late as 250 B.C., or perhaps later.² He does not make any comparison with walls elsewhere, and his dating seems to me to be theoretical rather than practical. I have already shown reason to discard his sequence of walls and to regard the massive wall of the acropolis as the earliest form of building. Fortunately this style is an unusual one. It is firmly dated on the Pnyx at Athens to the period 350–300 B.C., probably in the earlier rather than the

¹ *AA* 2. 159–67.

² *AA* 2. 70: 'Il tipo di poligonale . . . della metà del V secolo a. C. Posteriore forse di non molto, ci appaiono i muri a trapezoidi irregolari. Di poco più recente si presenta il tipo di blocchi a sei lati. Anche il tipo di muro a grossi massi o cubici o parallelepipedi deve probabilmente aggirarsi intorno a questa età. Invece tutti quei muri che sono costruiti con massi parallelepipedi di media dimensione e piuttosto regolari mi sembra che appartengano circa alla metà del IV sec. a. C. etc.' Ugolini's views about the walls were the same before and after the excavation; for in *AA* 1. 134 he dated the massive wall to the late fifth century on the ground that its style was ashlar emerging from polygonal, and he put his polygonal wall a bit earlier. In *AA* 1. pl. 78 he gives an illustration of a piece of wall which he calls polygonal, but most of the blocks are rectangular; on p. 130 he remarked 'in generale i massi poligonali tendono a divenire parallelepipedi', and I should not call the style polygonal. Evangelides in *Eph. Arch.* 1953–4, 102 dated the massive wall to the middle of the fourth century but without giving reasons.

later decades. The similarity between the two styles is very striking not only in size but in manner of construction, and especially in the deep edging of the blocks and in the roughish surface of the face.¹ Athens is more likely to have influenced Phoenice than vice versa, and I should therefore put the first walls of Phoenice in 325–300 B.C.

Proceeding from Finik up the Bistrice stream I reached in three-quarters of an hour the monastery of Ayios Nikolas, ten minutes from which is the village of Mesopotam. Many ancient blocks are built into the wall of the monastery, the blocks being of rectangular shape and of medium size; some are rabbeted and socketed. The church is a very fine basilica of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Its walls contain many fragments of Byzantine, Roman, and Hellenistic material, and there is no doubt that this is the seat of the bishopric of Phoenice. The late Byzantine reliefs portray a palm-tree, two lions, a sea-dog and a sea-dragon with their Triton-like tails delightfully knotted, and an eagle. The palm-tree (*phoinix*) is probably an allusion to the name *Phoinike*; and the eagle, with its wings slightly spread on either side, its body facing us, and its talons on what was probably a thunderbolt, is a worthy successor to the emblem of Zeus and of the Epirotes. An inscribed tombstone of marble, with oak leaves below the entablature, is built into the south wall.²

The plain by Mesopotam and Finik is often flooded, and the waters of the Bistrice and the Kalasë, where they approach one another south of Finik, form a marshy swamp. When I walked from Santi Quaranta, it was necessary to use a footbridge to cross the Kalasë and reach Finik. The bridge was only a little south of the latitude of Finik village. In 230 B.C. an Illyrian fleet put in off Phoenice (presumably at Santi Quaranta, which is much closer than Butrinto to Phoenice) in order to take on provisions, and then the Illyrians, in collusion with a garrison of 800 Gallic mercenaries, who were employed by the Epirotes, attacked and captured Phoenice. The full force of the Epirotes came up to Phoenice later and encamped, using the river which flows past Phoenice to protect their front (*προβαλόμενοι τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέοντα ποταμόν* (Plb. 2. 5. 5.)) and taking up the planking of the bridge, so that they would be more safe from attack. The river which 'flows past Phoenice' is the Kalasë (not the Bistrice, which is to the south), and its course must have been between Shian and the ridge of Vrion (see Fig. 29c). The bridge was probably where the modern bridge is,

¹ *AA* 2 figs. 12, 16, and 19; cf. *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 144 figs. 26, 29, and 46 with blocks, e.g. 2.80 × 1.55 × 2 m., and 12 (1943) 298, fig. 16 and p. 299, where H. A. Thompson and R. L. Scranton give grounds for this dating of Period III at the Pnyx.

² Ph. Bersakis has a good description in *Arch. Delt.* 1 (1915) 28 f. with illustrations of the church and of the reliefs; Ugolini in *AA* 1, fig. 95 has an illustration of the church and copied the inscription as Clarke and I did.

north-west of Shian. The Epirotes no doubt chose a position on the ridge of Vrion in order to cut off the Illyrians from their fleet. Next they were informed that another force of Illyrians was coming from the north, and they sent a detachment off to hold Antigonea at the northern end of the Drin valley; this detachment would take the route north of Phoenice to Delvinë and then westwards between Gardhikaq and Murzinë. The main force outside Phoenice became over-confident in their belief that the waters of the Kalasë would protect them, and the Illyrians made a sortie at night, put planks on the bridge and crossed it to occupy a strong position, probably at Vartë, where they stayed for the rest of the night. In the morning both armies drew up their line of battle before the city (*πρὸ τῆς πόλεως*), and in the ensuing battle the Epirotes were defeated. Those who escaped did so in the direction of 'the Atintanes', that is eastwards in the direction of the hills which form the watershed with the upper Drin valley. It seems likely that on the morning of the battle the Epirote army lay between the strong position which the Illyrians occupied at night and the Illyrian fleet at Santi Quaranta or thereabouts. These are the considerations which have influenced me in making my plan of their positions (Fig. 29 c).

In the time of Justinian the people of Phoenice were living not on the hill but on the low-lying land at its foot and in the valley of the Bistrica by Mesopotam. Procopius describes the town of Phoenice and that of Photice in the same terms: *ἐν τῷ χαμαλῷ τῆς γῆς ἔκειντο, ὕδασι περιρρεόμεναι τῇδε λιμνάζουσι* (*Aed.* 4. 1. 37). As it was impossible to find secure foundations for a wall of defence on the marshy ground, Justinian left the towns as they were and built a fort for each of them 'on steep and strongly rising ground'. I do not think that Justinian's fort can have been on the hill of Phoenice; for it is too large a site. On the other hand, the site at Paleokula, which I shall mention shortly, seems to be too small and too distant. His fort has still to be found.

I walked from Mesopotam to Delvinë in one hour and three-quarters. This market-town, with its population of some 4,000, is finely situated, high above the plain, on the route from Sarandë to the valley of Argyrokastro. The houses are widely scattered, a survival of the days of the family feuds which Leake knew (1. 19). There are strong springs of water below the town, which is set among fine vineyards and olive-groves. There is nothing to suggest that it is built on an ancient site, and it has no natural defences. I visited the monastery of Kammeno, three-quarters of an hour above Delvinë and set among vineyards, where I saw a late Byzantine capital and four columns covered with plaster but probably of conglomerate, which may be ancient. Two hours north-west of Delvinë is the site known as Kamenicë.

Walking along the path from Delvinë I passed after twenty minutes a fine Byzantine church close to the minaret of Vrisi. Kamenicë is a ruined village which stands on an isolated limestone hill with a gorge to the south and cliffs on the west side; there are fine springs and a cave on the Kamenicë side of the gorge. The situation is suitable for an ancient acropolis, but I was not convinced that there are any ancient Greek remains. Although there are many large and small stones of polygonal shape, they are too roughly cut to have come from an ancient wall; in the church on the summit of the hill Roman tiles and Byzantine pottery are included in the walls, and it is probable that the site was inhabited from early Byzantine times until the beginning of the last century.¹ It commands the upper valley of a tributary of the Kalasë, which affords excellent pasture for herds of sheep. Evangelides (*BE* 36) reported that there were ancient remains below the village of Tatzat near the source of the Kalasë, but neither he nor I visited them.

To the east the plain of Delvinë is bounded by the broad limestone range within which rise the headwaters of the Bistrica and the Leshnicë streams; the upper slopes are barren, but the valleys and lower slopes are well wooded. The best pass through this range lies between Murzinë and Gjorgucat; in approaching the pass from the west one winds round the spurs of Mal i Gjerë, crossing the northern tributaries of the Bistrica. At a distance of two hours from Delvinë I reached the small Greek-speaking village of Gardhikaq. This village claims two sites. The first is situated to the south-west on the right bank of the Bistrica and consists of a small medieval tower known as Paleokula. The second lies half an hour from Gardhikaq towards Murzinë. It is built on a hill-top (416 m.) with steep slopes on all sides; to the south there is a drop of some 800 ft. to the Bistrica stream, and to the north it is linked to the mountain range by a narrow saddle, across which runs the road to Murzinë. The walls are built of a soft much-weathered limestone and never exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. in height. The blocks are of large and medium size, mainly rectangular; some are rabbeted, and the rock is cut for the emplacement of the foundation course. Judging from such rock-cuttings I estimated the width of the wall at 2.60 m., but Clarke considered it to have been about 1 m.; he also noted a possible gateway on the west side and the foundation of a square building 2.25 m. square, 6 paces inside the south wall. There is much coarse red pottery within the circuit, which is some 190 m. in all and forms an oval shape. Small pits have been dug behind the walls,

¹ It was visited by Ugolini, who came to a similar conclusion in *AA* 1. 141. The report in Evangelides *BE* 39 that there are polygonal walls here seems to be baseless, unless there is another site in the vicinity.

probably dating from the war of 1912-13. The site commands the route to the pass at Murzinë. I was told later that the church at Peçë, which I did not visit, contains two blocks which bear 'Byzantine inscriptions'; H. Louis reported the ruins of a Greck temple there.¹ In an hour from the site one reaches the pretty village of Murzinë, set among olive-groves, which are the most easterly in this plain. The Bistrice, here called the Khoukhlos, has its source just below the village, and nearby is a fine church, Ayia Marina, which neither Clarke nor I was able to visit.

The other branch of the Bistrice rises at Dhrovjan, a Greek-speaking village of some 300 houses divided into two *mahaladhes*; to the south of the lower *mahalas* and at a distance of half an hour a hill-top overlooking the path to Avaricë carries the remains of a circuit of walls some 330 paces in extent. The wall varies in width between 2.50 and 1.85 m., and is built of rough-hewn slabs of limestone, which are laid on one another without accurate cutting or fitting; the wall is best preserved on the north side, and there are the remains of a tower which projects 3.95 m. and measures 7.40 m. across its outer face. There is no sign of levelling or rock-cutting to receive the foundation layer, and the building has none of the characteristics which mark the ancient Greek remains to the west and south. The situation, however, is fitting for an ancient site, and it lies on a route which crosses the main range from Kraa in the upper Drin valley to Avaricë (incorrectly Navaricë on the Staff Map) on the edge of the plain of Delvinë. Ancient coins are found in the fields of Dhrovjan, which also claims two lesser temple sites at 'Dhemetra' and 'Synisties', not visited by Clarke or myself.

From Dhrovjan to Kraa (twenty houses) is one and three-quarter hours' walk, the higher slopes being well wooded with oak. To the west of Dhrovjan a low pass leads into the valley at the exit of which lies Avaricë, (or Navaricë), a picturesque Albanian-speaking village; here Clarke copied inscription no. 1 in a cultivated dell, which lies one-quarter of an hour distant from the village mosque on a bearing of 237 degrees. He also ascended Koqino Lithari (939 m.), so called from the red clay on its lower slopes. Its flat top is bounded by cliffs on the north and by a circuit of walls on the other sides, making a total circumference of some 500 paces. The wall, some 2 m. thick, is built of rough material, and there are two towers, measuring 5 m. by 2.50 m. and 5 m. by 3.50 m.; inside the circuit there is much coarse red pottery and the remains of a cistern 1 m. square. The site resembles that at Dhrovjan.

The distribution of ancient sites in this canton is at first sight rather

¹ Reported in P-K 2. 1. 68 n. 2.

complicated. Butrinto must always have been the chief port. But for trading with the hinterland a port was needed also on the landward side of the lake (for cartage along the Hexamili peninsula would be arduous and costly); in Venetian and Turkish times this was on the shore opposite Butrinto itself, and in ancient times it was at Kalivo. A ring of small forts or blockposts was evidently related to some control of the fertile plain by Butrinto; these are at Dema, Çukë, Qenurio, Vagalat, Murzië, and Kato Aetos. The very large city of Phoenice was the centre of the northern part of the canton, corresponding to the modern town of Delvinë, and the small site at Gardhikaq lay on Phoenice's line of communication with the Drin valley. A separate group of sites, built on high positions, runs from Koqino Lithari to Malçan and continues along the flank of the high mountains to Glousta in the canton of Filiates. This group is likely to have been formed in enmity with the people who held the plains. Aetos was probably built to improve on the blockpost at Kato Aetos. It held the approaches to the plain which come down the valley of Konispol and over the hills by the gorge of the Pavla.

2. THE CANTON OF HIMARË

The route from Santi Quaranta to the north follows the inland side of the coastal range as far as Nivicë e Bubarit and overlooks the plain of the Kalasë stream (see Map 2). On the seaward side of the range, before one comes to Nivicë, there is a ruined monastery facing the sea, which is called the monastery of Kokamea. Its church of the Theotokos is trefoil in shape and dates to the sixteenth century, but it may rest on the site of an earlier church. On the right of the path from the monastery to Nivicë e Bubarit there is a smoothed face of rock on which the word ΤΕΡΜΩΝ is inscribed.¹ In two and a half hours from Santi Quaranta I reached Shen Vasil, a small village named after its monastery, and forty-five minutes later passed through a narrow gap, which leads to the west side of the coastal range and opens up a view of the sea. To the SSW. of this gap and at a lower level the wall-line of a small fort appears on a hill-top; the site looks an ancient one, but I did not visit it. Passing on above the church of Hundecovë I reached in two hours the village of Lukovë, where a stream provided the first running water since leaving Santi Quaranta. Above the village and

¹ First reported in *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 234 by Evangelides but in misleading terms, because he said it was near the Nivicë 'behind Himarë', i.e. Nivicë Lopes (I was told of it by a native of Palasë, which made me think also of Nivicë Lopes). However, in his later notice of it in *BE* 36 he placed it by Nivicë e Bubarit. The church is described by P. Versakis in *PAE* 1914, 255 f.; see also Lampros 1913, 465. I have not visited the church or seen the inscription.

at ten minutes' distance a natural acropolis carries a Turkish castle, of which the lower courses contain some Byzantine material but no Greek masonry. Evangelides (*BE* 35) reported the finding of inscriptions here. Half an hour north of Lukovë the village of Pigeras claims a site called Prichhit, which lies off the road forty minutes out from Pigeras towards Borsh. It is an isolated hilltop, ringed with a 2.25-m.-wide wall of large and small limestone slabs, rough-hewn and set without mortar. Evangelides (*BE* 35) reported the discovery at Pigeras of a marble sarcophagus with reliefs showing a battle with the Amazons. Passing through the hamlet of Sopot, one and a quarter hours distant from Pigeras, I reached the first considerable valley on this stretch of coast at Borsh, in forty-five minutes from Sopot. The exit of the valley into the tiny coastal plain is commanded by the ancient site Kala e Borshit, occupying a hill-top joined by a low saddle to the main ridge. Fragments of wall are extant to a height of five courses, the blocks being medium-sized, e.g. 1.00 × 0.55 m., and occasionally large, e.g. 1.10 × 0.77 × 1.05 m. The style approximates to ashlar, the horizontal layers being almost regular but the vertical joins not always perpendicular; rabbeting is frequently used. The best preserved stretch of wall is on the south-east side of the hill some 100 feet below the summit; to the east of this the foundations of a tower are visible. Here the blocks vary in size from 1.10 × 1.00 × 0.80 to 1.30 × 0.39 × 0.80 m.¹

At one hour's distance from Kala e Borshit another valley debouches on the coast at Shën Dhimitër, whence a side path leads up in fifty minutes to the Greek-speaking village of Qeparo. In 1930 this village was the southern outlier of the Greek-speaking pocket of which Himarë is the centre; its neighbours to the south, and also its neighbour Kudhes, three-quarters of an hour inland, speak Albanian.² The relations between the Greek-speaking and the Albanian-speaking groups were vividly illustrated for me. On arriving about dusk after the walk from Santi Quaranta I was greeted on the edge of the village by the *próedhros* and some thirty other men. Conversation flagged and I incautiously commented on what I took to be singing; the reply was 'opopopopopop' from thirty pairs of lips, and the explanation followed that the women were keening a young man who had been killed that day by the villagers of Kudhes. When I expressed horror they agreed, but informed me that the vendetta between the two villages had been active since 1912 and that they would kill a young man of Kudhes in

¹ P-K 2. 1. 59 n. 6 refers to this stretch of coast. Leake 1. 78 f. describes it from the sea. Lampros 283 refers to the remains at Borsh.

² P-K 2. 1. 59 puts the number of Greek-speaking villages at seven. See p. 30, above for the earlier existence of Greek-speaking villages on the coast further south; also Leake 1. 7.

six months' time—the observed interval. Next morning they told me the men of Kudhes were barbarians and would kill me. I shook off the men of Qeparo by making a *détour*, and found the men of Kudhes most hospitable—they were surprised that the barbarians of Qeparo had not murdered me. The only report of ancient remains at Kudhes was that tombs had been opened on a flat-topped spur on the opposite (that is west) side of the valley. I did not visit the spur but climbed steadily for two and a quarter hours to the head of the valley, which is wooded with fine trees, particularly the *velanidhia* (*Quercus aegilops*) and the fir, which Leake noted 'was suitable for ships' masts'. Here one comes in sight of Kuç, still one hour distant, the largest village of this inland area. Situated high up the valley of the Shushicë stream and inland of the high Acroceraunian range, Kuç is remote from the market-towns such as Valona (nine to ten hours) and Tepelenë (nine hours). It is itself the centre of equally remote villages; for it lies on the crossing of the routes from Qeparo (four hours), from Nivicë Lopes in Kurvelesh (four hours), from Himarë and up the Shushicë valley. Albanian in speech and nationalistic in feeling, Kuç and its neighbours were burnt by Greek troops in the Balkan War of 1912 and are at feud with the Greek-speaking pocket at Himarë. Family vendettas also flourish: my host, the headmaster of the large school at Kuç, would not go out to drink coffee in the village square unless he was heavily armed, because his family was 'in blood'. The only antiquities reported at Kuç were two inscribed stones, one lying two hours back towards Kudhes and the other an hour northwards across the Shushicë stream. I found the latter to be a slab of marble-like limestone $1.49 \times 0.42 \times 0.115$ m. thick. The edge of the slab (0.115 m.) carries an outstanding knob square in section. On the surface of the slab a band of oak-leaves 10 cm. wide stands out in relief, the leaves being set on each side of the stem and turning inwards from either end towards the centre. This band of oak-leaves runs along the length of the slab (1.49 m.) and is parallel to the line of the edge. Ten grooves, square in section, are cut in the surface along this edge. Below the band and parallel to the lower edge there are two round knobs 8 cm. in diameter and flat-topped. At Kuç I was informed of sites possibly ancient at Bolenë and at Vranisht in the district Hora, but I was never able to visit them.

I returned from Kuç to the saddle at the head of the Kudhes valley in fifty minutes, crossed on to the coastal range and climbed steeply to Pilur, at three hours distance from Kuç. Thunder, torrential rain and hail, and then a thick mist (on 20 May) made exploration difficult; on this occasion I found only one tomb, but on a later visit I found several tombs in an ancient cemetery called Elin by the villagers of

Kudhes and Pilur. This site is SSE. of Pilur, at the foot of a round-topped hill, and it borders on a small basin whence a stream begins its course towards the Bay of Spilë. The tombs each measure some 3 m. in length and are lined with stone slabs measuring, for example, $0.89 \times 0.55 \times 0.21$ m. thick. No sherds were found by me, but I was told that tombs opened here had yielded black glaze sherds and iron spearheads, and that the skeletons had been buried in a doubled-up position. As I learned later, Evangelides (*BE* 35) excavated some tombs in 1913 and said they were warriors' tombs of Hellenic times. There are no ancient remains on the hill top.¹ Pilur, a village of 105 houses, which is Albanian-speaking, occupies a magnificent position overlooking the olive-groves of Himarë and the Bay of Spilë.

The Bay of Palermo lies one and a quarter hours south of Spilë. The bay is backed by steep cliffs; it has no fertile land and no good communications inland. I investigated the two capes which enclose the bay, a guard-house on the small promontory and the fort, but I found no sign at all of ancient occupation.² The route northwards from Spilë is commanded by Himarë, a village set on the lip of a gorge, among the ruins of an ancient enceinte. The longest stretch of wall is 150 m. It is faced with large blocks on each side. The blocks are of limestone, well cut and rough on the outer face; most of them are large, measuring, for example, 2.2×1.1 m. and 1.62×1.13 m., and they are found in all courses, of which six are standing at some points. Blocks are rabbeted and Epirote cornering is used. The style is irregular, tending towards ashlar, with small stones used to fill any interstices.³ I noticed a drum of a limestone pillar with an incised cavity 0.031 m. square, and within that a further round cavity 0.028 m. in diameter. Outside the church of St. Episcopo there is a large cistern built with some ancient blocks. There are many churches in the village, which is an oasis of Greek Orthodoxy. The two which I visited, St. Pandelemon and St. Marina, had no ancient remains. The site of the village dominates the small, fertile, and sheltered plain of Spilë, where olives, vines, and citrus are grown. In a rock shelter in this plain some neolithic pottery was found.⁴

From Himarë I walked through the Greek-speaking villages, taking three hours via Vuno and Viljates to reach Zrimazes (350 houses),

¹ Evangelides, *BE* 35 and P-K 2. 1. 59 n. 4, citing Sp. Lampros, may refer to these tombs. If Kala e Kuçit (*E* 2, 1610) is intended for this site, it is incorrectly placed. The site is in *E* 2, 1608.

² See *MP* 3. 138 and Leake 1. 79 f. The inscriptions from Panormus in P. Le Bas come presumably from Oricum (see p. 129, below).

³ Beaumont 64 and 70 with figs. 7 and 9, showing pieces of the wall; Leake 1. 81-91.

⁴ *RdA* 1 (1940) 290.

below which Roman remains are reported.¹ At Zrimazes I spent a night, rendered hideous by the women keening for a young man killed in a clan vendetta.² Next morning I reached Palasë in forty minutes and climbed up the bare side of the Acroceraunian mountain to reach the ridge, which is 1,055 m. high, in two hours. From there I walked through a cleft in the range into a belt of pine forest and reached Llogora, which is on the Valona side of the range, in half an hour. I was told that there are the remains of what may have been an ancient shrine on the summit of Mt. Çikë.

The coast from Santi Quaranta to Cape Linguetta is extremely forbidding. The mountain slopes rise steeply from the sea and present a barren and grim appearance to the sailor. There is shelter on either side of the promontory in Palermo Bay, but the bottom is rocky and deepens rapidly offshore, so that anchors often drag in a 'Bora', a north wind that swoops down the mountainside in squalls. The Bay of Spilë has a beach on which small boats can be hauled up, but it is fully exposed to the west. From Palermo to Cape Linguetta, some 31 miles to the north-westward, in the words of *The Mediterranean Pilot* (3. 139), 'the coast is precipitous and almost inaccessible. It is dreaded as a lee shore by small sailing craft, south-westerly gales blowing directly on to it; the current sets almost constantly north-westward. Along this coast there are only two or three small coves, which afford no shelter whatsoever.' One of these cheerless coves is known as Grammata, because sailors who were stormbound there carved a record on the rock face in honour of their saviours, the Dioscuri.³ But the aim of all ancient shipping was to stand well out to sea and give a wide berth to the dreaded Acroceraunian range.

The dangers of this coast, especially in wintry weather, make one appreciate the boldness and the good fortune of Julius Caesar, when he sailed in January 48 B.C. from Brundisium with a force of some 20,000 men and landed 'saxa inter et alia loca periculosa' (Caes. *BC* 3. 6) at Palaeste, the modern Palasë, passing between the two stations of the Pompeian flotillas at Corcyra and Oricum. On the same day he began the march by night to Oricum, 'following a rugged and narrow track and dividing up his troops into many sections in view of the difficult ground' (App. *BC* 2. 54). The majority of the troops rejoined him with difficulty at dawn, and he was able to win over the city to his side. He must have landed on some of the sandy

¹ P-K 2. 1. 59 n. 3 quoting Lampros. Evangelides *BE* 34 mentions a Roman bath.

² Edward Lear had exactly the same experience at Dukat in 1848 (*Journal of a Landscape Painter in Albania*, London, 1851, 243).

³ See Patsch 90 f. with figs. 66-80 and earlier inscriptions in *CIG* 1824-7 and *CIL* 3. 582-4. The names contained in these inscriptions have not generally been included in my index of Epirote names, as it is doubtful whether they belonged to Epirotes.

beaches below Palasë and Dhërm, which are usable only in calm weather, and when the men assembled he led them over the pass to Llogora and to Oricum. My times in May were: from Dhërm, which is less high than Palasë, to the summit of the pass, three hours, and thence to Dukat, two hours; I did not walk to Oricum from Dukat, but I should reckon it at two hours or a bit more. It is a difficult task for an army to cover in one night what takes an active man in daylight some seven hours. The 'rugged and narrow track' is the ascent, which the road built by the Italians in the First World War takes in a series of hairpins, but I followed a more direct route. Caesar's method of splitting up his force into many sections is one that was used by guerrilla troops in the last war in difficult country in the Pindus range.

The few walled sites in this canton gain interest from the fact that there are no walled sites of this kind in the Kurvelesh, which forms the hinterland. The inhabitants of the walled sites were probably brought into contact with more civilized areas through trade with Corcyra and merchant ships calling for shelter. They needed to defend themselves against pirates from the sea and also from the people inland. In these respects they resemble the modern inhabitants of this coast. In 1570-4 the Venetians occupied the fortress at Sopot and helped the people against the Turks. When Wheler sailed along this coast in the late seventeenth century¹ he learnt that Chimara and its five or six villages were still resisting the Turks, and that they had the double advantage of being able to withdraw to fastnesses in the hills, if they were attacked from the sea, and of enfilading and destroying those who attacked them from inland. The coast road, which was built to serve the Italian front in Albania in the First World War, has brought them out of their isolation. The area has often sent some of its men overseas, for instance to South Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,² and recently to various parts of Greece as well as to the United States.

3. THE CANTON OF VALONA (VLORË)

I walked down from Llogora through the pine forest and past some saw-mills and reached in an hour and a half the large village of Dukat, which is half Christian and half Mohammedan, but entirely Albanian in speech. The village owns some 60,000 head of sheep and goats, pastured in summer in the Acroceraunian range and in winter in the swampy delta of the Ljumi Dukatit, which is reinforced by a strong spring near its mouth (the alternative name Izvor refers to

¹ *RdA* 5. 58 and G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1862) 29.

² *RdA* 4. 90 f.

this spring). The villagers take their surplus of milk and cheese and much timber (especially pine and oak) to Valona, which is seven hours away by mule. They grow maize and potatoes and have groves of olives; lignite has been discovered recently in the vicinity. Neolithic pottery has been found near the village in a cave called Kanalit.¹ Walking towards the Gulf from Dukat, one has an extensive and beautiful view on a clear day. The barren grey rocks of Karaburun (Glossa) enclose the Gulf on the west side, and the swampy delta of the Ljumi Dukatit with its vivid green and its lagoon lie on the fringe of the plain. Beyond the blue waters of the Gulf there are the grey-green olive-groves on the ridge above the town of Valona and the soft brown northern shore of the Gulf, ending in Plaka point. The plain of Dukat down to the Gulf is deserted and poorly cultivated, and the swamps by the shore breed the malarial mosquito in swarms.

I had to follow the coast from the east to reach the ancient site 'Ericho' on the shore of the lagoon which is called Pasha Liman. I approached it through a boggy outflow of the swamp. Ericho itself is a low rocky outcrop, which in the apt phrase of Pliny 'has ceased to be an island',² and at its western end the outlet channel from the lagoon is quite narrow. The rock has been cut in many places to form steps and level passages, but there is a scarcity of shaped blocks of stone, which have no doubt been removed for building material. The foundations of towers are visible in the outer circuit. There are remains of an inner circuit-wall made with smaller stones and post-classical in date. Even in antiquity, when the surface of the sea was at least some 5 ft. lower, the circuit-wall of Oricum must have been considerably shorter in length than that of Buthrotum. I made a plan and took notes at the time; and I crossed to Karaburun in order to obtain a view of the bay, Oricum, and the Ceraunian mountains (see Plate XVIIIa). Unfortunately I lost the notes when I was wading back in heavy and cold rain towards terra firma. There is open water in the reed-fringed lagoon south of Oricum. Patsch, who made the best exploration of the area, noticed a stretch of wall now under water, 1·80 m. wide and 30 m. long, which extended from the side of Oricum by the outlet channel into the lagoon and was once a quay or mole of the inner harbour.³ I was told by a shepherd that at a different point there is a roadway which is under water but can be used, leading to the church Kish e Marmirojt. It was probably an ancient road and shows that the level of the sea has risen since Roman times.

¹ Reported in *Encicl. Ital.* Append. 2 (1938-48) 108.

² Pliny *HN* 2, 91: 'Epidauros et Oricum insulae esse desierunt.' Epidauros Limera (now Monemvasia) is meant and not Epidauros on the Saronic Gulf, as some commentaries suggest.

³ Patsch 71; von Hahn 61 also saw the wall 'visible under water in calm weather'.

A recent excavation by Albanian archaeologists at one of the places where rock-cut steps were visible has unearthed a part only of a small theatre or *odeum*, of which the *cavea* is slightly more than semicircular. The diameter of the orchestra is 9.55 m.; a length of 12.80 m. has been uncovered along the line where a stage would be, if it existed; and there are only four rows of seats. An unusual feature is that the second and third rows had stone chairs of which some were two-seaters. Old stones were re-used in making the rows of seats, and some had fragments of inscriptions, which established the date of the present construction as being after the second century B.C. The *cavea* looks south-east, and much is cut in the living rock.¹

Julius Caesar has left a description of Oricum in the *Bellum Civile* (3. 11 f.). Pompey's lieutenant tried to hold the town ('oppidum') by closing the gates and ordering the Greek troops to man the walls; but they mutinied and the town went over to Caesar. When Caesar himself moved north to Apollonia, Bibulus sailed into the Gulf and stationed his fleet off Oricum; but as the Caesareans held the town and the countryside, he had to fetch wood and water from Corcyra and he was unable to moor his ships to the shore (i.e. in the inner harbour). As the month was January, in 48 B.C., Bibulus must have found sheltered anchorage at the head of the bay, which *The Mediterranean Pilot* (3. 140) describes as being sheltered from all winds with the best anchorage north-west of the mouth of the Ljumi Dukatit (or Ljumi Izvor). He and Libo were able to sail close inshore and held discussions from their ships with Caesar's officers, who were in charge of the walled town and the troops on the shore (ch. 15). Nothing came of these negotiations and Bibulus died soon after, 'multos dies terra prohibitus et graviore morbo ex frigore ac labore implicitus' (ch. 18). The ships which had brought Caesar's army over from Brundisium still lay at Oricum; they were concentrated in the inner port behind the town ('interiorem in portum post oppidum', ch. 39) and moored to the shore. The outlet channel was blocked by sinking one merchant ship across the entry. Gnaeus Pompeius, coming up with the Egyptian fleet and delivering attacks on the walls of the town from his ships by sea and with scaling ladders from the land, managed to raise the merchant ship and forced his way into the inner harbour. At the same time on the other side of the town ('ex altera parte') he passed four biremes on rollers across the natural causeway 'molem naturalem obiectam, quae paene insulam oppidum effecerat' (ch. 40).² He then

¹ A preliminary report is in *BUST* 1960, 1. 92 f. with a plan of the part of the *cavea* which has been uncovered.

² D.C. 42. 12 calls the 'moles naturalis' ἡ χηλῆ, that is a breakwater in the shape of a hoof. A new entry had been cut through it when I was there in 1932. See Plate XVIIIa.

attacked from both sides the ships which lay empty, moored to the land, and captured or burnt them. The town, however, held out. Pompeius left a lieutenant with part of his fleet, who was able to prevent stores entering the town from Byllis and Amantia.

These graphic passages enable us to picture Oricum as it was in 48 B.C., encircled with a powerful ring-wall and strong gates, which could be attacked only with scaling ladders, and with a quayside and probably a built entry on either side of the entry channel. It is particularly interesting that the change in the level of the sea, the continuous erosion and the depositing of silt have not changed the topography of Oricum and its surroundings in any radical manner. This affords good grounds for supposing that the lake by Butrinto and the mouth of the Kalamas by Ligaria have not changed much since antiquity, since they too debouch into the open sea. On the other hand, the inlet at the mouth of the Acheron may have changed; for there the silt is not so readily carried off into the sea.

Le Bas recorded a number of inscriptions under the heading Panormus, which comes in his list between Buthrotum and Aulon. He identified the place of their discovery with the ancient Panormus, but he omitted to say where he put Panormus. As Palermo is unsuitable for an ancient site and has yielded no antiquities at all, it is best to identify his Panormus with Oricum, the chief site between Butrinto and Valona. The inscriptions show that the Dioscuri were worshipped at Oricum and that the decrees of the city were in the name of the Boule and the Demos.¹

Patsch visited two coves which lie some 2 miles north of Oricum on the eastern side of Karaburun, called Rajceko (Raguseo) and Pylle. The former is mentioned by *The Mediterranean Pilot* as offering good shelter, and the latter contained a relief in honour of Aphrodite and Eros and a bust of the dedicator, both cut in the rock and crude in workmanship.² Coins were found on the plateau on the ridge west of Oricum. To the south the walls of the church Kish e Marmirojt contain some ancient blocks of masonry which are 'smoothed rectangular'. To the south-east, in an area called Erihua, Patsch found remains of ancient houses, some terracottas, and a coin of Oricum and a coin of the Epirotes, and he reckoned it was the site of a hill village. To the north of Erihua there is a ruin at Boçar, which I visited, as he had done; it proved to be a Turkish fort and there were no sherds on the hill.

It is likely that the Turks had difficulty in controlling this area, which is called the Liapuria and is occupied by the same tribe as the

¹ P. le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1853) nos. 1094-1101.

² Patsch 82 and Evangelides BE 33.

Kurvelesh. They are heavily armed, even in the fields, fiercely independent, and suspicious of strangers. In the words of *The Mediterranean Pilot* 'there is good shooting to be had in the Pashaliman lake, but the natives are untrustworthy'. In addition to waterfowl there is excellent fishing in the lake, and there are in the vicinity chamois, roe-deer, wild pig, otters, partridges, and snipe, as well as wolves and jackals. Karaburun has oaks, elms, ash, alders, and figs, and more skilful cultivation and irrigation of the plain would develop the productivity of the alluvial soil. The men of Liapuria do not do much of the manual work; they leave that to the women, and in this they are characteristic of many parts of Epirus. The remark made to Patsch by a worthy of Dukat is typical—'we live through the women; they keep us alive'. While the woman's life is dreadfully hard, the men are the warriors and conduct the vendetta or the feuds between villages. Even Leake was deterred by their reputation from visiting Dukat (1. 90). In these respects they are not unlike the Illyrians of Greek and Roman times; for Varro, *RR* 2. 10. 7, says of their women 'in opere multis regionibus non cedunt viris, ut in Illyrico passim videre licet, quod vel pascere pecus vel ad focum afferre ligna . . . possunt'.

In the collection of antiquities at Valona, some of which were deposited there by Italian troops after the First World War, there are some objects which are known to have come from Oricum. A fine bronze of Hecate *monoprosopos*, with the waning moon on her head-dress and probably with torches in her hands, is one of them. It is of the late sixth or early fifth century. It is probable that the striking terracotta of Hecate *triprosopos*, with two subsidiary heads growing from her shoulders, is also from Oricum.¹ A fine terracotta of Artemis, carrying a roe-deer fawn on her right arm and a bow in her left hand, is attributed by Ugolini to Oricum; it is dated to 500–450 B.C. Three other votive reliefs to Artemis, one being to Artemis Agrotas, came from this area and have been ascribed tentatively to Apollonia.² The earliest pottery, namely two *lecythi*, of which one is of the late sixth century B.C., may have come from Oricum.³

The villagers of Dukat told me that it takes seven hours to walk from Oricum to Valona. The coast road leaves the plain at Radhimë, below which there are some Roman remains, and then follows the rocky shore under the cliffs of the mountain until the narrow plain of

¹ *AA* 1. 89 and 100 with figures. A three-bodied Hecate in marble is shown in fig. 61. Artemidorus 2. 37 distinguishes between their significance and powers; three-faced Hecate is also called *enodia* by him. It is suggested in *BSA* 3 (1896–7) that the waning moon may indicate Helen rather than Hecate; and it may be noted that her brothers, the Dioscuri, were worshipped at Oricum. T. Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg, 1960) does not mention these statuettes.

² *AM* 6 (1881) 135 f.

³ *AA* 1. 95 with fig. There are roe-deer near Oricum.

Valona opens out. At Krioner, between Radhimë and Valona, a late Greek funerary inscription has been found.¹ Inland the village of Kanina is well known for its quarries of hard whitish limestone, from which a number of the statuettes and bases in the Valona collection were made. The castle at Kanina, which is of Byzantine origin, was visited by Beaumont. He found a sherd there which he thought might be of the seventh or sixth century, and he noticed squared blocks of masonry which were of medium size; some, which had been corner-blocks, were drafted at the edge. Patsch was uncertain whether it was an ancient site.²

Valona has grown rapidly with the development of trade and the opening of the oil-wells. Its population was 6,000 in 1923, including 1,500 Christians; the figure rose to 10,000 in 1941 and 14,640 in 1945, and the population of the prefecture has risen from 56,607 in 1945 to 71,000 in 1955, the latter figure representing a density of 48.5 to the square kilometre.³ The town stands on the sides and on the top of the ridge which curves round this part of the bay and is heavily clad with olive-groves, but it is not apparently on an ancient site. An easy route leads from Kanina or from Valona over the ridge into the valley of the Shushicë just before its confluence with the Vijosë. Further up the Shushicë valley a considerable amount of neolithic pottery has been found at Velcë. The harbour of Valona is an open beach with good anchorage except when there is a 'Bora' or a north-westerly wind, which sends a heavy sea into this part of the bay; it was not therefore the best of harbours for ancient shipping.⁴ There is a collection of antiquities in Valona which is called the Vlorë collection after Senator Ekrem Bey Vlorë. Its contents have been described by Ugolini; as he was travelling in Albania soon after the end of the First World War, when many of the objects were brought there by Italian troops, his notes on provenience are likely to be reliable.⁵

Walking north from Valona I came in three-quarters of an hour to a house which was built within some ancient blocks; the area enclosed by the line of blocks was some 10 × 5 m., the blocks were of medium size, measuring, for example, 1.20 × 0.50 × 0.30 m., and part of a fluted column, 0.30 m. in diameter and having a socket 0.10 × 0.08 and 0.07 m. deep, was protruding from the ground. A quarter of an hour further on I came to the impoverished Greek-speaking village of Artë or Palioarta, as it is called locally (incorrectly Nartë on the Staff Map),

¹ *Annuario d. R. Sc. Arch. di Atene* 3 (1916-20) 286 fig. 145.

² Beaumont 66 and 71 fig. 15; Patsch 21; Leake 1. 2; von Hahn 72.

³ *Encicl. Ital.* Append. 3 (1949-60) 56.

⁴ *MP* 3. 140.

⁵ *AA* 1. 75, the doubts expressed by Beaumont 66 n. 63 on Ugolini's statements do not seem to be justified.

which contains the two churches of Ayia Kyriake and Ayios Ioannes. The altar of the former rests on an ornate capital of late Roman date; the square top measures 0.60×0.60 m. and is 0.52 m. high, and the drum is 1.30 m. in circumference. The other church contains a capital of late Ionic style and a squared block $0.95 \times 0.60 \times 0.50$ m. It is likely that Artë was an open site in antiquity, perhaps with some small fortifications. Between Artë and the bay there are very extensive salt-pans. Nowadays the salt is sent inland only, but it used to be exported by the ships of Ragusa and Venice.¹

From Artë I crossed a low-lying area of sand dunes, made more desolate by the fact that decrepit animals are driven out there to die, and then passed through the village of Svernicë, where the people speak Greek and Vlach, to reach the shore of the Lagoon of Artë at a point opposite to the monastery of Svernicë, which is on an island. I was taken over in a *monoxylo*, that is a dug-out tree trunk, of the most primitive kind; Ugolini saw a similar one at Butrinto.² The font of the church of the monastery is made from an ancient marble drum; an ancient block, $1.40 \times 0.75 \times 0.30$ m., has been hollowed out to form a wash-basin, and there is an ancient column, which is fluted and is 0.47 m. in diameter. A tombstone of marble, which Patsch illustrates, commemorates a member of the noble Greek family of Karatzas, distinguished from the time of Anna Comnena to the war of Greek Independence.³ The lagoon in which the island stands is very rich in fish and in eels. Salted fish and fish roe are exported, as they were in medieval and most probably in ancient times.⁴ The outlet of the lagoon is just north of Cape Peschiera, a low ridge which runs SSE. and ends in Cape Treporti.

On leaving the monastery I walked to the bay beside Cape Treporti. It is sheltered on the west by a reef which is a continuation of the ridge, and it faces south into the Gulf of Valona. The shore is shelving and sandy, and it is suitable for beaching boats. The ridge, which falls sharply to the sea on the west, runs for rather more than a third of a mile and reaches a height of some 250 ft. On the summit there is a flattened area with many sherds and shells, which suggests that it was the site of a temple, and lower down the ridge I noticed a rock-cutting to a depth of some 3 ft. I saw only a few ancient blocks on the

¹ C. Jireček, *Die Bedeutung von Ragusa in der Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters* 24 and 47 n. 20.

² Ugolini, *Butrinto* 33 fig. 21, and Patsch 59 fig. 46, who crossed in the same or a similar boat.

³ Patsch 60; he mentions on p. 20 the commemoration at Kanina of another distinguished Greek family from Byzantine times, the Sphrantzis family. These serve to stress that the population then was Greek-speaking.

⁴ Jireček op. cit. 21 and G. Wheeler, *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682) 29.

ridge, but it and its outlying spur to the east seem to have been fortified with a wall. The area between the outlying spur and the bay is fertile. At the point where the ridge falls southwards into the bay there is a cliff face, containing some ten feet of deposit, which is above the ends of two walls which are parallel to one another and are 1.90 m. apart. The blocks which form the wall ends are well cut and neatly fitted; they measure 0.45 m. high, 0.30 m. wide and more than 0.65 m. long (the full length is not visible). The top seven feet of deposit have sherds and brick fragments of Roman date, and the rest, including the top of the walls, is a Hellenistic stratum. The shore is covered for a half mile with many sherds. In the water offshore I saw the remains of a submerged wall, some 2 m. wide, with flat-topped stones, which was traceable for about 20 m. into the sea. On the top of the ridge and on its eroded sides I picked up a number of sherds. Among them were some pieces of Mycenaean L.H. III pottery, an identification which was confirmed by A. J. B. Wace. The situation of this place, which is known locally as Plaka, is very remote from any well-populated area. It was in a position to take control of the fisheries of the Lagoon of Artë, and small ships could use the lagoon as a more sheltered basin. It is on the coasting route, and it is close to the island of Saseno, where shelter from westerly winds can be had off its north-east coast. The position of the walls in the cliff face and the line of wall in the sea show that the level of the sea has risen since Hellenistic times by more than a metre at least. There is a photograph of the wall in the sea in *AA* 1 pl. 64, and a plan of it and a further wall by Patsch (63, fig. 49), who believed it to be part of a quay and also connected it with some wall or paving he saw one kilometre away.¹

We have now reached the northern limit of the coast of Epirus. Before we turn back, it is worth noting that the mouth of the Vijosë was at one time, according to *The Mediterranean Pilot* (3. 142), some $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles further south, that is some 7 kilometres north of the entry into the Lagoon of Artë. But in antiquity its course may have run closer to Apollonia, and its mouth may have been much further to the north than the present mouth. The distances given by the ancient sources, namely that Apollonia was 10 stades from the river and 60 stades from the sea (Str. 316), or 50 stades from the sea (Scyl. 26, *GGM* i p. 32), would fit in very well with the river entering the sea by Grika, as I have shown on Map 2. Pliny (*HN* 3. 145) puts Apollonia 4 miles from the sea; it has been suggested that the figure is corrupt, but it may well

¹ *MP* 3. 139 on Saseno, which I could not visit, as it was a restricted area. Patsch 63 fig. 49; I think that the wall may have formed the quayside, because the water is shallow for some distance out to sea and the level of the sea was then lower, and that the piece of wall he saw a kilometre away may have been part of a road along the sandy shore.

be correct, if the river shifted its course between the fourth century B.C. and the first century A.D. We know that the river was navigable in antiquity, because Julius Caesar embarked at Apollonia in a twelve-oared boat and tried to put out to sea; Plutarch (*Caes.* 38) gives an excellent account of the difficulty of clearing the river mouth in an onshore wind.¹ The river is still navigable today and ancient merchant shipping no doubt passed up the river to within reach of Apollonia. The traditional date of its foundation, 588 B.C., has been confirmed by the excavation of early sixth-century graves and the finding of good Corinthian pottery from the middle of the seventh to the end of the sixth century.²

¹ *RdA* 4. 209 discusses Apollonia's use of the river Aous; see p. 63, above for the effect of an onshore wind at a river mouth. There are signs of an earlier river bed close to the hill of Apollonia, but its date is uncertain; the question of the river's course in antiquity is discussed in *Archaeology* 14 (1961) 161.

² *Alb.* 4 contains the report of the 1930-1 excavations. *BUST* 13 (1959) 2. 239 reports graves from 550 B.C. onwards, Corinthian pottery, and Attic Black-Figure pottery.

IV

THE ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE CENTRAL DISTRICTS

I. THE CANTON OF ARTA

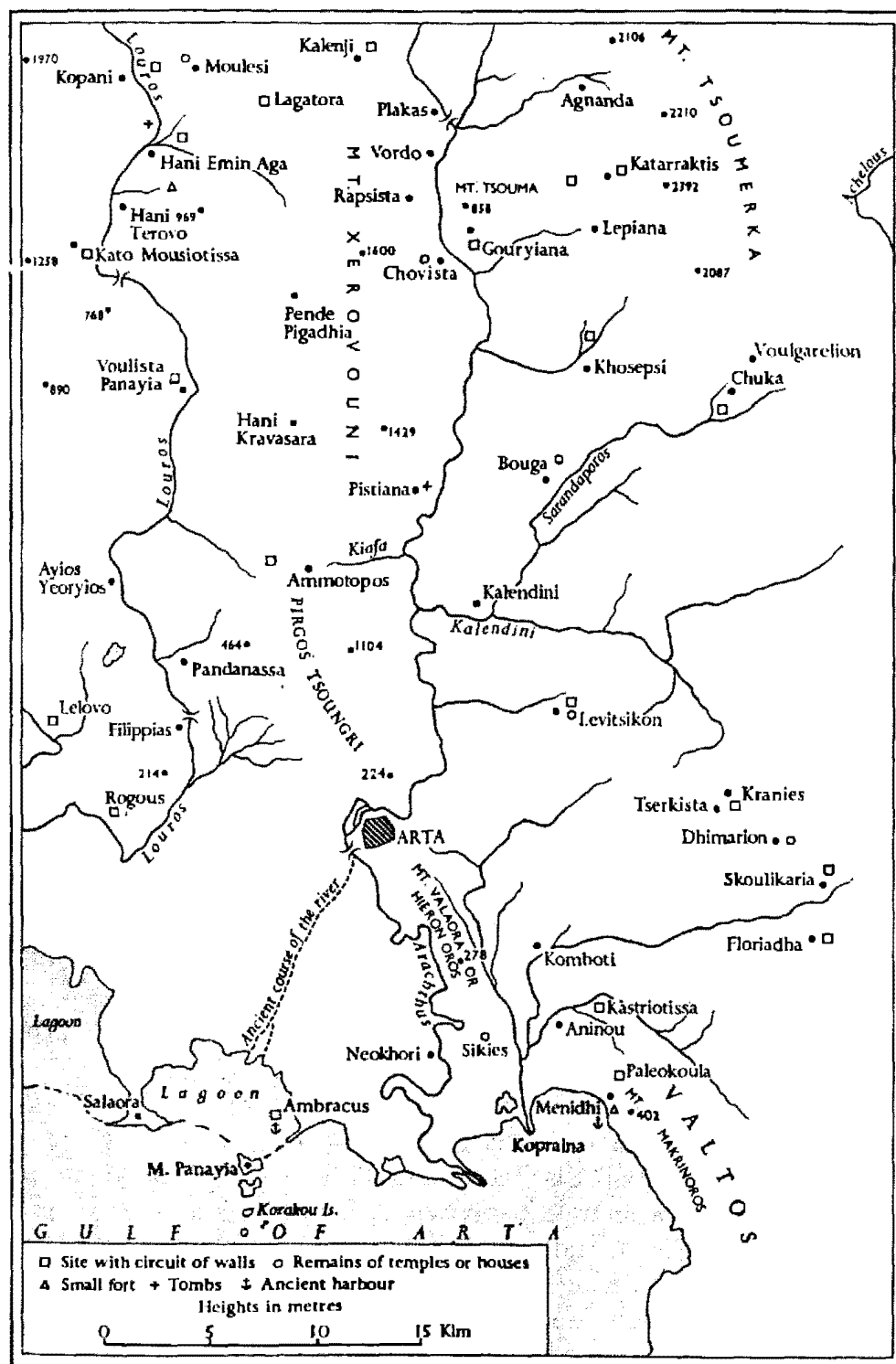
THE north coast of the Gulf of Arta consists mainly of mud flats formed by the deposits from the Louros and Arakhthos rivers. The accumulation of silt has probably forced the rivers into their present channels at the west edge and the east edge of the plain, and the silt shelf has encroached gradually upon the surface area of the Gulf. Within its delta each river is navigable for schooners, the Louros as far as Rogous and the Arakhthos almost as far as Arta. The two largest lagoons on the north shore are partly separated from the sea by low mud banks, which meet like eyebrows on the small limestone outcrop of Salaora, 89 m. high. Salaora was originally an island. Ali Pasha ordered it to be developed as the main port of the Gulf, and he built a causeway and a road, now derelict, to link it to the plain.¹ Some obsidian blades were said by Bosanquet to have come into his hands from Salaora.² I visited it on a hot day in June. It took me four hours walking from Arta and five hours returning over the plain, of which the lower part is waterless and barren. The water in the two wells at Salaora was brackish, being below sea-level. The outcrop of rock is mostly bare but has some pockets of red detritus from the limestone; the harbour is formed by two small piers on the south side, which enclose a fair depth of water for small ships and face Vonitsa across the Gulf. The only remains which I saw were those of Ali's fort and some derelict houses. My first deduction was that Bosanquet was mistaken in his report that the obsidian blades came from Salaora, but I think he may well have been correct. The lagoons were there in antiquity (Plb. 4. 61. 7), and the Ambraciotes were fishermen; indeed they had their own name for fish³—ἀκεῖνες. The fishermen have always used the little islands off the mud flats, and Bosanquet's obsidian blades may have come from fishermen's harpoons.⁴

¹ Leake 1. 200.

² These are in the small Museum of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, where I have seen them.

³ Hsch. s.v.

⁴ Ugolini, *Bultrinto*, fig. 21, shows a primitive type of harpoon used for spearing fish in the Lake of Butrinto.



MAP 5. Ancient remains in the Canton of Arta

The lagoons are a source of considerable wealth. They are immensely rich in fish and eels, and a local type of boat of shallow draught and with a square sail forward has been evolved by the fishermen. The ownership of the fisheries has changed hands at different times. When Leake was there (1. 182) the fisheries were exploited by some 400 families of Preveza, who exported fish and fish roe, usually salted with salt from the lagoons, to Corfu and other places; they had the initial advantage that the strait of Preveza is very rich in fish and also in shellfish, of which there is, according to Leake, 'an inexhaustible supply'.¹ Nowadays the villagers of the plain south of Arta work some of the fisheries. The possession of the lagoons must have been disputed between the cities of the Gulf in ancient times. On my way back from Salaora I was told of ancient remains at Kostakioi, but my investigation was unfruitful.

The ancient site known as Phidhokastro can be reached from Salaora by wading through the muddy lagoon. I preferred to reach it from Arta. I bicycled down the right bank of the Arakhthos as far as Neokhori (280 houses), the largest village of the delta. This area was then free of malaria and very fertile. It grew maize, oranges, cucumbers, and clover, and provided pasture for pigs, cattle, and sheep. The left bank produced tomatoes and wheat as well. Before the War Neokhori exported rushes to Italy and cotton to Athens. The villagers also work some of the fisheries and collect salt from the lagoon. On leaving Neokhori I walked in one hour and forty-five minutes across baked mud flats to Phidhokastro. The site, which lies in the lagoon, is approached by a ramp on its east side. Nothing shows above the water except the line of the walls. The blocks of stone, which appear to be the original foundation courses, are all rectangular and large, e.g. $1.50 \times 0.55 \times 0.50$ and $90 \times 0.75 \times 0.45$ m. They are well cut and well fitted. There are no signs of any rabbeting or any drafting at the corners. Most of the blocks are of limestone, presumably brought downstream from Mt. Valaora, while some are of a hard sandstone such as is found on the east side of the Gulf. There are remains of a square tower on the east side of the circuit, and there are openings in the foundations, one facing Salaora and the other facing the Gulf. I estimated the circuit of the walls at 1,200 paces. A later wall, now ruined, has been built on top of the ancient foundations. It is of broken limestone and fragments of tile, set in mortar, and it is probably of Turkish date or a bit earlier.²

¹ Nicopolis' ownership of the fisheries is mentioned in *Totius Orbis Descriptio* 53b (GGM 2. 524): 'Nicopolis quae piscem multum marinum abundat, ut odire speciem videntem aliquantam.' Lt.-Col. Baker in *JRGS* 7 (1837) 85 gives the values of the different fisheries.

² Baker, *ibid.* 81 f., visited the site; he saw more towers but only one opening, and he thought the upper part of the wall was Roman work.

Scylax is the first writer who mentions that Ambracia had a locked harbour and a fortified post on the coast (§ 33, in *GGM* 1, *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάττης τείχος καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός*). Polybius (4. 61. 7) names it Ambracus and describes it as 'well equipped with outworks and a wall, lying among lakes, having one narrow, mounded approach from (Ambraciote) territory, and being situated conveniently for the territory and the city of Ambracia'.¹ Polybius explains that the Epirotes wanted to capture Ambracus in order to blockade Ambracia. There is no doubt that Phidhokastro is Ambracus. It is now some 8 kilometres west of the present mouth of the Arakthos, some 3 kilometres west of the previous mouth as shown on the Austrian Staff Map, and just east of what Leake (1. 201) described as the Palea-Bukkha or ancient mouth of the river. Now Ambracus would not have been built at the very mouth, because the spring and winter floods would have endangered it, but upon an arm or bay of the river. The fact that it was conveniently placed for the territory of Ambracia, that is as a market and as a refuge, shows that access was available to it from the east; for the central part of the coast was in the hands of the Molossians in the time of Scylax. The ramp too approaches it from the east side. The river therefore was to the west of Ambracus. Had it flowed on the east side of Ambracus, the ramp would have led only into a small triangle of delta. Moreover, the gap in the foundations faces west in order to give access to the river on that side. Ambracus was not only a fortified harbour; it was, according to Stephanus, 'a small town of Epirus, by Ambracia, on its own, and its inhabitant was an Ambracius' (St. Byz. *Ἀμβρακος, πολίχνιον τῆς Ἡπείρου, παρὰ τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν ἰδιάζον. ὁ οἰκήτωρ Ἀμβράκιος*).² In 219 B.C. it was garrisoned by 500 Aetolians, and Philip threw up earthworks in laying siege to it. At that time Ambracus must have been above water level. When I visited it in July, everything inside the walls was under water. It follows that the level of the sea has risen since the fourth century B.C. by 3 or 4 feet at least. Scylax put the distance of Ambracia from the sea at 80 stades, that is for a boat sailing up the river, and the distance from Ambracus to Ambracia is 14 kilometres as the crow flies; if we allow for the loops in the river, the distance he gave is correct. Then Ambracus was *ἐπὶ θαλάττης*. The gap in the south side of the walls gave access to the sea. Now the shelf of silt has extended a bit to the

¹ The passage is mistranslated in the Loeb edition; the lakes in the plural are translated in the singular and *ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας* is translated 'from the town'.

² The positions of Ambracia and Ambracus are analogous to those of Bristol and Avonmouth. The source of Stephanus here is likely to be of a period in the Roman Empire, when Ambracus was no longer a part of Ambracia and her domain, but was a unit in the Roman province of Epirus.

south of it. This accumulation of silt has caused the river to shift its course and Ambracus to end its life as a port.¹

The itinerary of Cyriacus of Ancona shows us that Ambracus had long ceased to be a port by A.D. 1435, but that the river still had its mouth near it. In December 1435 Cyriacus tells us that he arrived off the mouth of the Arachthus and his ship went up the river under oar for 9 miles to reach Arecthea Acarnania, as he called Arta. Again on 8 September 1448 he passed down the river into the Gulf as a member of a hunting party which was embarked on several boats. When they were returning from this expedition, they put in for the night 'ad piscosum exiguum Heronesum quem prope Arachthei fluminis ostia *Καρακονήσιον* vocant', and they worshipped next morning in the church of the Blessed Virgin, where he saw an inscription.² Today the island is called Korakou and is just south of the monastery of Panayia (the Virgin).³ As this place was 'close to the mouth of the river', it follows that the Arachthus flowed out between Salaora and Phidhokastro. Cyriacus does not mention Phidhokastro, although it was only 4 kilometres away and he would have seen it, if its walls had stood to any great height above the water. Ambracus then must have disappeared as a port or inhabited place long before the journey of Cyriacus.⁴

As I returned from Neokhori to Arta, I had the limestone ridge of Mt. Valaora on my right. There are copious springs and fine fields of maize along the foot of the ridge on its west side. A little below and

¹ P-K 2. 1. 120 mentions the site. It is not marked on the Greek Staff Map, but it is correctly placed on the Austrian Staff Map and, to judge from P-K loc. cit. n. 3, also on the Greek Naval Map, which I have not seen. I referred to my visit to Ambracus in CC 30 f. but placed it too far south on my map there. It is extremely difficult to keep one's bearings in the lagoons, because the mud banks are not continuous and the amount showing above water varies with the amount of rain there has been. Leake did not visit the site.

² *Kyriaci Anconitani Itinerarium*, ed. L. Mehus (Florence, 1742) ep. 3, p. 63 for his voyage up the Arakthos. For the hunting see ref. in n. 4. The small islands here are of soil only (*MP* 3. 1. 113); they were perhaps formed by the silt from the river when its mouth was at this place. J. Wolfe in *JRGS* 3 (1833) 80 says the islands are of sandstone; there was a small village then as well as the church on Karakonisi.

³ These names are on the Austrian Staff Map, whereas the Greek Staff Map gives the new names imposed in the time of Metaxas.

⁴ E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Collection Latomus 43, Brussels, 1960) 31, believes that Cyriacus visited Ambracus; but he does not realize the relevance of the stay at Heronesus. When Cyriacus left Arta, he went south to Stratus by land, that is on the east side of Mt. Valaora, and Ambracus would have been off his route. He wrote 'vidimus in Epiro ad maritimas oras Ambraciam civitatem magnam, magnis circumdatam lapidibus et vetustate magna ex parte collapsam'. Bodnar took Cyriacus to refer here to Ambracus, which cannot in fact be described as a great city. We need a much larger site than Ambracus, one situated on or near the normal route to Stratus, a place which Cyriacus reached next and called Amphiloichium Argos. We have a choice of the actual site of Argos Amphiloichium or of the site at Karavassara. The latter is more likely, because it is on the direct route. See Appendix II below.

to the east of its highest point (278 m.) there is a well-known cave, called Koudhonotripa, which I have not visited. Terracotta figurines from the cave have been published by K. A. Romaios in *Arch. Delt.* 1916, Parart. 53 f. and Ph. M. Petsas in *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 1 f. They are evidence of a worship of the Nymphs, Sileni, Pan, and Hermes at the mouth of the cave from the sixth century B.C. onwards. This worship led to the mountain's being called 'the Sacred Mountain', Hieron Oros (Dion. Call. 43, in *GGM* 1. 239: ἔχει δὲ ποταμὸν λεγόμενον Ἄρατθον εἰς θάλασσαν ἐξίόντα καὶ ὄρος πρόσσεστιν ἱερὸν ἐπικεκλημένον). The secular name of the mountain is preserved by Pliny (*HN* 4. 2): 'montes clari in Dodone Tomarus, in Ambracia Crania, in Acarnania Aracynthus'; for the only mountain of distinction, comparable to Tomarus and Aracynthus, is Mt. Valaora, with its sacred cave of the Nymphs.¹ Just south of the end of Mt. Valaora there is a small limestone outcrop, called Sikies, where a strong spring of water gushes out. The top of the outcrop carries a church, and I found Hellenistic, Roman, and Turkish pottery and tile fragments in the shallow soil on its slopes. The ancient name for this open village site was probably Crania. For we find the following entry in Stephanus, citing Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 229): Κράνεια, χωρίον Ἀμβρακιωτῶν. Θεόπομπος πεντηκοστῷ πρώτῳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Κρανειάτης ὡς Μαλειάτης, ὡς φησι Σοφοκλῆς Λαρισαίοις.²

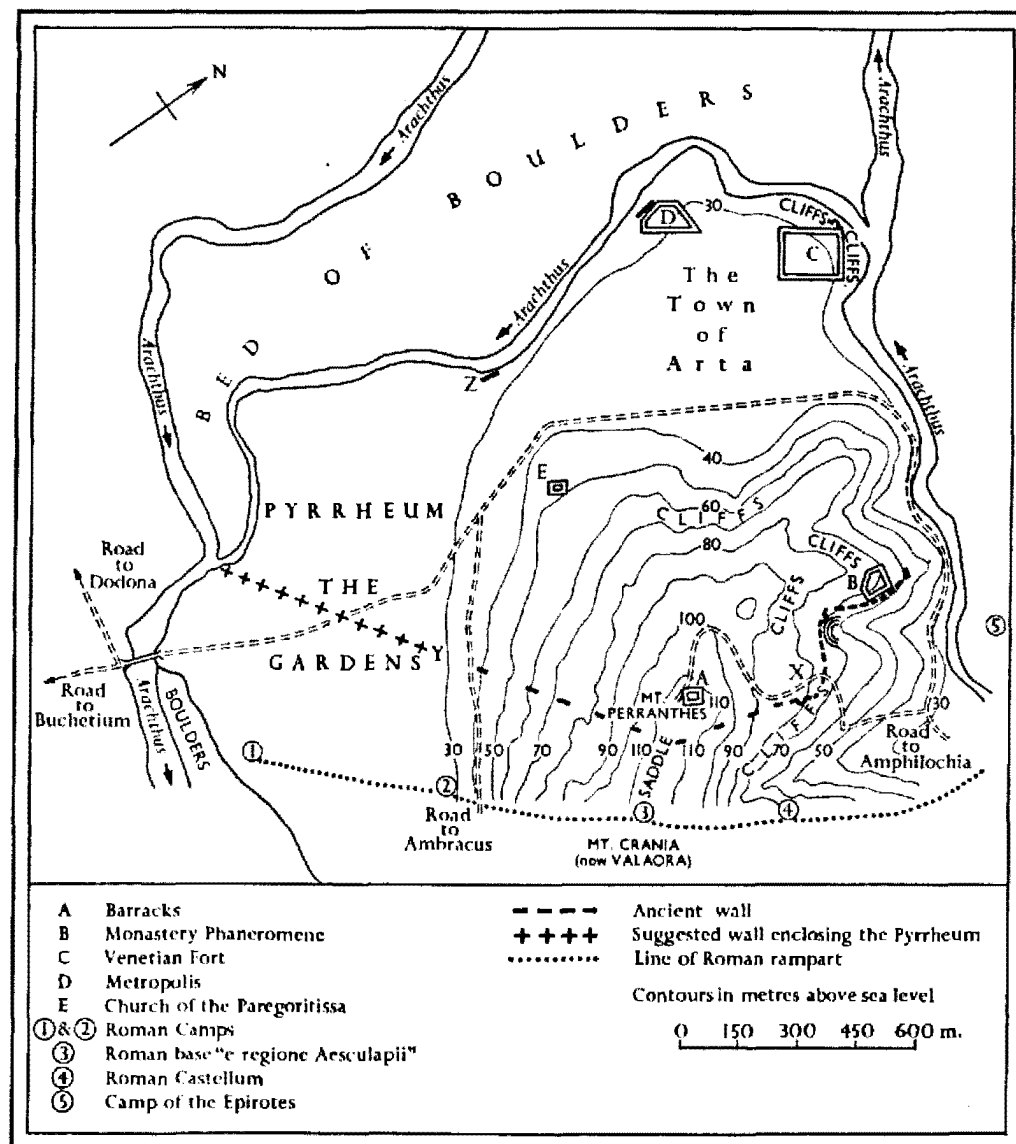
Arta is set in a loop of the river, where it forces its way through the gap between the southern spur of Mt. Xerovouni and the northern end of Mt. Valaora. The river runs fast, often in two or three streams, and the wide bed is filled with masses of boulders. I forded the river just above the Metropolis in June; the water was knee deep and fast and the footing was difficult. At the narrows where the river enters the plain it becomes deep. Here stands the famous bridge of Arta. The bridgeheads are built upon the foundations of 'a classical Greek' bridge, which consisted of 'courses of very large, carefully worked blocks'.³ The river here is some 200 yards wide, 'deep, winding and rapid', as Leake (1. 202) put it. There is no bridge to the south, nor

¹ Leake 1. 214 f. identified Crania with Mt. Kelberini, now Pirgos Tsoungri, which is north of Arta, but there is nothing we know which should make this mountain famous or notable.

² Ph. M. Petsas mentioned this site to me, as he thought there was perhaps some prehistoric pottery there; I made a search but did not find any. It certainly is the right sort of site, but it has been inhabited continuously since classical times. Kraneia is the cornel tree, of which the berry was used for feeding pigs and the wood for making spears, and the name of the mountain and village seems to be derived from this rather than, as Leake supposed, from Kranaa 'rugged'. The modern name of the place, Sikies, is 'the fig trees'. Kranies appears on the Greek Staff Map on the mountain east of Arta, because of the cornel trees, but it offers no clue for the ancient site.

³ Reported by Ph. M. Petsas in *Eph. Arch.* 1950-1, 41. These foundations were exposed in building a metal bridge and were covered up again.

for many miles to the north of Arta. Thus all traffic from the plain comes to Arta in order to cross the river; it passes along the narrow route between the north end of Mt. Valaora and the river, and then



MAP 6. Ambracia in 189 B.C.

takes the road either for the south or for Thessaly. The circuit of the ancient walls lies within the loop of the river and a high spur, which is joined to the main ridge of Mt. Valaora, some 300 ft. higher, by a saddle 300 yds. long (see Map 6). At the point of junction between the spur and the saddle (this point is the highest point of the spur) there are some modern barracks and a number of massive limestone blocks, e.g. $2.70 \times 1.10 \times 1.00$ m., and I was told that before the building of the barracks the foundations of some semi-circular towers were

visible. I saw a semicircular tower on the south-east wall; two courses of it were *in situ*, and the blocks were large, e.g. 1.70 long by 0.65 m. high. Some blocks were cut with the outer face in a convex curve and with the inner face in a concave curve, and their lateral faces were straight. Other blocks, almost rectangular in shape, were placed between the curving blocks. Between this semicircular tower and the monastery Phaneromene the wall retires round the head of a re-entrant valley, which I think contains the emplacement of a theatre looking east. In the wall above this emplacement there is another semicircular tower. The monastery is built upon a corner of the ancient wall, which has five courses standing to a height of over 3 m. Here the blocks are rectangular and are laid regularly in continuous horizontal lines; some courses are composed of massive blocks, e.g. 2.20×1.20 m. (width not visible) and others of large blocks, e.g. 1.50×0.55 m. The corner-stones present a long face and a short face alternately at angles and at turns of the wall. The lowest block showing at ground level is 2.90 m. long. Near here the Venetian fort contains two pillar fragments, 0.60 m. in diameter, and a base with a round socket-hole. Moving on to the river bank I saw a semicircular tower, built of large and medium blocks, which faces the river at the northern angle of the fort; there are some massive blocks, not in their original position, in the south-east wall of the fort. At the Metropolis, where the river is forded with least difficulty today, there is a fine stretch of wall, standing eight courses high. The lower courses are of massive blocks, e.g. 1.80×0.40 m., and the higher courses of medium-sized blocks. All the blocks are rectangular and are laid regularly; the face of the blocks is rough and convex. To the south-west of the Metropolis there is another stretch of similar wall, which rests in the riverside. There are few traces of the west and south walls, which covered the least strong part of the site, and their position on Map 6 is largely conjectural.

Inside the circuit wall and close to the fort there are remains of ancient houses, which are visible in a cellar; these house walls consist of one layer of large blocks of limestone about 0.45 m. thick.¹ Some blocks, which are apparently *in situ*, have projecting knobs on the outer face, probably used for lifting, and one block has a large socket and a small square socket for the doorpost and the bolt. Tombs in the ancient cemeteries have been excavated. They are mainly on the west side of the town near the cliffs and also on the east side. Leake, who visited the site in 1805, found the walls in a less vestigial state. He noted that the wall by the Venetian fort was founded on levelled rock, that

¹ The modern town of Arta covers the ancient site. I saw these walls through the kindness of a house-owner, who invited me in.

the two or three lowest courses of it here were narrow and projected beyond the rest of the wall, and that some stones in the topmost of these lowest courses measured 16 × 4 ft. and 12 × 6 ft. He said that the blocks were in general quadrangular but some were sloping at one end, and that the courses were nearly regular and were remarkable for the close and finished junction of the stones. He saw only 'smaller vestiges' of a wall in the plain on the west side of the town; on his plan he showed the line of the wall there with dots.¹

It is clear from Livy's account of the Roman siege of Ambracia, which is based on a now fragmentary book of Polybius and on a knowledge of Ennius, *Annales* xv, that the main part of the city looked west. He says that here the wall came down to the plains and the river ('urbs qua murus vergit in campos et flumen occidentem . . . spectat' (Livy 38. 4)), and that the city lay below a rugged 'tumulus', called Perranthes ('Ambracia tumulo aspero subiecta est; Perranthen incolae vocant'). The citadel or acropolis, on the other hand, looked east and it stood on a different 'tumulus' ('arx quae imposita tumulo est orientem spectat'). These 'tumuli' contributed to the defences of the city ('hinc amnis munit, hinc tumuli').

Livy's description is not that of someone who has viewed the city from the high point by the barracks; for then one sees, for example, the bridge, the Metropolis, and the monastery Phaneromene at one view and one regards the whole hill as a single eminence. But if one describes the city as one approaches it first from the west, that is from the bridge, and then from the east, that is from the road between the monastery Phaneromene and the river, one sees two 'tumuli' or 'high points on a mountain' (cf. Cic. *Div. poet.* 1. 11. 18: 'tumulos Albano in monte nivalis lustrasti'). The first high point, the rugged tumulus called Perranthes, below which the city faced west, is clearly that near which the barracks stand today; it forms the skyline as one crosses the bridge. The second high point is that which dominates the approach from the south-east. Because the hill-side above the road is very steep, one cannot from the road see the barracks and the hill-top named Perranthes. Instead one sees only what Leake called 'the projection of the height which here overhangs the river';² that is to say either or both of two areas, that occupied by the angle marked X on Map 6 and that crowned by the monastery Phaneromene.

Livy aptly describes the city's defences as being formed by the river and the tumuli. Provided the Ambraciotes held or could dismantle the

¹ Leake 1. 206-7.

² I differ in my interpretation from Leake, who put Perranthes outside the walled site at a higher point of Mt. Valaora and the acropolis at the place where the modern barracks are; this does not accord with the plan of Fulvius to cut off the town by a line of rampart and ditch from his two camps to the castellum.

only bridge, the river defended the city from the west, the north, and the east, and the only side open to attack was the south side. The easiest approaches from the south were along the wider plain on the west side and along the narrower plain on the east side. The former approach was dominated by the high point called Perranthes, and the latter by the eminence on which the acropolis stood. This eminence is, I think, that marked X on map 6; it controls the only road which climbs the hill, it stands above a line of cliffs, and it is considerably higher than the point on which the monastery is built. The course of the river in antiquity was close to the walls not only on the north side of Ambracia, where it still runs, but also on the west side ('urbs qua murus vergit in campos et flumen occidentem . . . spectat'). A magnificent picture painted by Edward Lear in 1849 shows the river washing the walls on the north side.¹ Today the walls on the west side have disappeared; they must have followed the river bank into the plain in order to accord with Livy's description. This part of the plain seems to have been unaffected (unless perhaps diminished) by the river; for the deposit of boulders defines the area within which the river has moved its bed at various times. When I surveyed the site, I was unable to determine the extent of the city towards the south-west, but I estimated the circuit of the walls at 4,500 m. at least, on the assumption that the walls took the shortest line from the foot of the hill on the west at Y to the river bank at Z. However, two points in Livy's description suggest that in 189 B.C. the city extended some way westwards into the plain: first the fact that the defenders as well as the attackers could dig tunnels, which is possible only in the deeper soil of 'the gardens', and second the length which Livy gives for the walls as a little over 4 Roman miles. The walls which I estimated at 4,500 m. are in fact some 5 kilometres in extent when measured on the map of the town; and a further extension of a kilometre westwards into 'the gardens' brings the circuit of the walls up to 6 kilometres, which is just over 4 Roman miles. This western suburb, as we shall see later, was added by Pyrrhus.

When the Epirotes advised the consul Marcus Fulvius to attack Ambracia, which was controlled at the time by the Aetolian League, they pointed out that there was plenty of material close at hand for building mounds and other siege works, and that the river, being navigable and convenient for transporting the necessary stuff, flowed past the very walls (Livy 38. 3. 11: 'Arethontem, navigabilem amnem, opportunum ad comportanda quae usui sint praeter ipsa moenia fluere'; and Plb. 21. 26. 4). We learn from this passage not only that there was more timber at hand then than there is today, but also that

¹ *Journal of a Landscape Painter in Albania* (London, 1851) facing p. 352.

in the early summer of 189 B.C. the river was navigable in the narrows where it is contained between Mt. Valaora and the declivities of Mt. Pírgos (244 m.). This is the point where I forded it in June; it is evident, then, that the river has filled this part of its bed with masses of boulders and made its course rapid and shallow during the centuries since 189 B.C. During the siege Fulvius assumed that troops could not get into the city from that side, no doubt because the water ran deep and the channel was navigable for Roman patrol-boats.

When Fulvius arrived with his army and that of the Epirotes, he formed two camps on the plain between the river and the town and he built a fort ('castellum') on high ground against the citadel ('loco edito contra arcem'). Then he began to build a line of rampart and ditch between the two camps and the fort, in order to cut off any movement out of or into the town. He naturally assumed that any movement into the town would be from the south, since the Aetolian forces were in Amphilochia and Acarnania. When the line of rampart and ditch was well under way, Fulvius transferred the Epirote army to a camp on level ground across the river, that is to the east of the river, so that the approach would be blocked on that side too ('Epirotarum trans flumen loco plano castra posita esse . . . haud facili ab Romanis auxilio quia flumen intererat').¹ His armies stayed in these positions during the siege and during the subsequent negotiations. The supplies of the Romans either came up by river or were brought across the river from the plain, and those of the Epirotes came from the country to the north. The Ambraciotes had laid in a reserve of supplies, which included beans.²

While the line of rampart and ditch was still incomplete, a thousand light-armed Aetolians passed through it into the town (38. 4. 8). When the line was completed and the town was cut off from the south, the consul launched attacks at five places simultaneously. Three attacks, equally spaced, were launched from the Roman camps 'against what they call the Pyrrheum' (38. 5. 2 and 7, and 38. 6. 1), which was evidently a fortified suburb, created by Pyrrhus. The fourth attack was launched 'e regione Aesculapii' (the Aesculapium being thus outside the walls)³ and the fifth against the citadel. The Epirote army was not

¹ The Aetolians had a plan to make a night attack on the camp of the Epirotes, when they heard it was in this relatively isolated position; they did not put it into effect, because they feared the Romans might get prior information and then cut off their retreat, that is by moving the legions into the plain east of Mt. Valaora—just the ground which Fulvius wanted for a pitched battle (Livy 38. 4. 7 and 38. 3. 10 'apertos circa campos' and Plb. 21. 26. 3). Fulvius may well have put the Epirotes there as a bait.

² Pliny *HN* 18. 307, who commented on the storage of the beans in a cave which was so good that beans laid down by Pyrrhus were edible 220 years later; he owed the information to Varro. One wonders if Varro ate them.

³ The Aesculapium may have been at the high point where the church of Profitis

sent against the north-east walls of the city, presumably because it could not cross the river in safety. The walls stood up to the shock of the battering-rams at first. The Romans began to pull down the parapets from the walls with hooked poles, but the defenders seized the poles with grappling irons (38. 5. 4 and Plb. 21. 27. 5). Then a second group of Aetolians forced a way through the line of circumvallation and got over into the city on a stormy night. Sorties by the garrison almost gained success. When they were driven back, the defenders decided to 'man the walls and fight in safety' ('dispositi per muros et turres ex tuto pugnabant' 38. 6. 9).¹ Gradually the Romans battered down the wall and exposed one part of the town, but the defenders built walls behind the breach. Next the Romans dug a tunnel, bringing out the earth and setting props to support the roof, but the defenders used bronze sheets to detect the vibration set up by the sapping and drove a ditch into the tunnel when it passed under the wall; they then forced the Romans out of the tunnel by several devices, including a form of smoke bomb (Plb. 21. 28 and Livy 38. 7). In the end a capitulation on terms was arranged. Ambracia lost her bronze and marble statues and her pictures, as well as much property and many persons who had been carried off from her open territory, and she made a 'gift' of 150 gold talents to the consul. Later an embassy of protest against the treatment she had received was heard by the Senate, and she was given the status of a free, autonomous city, provided all Romans and Italians were exempted from trading dues (38. 44. 4).² We can be sure she was not allowed to refortify herself. In 171-169 B.C. she was a base for the Roman army in Rome's last war with Macedonia.

The positions of the two Roman camps and of the Roman castellum, which I have shown on Map 6, are suggested by the following considerations. I doubt whether the bridge was included in the fortifications of the city, because it would be a weak point and because it is not mentioned in Livy's account of the siege. The suburb added by Pyrrhus is then roughly as shown on Map 6. The two Roman camps are likely to have defended their outer flanks by the river on one hand and the steep slope of the hill of Perranthes on the other hand. The line of circumvallation was obviously designed to cross the ridge and link the western and eastern parts of the loop of the river (the river here

Elias stands and Leake shows St. Elias on his map; for it is the right place for an attack to be launched from against the hill Perranthes.

¹ This poetical expression, like many others in Livy's account, is likely to have come from Ennius *Annales* xv; it gives a Roman view of what the defenders were doing and it is quite unlike the more impartial account of Polybius. Ennius frs. 384-7 refer to the siege. One contains the word *falae*, which is explained by Nonius as *turres lignae*.

² Livy 38. 43 and 39. 4. 9, though rhetorically phrased, gives some insight into the heavy losses suffered by Ambracia.

plays the same role as the sea in the proposed circumvallation of Syracuse in 414 B.C.). The Roman castellum had three functions: to be held against a sortie from the city, to be held against an attack from the south and to discourage an enemy force from approaching the city on the south-eastern route. The best position for it is not on the ridge-top by the barracks, because it is too remote from the south-eastern road and lacks natural defences, but on the spur south of and parallel to that on which I have placed the acropolis of Ambracia. A steep-sided gully, which lies between this site and the acropolis, would make it difficult to attack the spur from the north, and a castellum built on it would be 'loco edito contra arcem'. Three simultaneous attacks were directed then against the Pyrrheum, one against the acropolis (*arx*) along the line of contours 80-90 m., and one 'e regione Aesculapii'. This last attack might have been made along the west side of Mt. Perranthes; but as this side is rugged, it was more probably made on the level ground of the saddle against the area where the barracks now stand. These attacks would spread out the defenders; and the Epirote army which lay across the river to the east must have pinned down some defenders on that front. Fulvius carried out a difficult operation with great skill.

The fragments of Polybius add two points which help to confirm my placing of the Roman camps, which were as usual fortified camps (Plb. 21. 27. 2). The three attacks against the Pyrrheum were over level ground (21. 27. 2). And the Roman tunnel started under the middle engine of the three engines employed in these attacks (21. 28. 4). The level ground is in fact the only area in which there was enough soil to dig a tunnel. The walls here were smashed and not rebuilt; for this reason Leake saw only 'some smaller vestiges' of the wall on the west side of Arta. There were two theatres at Ambracia, because the *heroon* of Aencas was 'near the small theatre'.¹ Leake and others have thought that the Pyrrheum and the words 'regia Pyrrhi' in Livy 38. 9. 13 refer to a (supposed) palace of Pyrrhus.² A comparison of Livy with the corresponding passage in Polybius shows that this is not so. Talking of the statues and pictures, Livy remarks: 'quibus ornatior Ambracia, quia regia ibi Pyrrhi fuerat, quam ceterae regionis eius urbes erant'. Polybius 21. 30. 9, referring also to the statues and the pictures says: ὄντα καὶ πλείω διὰ τὸ γεγονέναι βασιλεῖον Πύρρου τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν. The meaning is that Ambracia had been the capital city of Pyrrhus. This meaning recurs in Pomponius Mela 2. 54: 'Ambracia Aeacidarum regia Pyrrhique'. It may be suggested that Livy mistranslated

¹ D.H. 1. 50.

² Leake 1. 212: 'the Pyrrheum... a fortified palace built by Pyrrhus', and E. T. Sage in the Loeb edition of Livy 38. 9. 13 with note 1 on p. 14; also Kienast 161.

Polybius, but a second glance at Livy shows that some scholars have mistranslated him; for 'fuerat' cannot refer to an existing 'regia domus' but can and does refer to a 'regia urbs'. It is true that Lewis and Short give the use of 'regia' for 'regia urbs' as poetic and in post-Augustan prose; but 'regia Pyrrhi' is one of several phrases which Livy seems to have culled from the *Annales* of Ennius.

The last point of topographical interest arises from the only fragment we have of the *Hedyphagetica* of Ennius, who accompanied Fulvius and celebrated his achievements in *Annales* xv and in a play *Ambracia*. His source was Archestratus, and the relevant lines are preserved in Athenaeus 3. 92. D:

τοὺς μὲν Αἶνος ἔχει μεγάλους, ὄστρεα δ' Ἀβυδος,
τὰς ἄρκτους Πάριον, τοὺς δὲ κτένας ἡ Μιτυλήνη,
πλείστους δ' Ἀμβρακία παρέχει. . . .

Ennius wrote as follows:

mures sunt Aeni, aspera ostrea plurima Abydi.
Mitylenae est pecten caradrumque apud Ambraciai.¹

Ambracia supplies the shellfish. That is not in doubt. But Ennius has added the latinized form of *χάραδρος* either to give local colour, as he knew Ambracia so well, or to define the place where the shellfish are found. He has found the *mot juste* for a colourful description. The boulder-strewn bed of the Arachthus north of Arta, before it enters the plain, is admirably described by *χάραδρος*, a torrent or a bed of a torrent cutting its way through a mountain. It may be that Ennius meant to define the place where the shellfish are taken; if so, it would be below the torrent, at a point where the sweet and the salt waters mix. I think 'caradrus' was used to add colour, as 'aspera' was in the preceding line.²

The natural resources of Ambracia were very great, and her prosperity was exceptional in times of peace.³ I have already mentioned the fisheries and the produce of the plain. She was famous in antiquity

¹ For the text and a full discussion see O. Skutsch, 'Enniana II' in *CQ* 42 (1948) 99, whose reading I have given here. I am most grateful to him for discussing the passage with me.

² S. Mariotti, *Lezioni su Ennio* (Pesaro, 1951) 14, has suggested that Ennius meant by 'caradrus' the sea near Ambracia and then by extension the sea at the strait of Preveza, where there are indeed plenty of shellfish; but this is to leave Archestratus stranded many miles away from Ambracia. Büchner, *RE* 3. 2. 2113, goes almost as far afield in associating 'caradrum Ambraciai' with the Molossian town of Charadra, which cannot be considered a part of Ambracia, town or territory. The fact is that Charadros as the name of a torrent is probably as common as the torrents themselves in Epirus, like the modern equivalent, the onomatopoeic name Vouvos.

³ Str. 325 πύτυχει διαφέροντως.

for her wine and kids,¹ and is today for her oranges and her olives. She exports a great amount of cattle, sheep, goats, skins, and cheese. These are now derived mainly from the more immediate hinterland; they were sent especially to the Ionian islands in the time of Leake. Timber for shipbuilding was taken from here for the French fleet at the turn of the eighteenth century; it came from the Valtos and from Makrinoros. Logs are also floated down the Arakhthos from the area of Tsoumerka. Arta used to be the chief place of export for Central Epirus, but she has been displaced by Preveza in modern times. The Arakhthos, which now issues into the sea at Bouka, is navigable for boats, usually for 4 miles and sometimes as far as Arta, but it is little used as a waterway. Ambracia occupied a strategic position not only for trade but also for war. She could block the main route from Epirus to Acarnania and Aetolia, especially if she was in league with Argos Amphiloichicum, as she was in 189 B.C. Troops arriving by sea in north-western Greece and wishing to cross to the east side of Greece could do so most readily from Ambracia to Thessaly or Karpenisi.² In the end it was her strategic position which led to her decline, because she became a pawn in the struggles of Macedon, Rome, and Aetolia, and suffered heavy and repeated losses.³

The modern road southwards from Arta follows the narrow fertile plain for 20 kilometres and then enters the narrows above Menidhi between Mt. Makrinoros and the sea. Here there is a small bay, into which a stream flows from the north. At its mouth lies Kopraina, the modern port of Arta. The eastern side of the bay has a small roadstead which is used by fishing boats. The modern road then climbs along the precipitous and scrub-clad declivities of Mt. Makrinoros until it enters the plain of Loutro. An ancient route for man and mule, a route which was in use until recently, leaves the modern road at Aninou and follows the next ridge inland, parallel to Mt. Makrinoros, and descends via Tsaknokhorion to Loutro⁴.

The entry to this route is commanded by two ancient sites, called Kastriotissa and Palcokoula. The former, east of Aninou, encloses the hill forming the north end of the ridge with a circuit wall some 550 m.

¹ Plin. *HN* 14. 76; Aul. Gell. 6. 16 'haedus ex Ambracia' in a list of delicacies.

² Dion. Call. 40 in *GGM* 1. 239, reckoning three days to Thessaly. Rome naturally used this route; see Cic. *Brut.* 1. 6. 1 and Livy 44. 1.

³ For example, Appian *Mac.* 3. 1 mentions that Rome sent 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry to help the Aetolian League capture Ambracia from Philip in 208 B.C., and that on the departure of the Romans Philip recaptured it; as Str. 325 put it: 'Macedon and Rome wore down Ambracia and the other cities of Epirus by their continuous wars.'

⁴ I have described this route in my *CA* 130 f. *The Mediterranean Pilot* 3. 112 has the following description of the coast and the ridge. 'Along the base of Makrinoro ridge the coast is bold and in most places inaccessible, except at the foot of the deep ravines. . . . The road leading from western Greece to lower Albania runs along the ridge.'

in circumference. A long narrow site running north-west by south-east, its weakest sides are on the north and south; at the former there are remains of two square towers built internally, that is inside the wall-circuit, and at the latter a second cross-wall is built parallel to and at 20 m. from the outer wall. In both the cross-wall and the outer wall there are signs of a gateway. Only the foundations of the walls are traceable. They consist of rough sandstone blocks both large (e.g. 1.20×0.40 m.) and small. They show little sign of shaping. Medieval repairs have been made to the walls. On the sides of a mound at the centre of the enclosed area I found black-glaze sherds of poor quality, and I noticed that a spring had once been used just inside the circuit on the north-east side. I walked there from Arta in three hours and twenty minutes. I was told in Arta that a number of finds had been made at Kastriotissa. Coins from there included an Athenian coin and I was shown a sling bullet of lead stamped with the letters AM (see p. 733).

On the other side of the valley and on the north spur of Mt. Makrinoros one reaches in forty-five minutes the site known as Paleokoula,¹ lying astride the track from Voidholivadhio village to the top of Makrinoros ridge. On the west the cliffs fall down to the road and the bay of Menidhi, and the slopes are steep on the north and east; a saddle connects the site with the main ridge to the south. The best-preserved part of the site consists of a wall-circuit some 170 m. in circumference, forming roughly a square on the highest part of the hill. In this there are traces of four towers. One of these projects 5.20 m. from the wall and has a face 3.30 m. long; here three courses, 1.50 m. high, are *in situ*, and the blocks measure, for example, $1.50 \times 0.55 \times 0.45$ m. At the south-west angle of the site there are five courses standing to a height of 1.70 m., and a square tower is built internally in the angle of the wall and measures 8.70×8.70 m. The blocks are well cut, rectangular, and laid in regular horizontal courses; both large and small blocks are used. In addition to this wall-circuit there are remains of a larger one enclosing the area to the north-east and east and linked to the west and south walls of the original circuit; the total circumference of the larger circuit is some 1,000 m. but the traces of it are scanty. There are remains of houses inside and outside the walls. I noticed several black-glaze sherds on the site. The strategic importance of Menidhi, Kastriotissa, and Paleokoula was shown in the campaign of 1829.² Heuzey (295) reported a small fort which I have

¹ L. Heuzey, *Le Monte Olympe et l'Acarnanie* (Paris, 1860) 293-6, describes Kastriotissa and Paleokoula. The Greek Staff Map has this site at the wrong end of the Makrinoros ridge; *MP* 3. 112 put it at the right place and called it Paleo Pyrgo.

² See Hammond *CA* 131.

not seen in a district called Agriliaes by Menidhi. It consists of two towers linked by a double wall and is on the coast by the port of Menidhi.

Kastriotissa and Paleokoula lie on the fringe of an area known as the Valtos; it is densely covered with *maquis* and scrub oak, and it is split by innumerable steep valleys, which cut deep into the flysch formation of sandstone, marl, and clays. The same type of country continues north of the Valtos as far as the foothills of Tsoumerka at Voulgarelion; and as it produces little but maize, pig-fodder, and pasture for goats, it is sparsely inhabited by small, scattered villages. It is also subject to the ravages of locusts. Sites, which I have not visited, were reported to me at Dhimarion,¹ Skoulikaria,² Floriadhia,³ Velentsikon,⁴ and ENE. of Tserkista;⁵ black-glaze pottery, I was told, had been found at the last place. These sites appear to be similar to that at Voedhros Han which lies at a distance of three hours and twenty minutes from Arta. I walked there on my way to Korakou bridge in the Achelous valley. The site is a double-topped ridge above the Han. One stretch of wall, five courses high, is built of rectangular sandstone blocks, which measure, for example, $1.00 \times 0.37 \times 0.75$ m. The two tops of the ridge are some 80 m. apart and the site must have been small but fortified. I found black-glaze sherds and rims of coarse red *pithoi*; there is a spring close by on the west. South of the church in Levitsikon, and at a distance of twenty-five minutes, a ridge-top is strewn with sherds of a rough red ware and with tile fragments, some set in mortar. The site, called Stamnes locally, appears to have been open and may date from Roman times.

The Arakhthos valley, north of Arta, is narrow but open as far as Kalendini, and then enters a series of impassable gorges. Going north, I turned up the Sarandaporos stream, which rises below Voulgarelion, and aiming for the upper Arakhthos I crossed the watershed between the Sarandaporos and the next tributary to the north near the village of Bouga (Anemorrakhi), which is at some three hours distance from Kalendini. On a ridge above Bouga there are traces of a rough stone wall and many sherds of rough red ware. At this site coins of the Hellenistic period have been found; I also saw a squared stone 3 in. long \times 1 in. wide \times 1 in. thick, which was engraved at one

¹ This site may be the one which was reported to Leake 4. 236.

² This is probably the site mentioned by Baker in *JRGS* 7 (1837) 87 as 'a Hellenic enclosure of considerable extent'.

³ Heuzey 307 described the site as an enceinte with towers and dwellings inside and outside the walls.

⁴ The site was described as being on a hill-top and built of large blocks. There were said to be inscriptions in a cave, but they sounded more like stalactites.

⁵ The site was described as being in a dell and built with large blocks. A black-glaze *skyphos* which I was shown was said to have come from there.

end with a cow's head and at the other end with a stamp ✱, and on its four surfaces with a scorpion, a running dog, a horse, and a boar, all crudely worked. From Bouga I took four hours walking to Voulgarelion, the largest village of the area (some 500 families). It commands the route round the south end of Mt. Tsoumerka into the upper Achelous valley. In the angle between the Sarandaporos stream and the Voulgarelion stream, and on the west side, the top of a steep hill, which is clad in holm-oak, is strewn with coarse red sherds. There are traces of a wall about a metre wide, built of unworked and small flat stones. In the house below the site Clarke (who visited it, while I did not) bought six bronze coins, and in Voulgarelion another twenty coins from this site; it is clear from his notes that he was sure that the site was Greek. The nearest village to it is Chuka, where the church Panayia is of fine red Byzantine brick.¹ Voulgarelion, one and a half hours higher up, has no ancient remains and is clearly the modern equivalent to the site at Chuka.

North of Bouga and Chuka I crossed the watershed of the Sarandaporos and entered another flysch area, similar in character and vegetation to the Valtos. In general the villages are small and their houses are widely scattered at places where maize and fruit trees can be grown; there is plenty of water flowing from Mt. Tsoumerka to the Arakhthos but a paucity of soil. Larger villages, more carefully built, stand at the head of the valleys on the slopes of the mountain. Such are Katarraktis (300 houses) and Agnanda (200 families). To the north of Agnanda a watershed between tributaries of the Arakhthos marks the limit of this Valtos type of country, and the villages further north trade with Ioannina. Agnanda itself trades both with Ioannina and Arta, but the villages to the south all trade with Arta, which is reckoned ten or twelve hours distant for laden mules. I entered the area from Voulgarelion and reached the village of Khosepsi (250 families) in two hours forty-five minutes along a fine path through coniferous forest. At half an hour's distance from the village there is a site called Epitaphion on a promontory between two streams, facing south. There are traces of a wall-circuit of local brown sandstone blocks, roughly cut in polygonal shapes, measuring, for example, $0.90 \times 0.75 \times 0.45$ m. It is reported that tombs have been opened, and inscription no. 21 comes probably from here. The next site lies near Gouryiana (45 houses), which I reached in three hours fifty minutes from Khosepsi via Ramia (140 houses), Lepiana (150 families), and Gretsista. Here a south-west spur of Mt. Tsouma (858 m.) overlooks the Arakhthos in a rare interval between gorges and has a flattish top with fields and

¹ It is of the period of the Despotate of Epirus and is described by A. K. Orlandos in *Ep. Chr.* 1927, 153 f. There are four photographs of the church in *BCH* 84 (1960) 736 f.

trees, which appears to have been fully enclosed by an ancient wall-circuit some 800 m. long. The wall was 2.80 m. wide, faced on both sides with neat polygonal blocks and filled with rubble. To the north-east a 6 m. length of wall stands in five courses to a height of 2.90 m., and there is a vertical channel in the outer face, 0.10 m. broad and 0.05 m. deep. To the north two parallel lengths of walls, 14 m. apart, are built in large polygonal blocks, e.g. $1.20 \times 0.75 \times 0.52$ m. Other pieces of wall are in small polygonal blocks, set in mortar. On the summit within the circuit there are traces of a rock-cut cistern. Higher up the ridge and also near Gouryiana tombs lined with stone slabs have yielded bones and pottery. Clarke, who also visited this site, reported that coins and a sword had been found in a tomb within the circuit. He also obtained a coin of the Epirote League here. At Moni Spilaiotisa, which is between the site and Gouryiana, he observed some ancient rock cuttings. S. I. Dakaris has opened some tombs of the Byzantine period near Gretsista.¹

Following the high route from Voulgarelion, which runs below the escarpment of Mt. Tsoumerka, I took some five hours to reach Katarraktis. Here in a district called Diaselo, which is forty-five minutes away from the village, there is a hill-top with cliffs on three sides, which has traces of a wall on the open, that is the east side. The wall is 1.90 m. wide; it is faced on both sides with blocks which measure, for example, $1.75 \times 0.40 \times 0.45$ m., and it is filled with rubble. In some places mortar has been added. I saw the usual rough red sherds and was told that black glaze sherds had been found and also tombs, lined with limestone slabs. Clarke reported that a rifled tomb contained bones. A second site, which Clarke visited, lies at one hour's distance from Katarraktis on the Spilia ridge, to the east of the track between Agnanda and Seresi. The ridge is of marl and the blocks are very roughly worked, measuring, for example, $1.50 \times 1.00 \times 0.40$ m. and forming a wall some 2 m. thick. At the north-west end of the site there are remains of a pentagonal tower, its sides being some 5 m. long. The circuit was about 300 m., and the ridge is strewn with coarse red sherds.

At Katarraktis I was shown a lump of red iron, acorn-shaped and 2 in. long, and I was told that iron was found on Mt. Tsoumerka. From here it is an hour and a half to Agnanda, and about as much to Plakas, where the Arakhthos is bridged for the first time north of Arta. Further north the river flows through a tremendous gorge. Crossing the river at Plakas I climbed high up along the cliff sides, passing over a slanting face of limestone where I followed a narrow crack (this is

¹ *BCH* 76 (1952) 226. The sites near Gouryiana are referred to by N. B. Kosmas *EE* 1955, 9.

said to be dangerous when a high wind is blowing down the gorge), and I emerged above the village of Kalenji.

On the right bank of the Arakhthos the river cuts deep into the steep sides of Mt. Xerovouni, 'the dry mountain', which is a barren grey mass of limestone. Little foothold is afforded here. There are a few small villages which face east and are cut off from the afternoon sun by the cliffs of the mountain. There is one striking gap in the Xerovouni range. It is at Kiafa, where a deep cleft runs between Ammotopos and Beliasa. Elsewhere the villagers have no easy route across the mountain, until one comes to Kalenji. The southerly villages were not visited by Clarke or by me. In one of them, Pistiana, S. Dakaris has excavated a funerary enclosure, containing incinerations, iron knives, vases of local pottery, and a bronze *lebes*, partly gilded. A bronze statuette, either of Artemis or of an Amazon, was found in the vicinity.¹ I was told that there is a site near Nisista.

Setting out from the site near Gouryiana I crossed the river in a box, slung on wires and wound across on a windlass by an old crone; she grew weary and left me hanging midstream in the spray, but help came and I was wound across. From there I had an hour's walk to Chovista, which boasts a district called Kastri. The site, however, was said to have been carried away by a landslide, and certainly the land had slid and left no trace of antiquity. Lower down I saw the local antique, a bath-shaped affair of tiles and stone set in mortar, measuring some 8 by 10 ft. From here it is four and a half hours' walk high above the river through the villages of Rapsista (above which salt is mined) and Vordo and then across the slanting face of limestone to Kalenji. I heard of no other ancient remains on this side of the Arakhthos valley.

The plain to the north-west of Arta is rich in olive-groves. It is irrigated from strong sources of water along its northern and eastern edge, and it is bounded on the west by the Louros river. The main village in this part of the plain is the fly-blown and squalid Filippias. It stands where the routes from Preveza and Arta join one another and enter the narrows of the Louros valley on the way to Ioannina. In Turkish times, however, the more usual route from Arta to Ioannina followed the western shoulders of Mt. Xerovouni, this being cooler for mules and men in summer. The line of the Turkish paved road there is still marked by derelict Hans. On leaving Arta for this route I crossed the upper plain which is called Marathia, and in three and a half hours, after ascending a barren limestone valley, I reached the village of Ammotopos. From here a gap leads through to the Arakhthos river. An hour west of the village and on the west side of the valley

¹ *BCH* 76 (1952) 226.

a limestone spur commands the entry into the pass northwards. This spur carries a site, which is defended by cliffs on the east and south. The wall-circuit measures some 1,100 m. (see Plan 23). The foundations of the wall show that it was some 2 m. thick, faced on both sides with squared limestone blocks of rectangular shape and filled with rubble. The wall has been thoroughly destroyed, many blocks being shattered and others broadcast. At least two towers are traceable and several right-angled recesses in the wall-circuit, and outside it on the east side there is a semicircular cup, which appears to be the cavea of a small theatre facing east. The enclosed area is almost bisected by a road, which turns at right angles from a tower in the north wall. On the west side of this road and near its northern end a group of houses (B, C, and D) are aligned parallel to the road, and the foundations of another building (E) are parallel to the wall-circuit (see Plan 23). At a distance of some 26 m. from the south wall the best-preserved house (A) is built with its long side parallel to the line of the road (see Plan 23 and Plate IX*a*).

As I published a description of the houses and the site in *BSA* 48 (1953), 134-40, with plates 33 and 34, I shall mention here a few points only, which concern the style of masonry and construction. The houses are built in squared limestone blocks, laid in regular horizontal layers, with (generally but not always) right-angled vertical joins, and the walls are only one block thick, that is 0.50 m. The blocks measure for example, 1.30 × 0.28 × 0.50 m. They are laid alternately at the corners. Some blocks are L-shaped, where a partition wall comes off an external wall, the long side of the L being in the external wall. The angle-blocks at the external angles of the houses are drafted. Some of the blocks have projections on the outer face for lifting; otherwise the outer face is chiselled flat. The external dimensions of the houses are 17 × 31 m., 17.50 × 28 m., and 15 × 17.60 m. Walls stand as high as 6.40 m. in twenty-one courses, and rafter-sockets for the upper floor are intact. The city was laid out on a rectangular plan, and the side streets were some 3.50 m. wide. Near the main entry, which was protected by the tower in the north wall, there are two smaller buildings which were probably of a sacred or public character. These buildings are beautifully made, and their masonry is technically superior to that of houses at Priene and Delos. The city to the north extended beyond the city walls. Here there are foundation of buildings, made of squared limestone blocks of dimensions similar to those of blocks within the walls.

The style of building, as compared with that of ancient houses elsewhere, suggests that the earliest piece of house building dates from the late fourth or early third century B.C. The inhabitants of the

place at that time were Molossians, for they gained access to the central part of the north shore of the Gulf before the late fourth century. The site stands too high to be within the territory of Arta, and it is integral to the Molossian approach to the Gulf. The deliberate destruction of the city walls was evidently carried out in 167 B.C. by the Roman legions (Livy 45. 34. 6: 'muri deinde direptarum urbium diruti sunt'). Ambracia was fortunate enough to have settled her relations with Rome in 189 B.C.

From this site I climbed over the barren shoulder of Mt. Xerovouni in two and a half hours to Miliana, which pastures sheep, goats, and a few cattle. From there in two and a half hours I reached Pende Pigadhia via Hani Kravasara. Then I crossed a high plateau, cool even in July, and in two and a half hours reached Moulesi at the head of the Louros valley, where the main road from Filippias emerges. Shortly before Moulesi I passed through Lagatora, a small village. Between it and Pesta, to the north of the track, I visited a length of wall built along one side of a low ridge. There are several courses of large, well-cut limestone blocks *in situ*. At the time, in early July 1944, my mind was on other matters and I took no notes, but it is clear that a fortified site here controlled the northern entry to the route, just as the site at Ammotopos controlled the southern entry. On the ridge above and east of Moulesi Roman coins are reported to have been found; but I did not visit it. Leake (I. 222) took the same route in 1805. Riding light, he and his party took six hours from Arta to Pende Pigadhia and six hours from Pende Pigadhia to Ioannina, making twelve in all or, as he adds, fourteen with baggage. I took eight and a half hours on foot from Arta to Pende Pigadhia. The villages north of Pende Pigadhia are more closely connected to the plain of Ioannina than to Arta, but I have included them here in order to explain the lines of communication.


Filippias, where the Louros emerges from its last gorge into the plain, is very rich in cattle, goats, and sheep, which find winter and summer pasturage on the swampy sides of the plain. As one passes northwards through the first narrows of the valley, one looks down on the fine aqueduct at Ayios Yeoryios which carried water to Nicopolis. At this point the road is joined by a track from Lelovo, which lies at two and a quarter hours' walking distance in the parallel valley to the west. The track from Lelovo crosses a limestone ridge, covered with *garigue*, and descends by a fertile little valley in which olives flourish. After passing through another gorge the road enters a narrow but open valley. In this valley, near Kerasson, a cist grave was found. It contained thirteen spear-heads, some knives, and a sword—all of iron—a silver pin and a silver seal, and a number of Attic vases. The

contents date the tomb to the first half of the fourth century B.C.¹ At the north end of the valley there is the village of Voulista Panayia (forty houses). Just north of the village a steep-sided hill, rising some 500 ft. above the road and linked by a high saddle to the main range, is crowned with a wall-circuit 450 m. in circumference. No more than two courses are standing. The blocks of local limestone are mainly well cut rectangular, rough-faced, and large, e.g. $1.50 \times 0.35 \times 0.50$ m.; in some blocks the vertical sides are slanting. Rabbiting was used and the wall was probably faced both inside and outside with cut blocks. On the inside of the circuit-wall there was a considerable deposit, showing that it had been inhabited, and sherds of coarse red ware. In the south-west corner of the site there are remains of a deep well in which some water was standing in July. On the top of the hill the outcrop of schist limestone has been cut level for a space some 15 m. square. A fort of cemented small stones, recent in date, has been built near the top. On the saddle there are some tombs, lined with limestone slabs. The site is well placed to close the southern end of the gorge which continues northwards for 10 kilometres. It also marks the limit of the olive in the Louros valley.

The north end of this long gorge is commanded by another fort, also built on the right bank. Below a jutting limestone crag a scree runs some 300 ft. down towards the river on a slope of some 35 degrees. Across this scree and at right angles to the direction of the slope there are remains of a wall, 3 m. wide, faced on both sides with large limestone blocks and filled with rubble; the masonry is mixed rectangular and polygonal. The wall, which stands in places up to eight courses, is built zigzag to increase its hold on the slope and spread the downward thrust.² The masonry is cut with the same purpose. At the north end of this wall a narrow tower projects, and from there a second line of wall is built at a curve upwards towards the crag. Below the scree I noted sherds, including black-glaze, and fragments of iron slag. The site lies south of the small village of Kato Mousiotissa.³ A few kilometres up the valley and at a bearing of 188° from Hani Terovo there is a small refuge, some 100 paces in length, walled with rough ashlar masonry of limestone. Part of the top had been levelled and sherds show that it was inhabited. It stands high on the cliffs overlooking the left bank of the Louros river, and it took me an hour to climb to it from the Hani.

A few kilometres to the north the valley opens at Hani Emin Aga, where a stream from the east falls through a cleft-like gorge into the Louros. On the north edge of the gorge there is another fortified site

¹ BCH 84 (1960) 745.

² In plan thus: 

³ Noted in P-K 2. 1. 112 and 115; Philippon visited it. Kirsten comments on it at 112 n. 2.

with a circumference of some 800 m., of which half is cliff and half is wall. It looks east to the plateau south of Lagatora and west over the Louros valley. The masonry is of schist limestone, cut in rectangular blocks and laid in regular horizontal courses; rabbeting is used, the blocks are laid alternately at the angles and the corners are cut in the Epirote manner. At the northwest corner eight courses are standing; there are remains of a projecting tower on the north side, and of what was probably a gateway on the east side. The wall is also recessed frequently. Inside the circuit the foundations of houses are visible. This site is on the flank of both routes from Arta, that over the shoulder of Mt. Xerovouni and that following the Louros valley. On the right bank and opposite Hani Viros a great source of water bubbles up into a wide circular basin in the limestone rock. The overflow is the main supply of the river at this latitude. Some five minutes to the north of this basin and at a height of 50 ft. above the bed of the river a recently cut water conduit had exposed a tomb, lined with four limestone slabs on its sides and measuring some 6 ft. by 2 ft. by 2 ft. The tomb faced due south. It contained a large number of bones, a few pieces of thin pottery, and several fragments of thick coarse tile.

The strongest site lies where these two routes join at Hani Ftelias, before one climbs up to the plain of Ioannina. Here the Louros river forks (see Map 7). Its westerly branch rises just below the plateau of Dodona. Two other routes meet here, one from the head of the Acheron valley to the west and the other from Kalenji overlooking the Arakthos to the east. From Hani Ftelias I climbed for forty minutes up the hill Kaloyeritsa (776 m.), which is situated between the two branches of the Louros. The wall-circuit, which crowns the hill, is some 1,250 m. in circumference, and the enclosed area contains house foundations and cuttings in the rock for emplacing foundations (see Plan 14). The wall is 3.10 m. wide, faced on both sides with fine polygonal masonry and filled with a rubble of fair-sized stones. The rock is cut to take the foundation course, and the masonry is a hard grey limestone. The north wall is built of large polygonal blocks, e.g. 1.00 × 0.90 × 0.70 m., and the east wall of medium-sized polygonal, e.g. 0.85 × 0.75 × 0.55 m., mixed with some almost rectangular blocks. The tower on the south-east projects 5.60 m., and the face measures 4.30 m.; north of it the wall stands to six courses, 3.42 m. high, and the recess is 3 m. deep. The gateway on the east side is 2.70 m. wide and that on the west 3.34 m. wide (see Plan 20, 9 and 13). The summit of the hill is enclosed by an inner acropolis, of which the circumference is some 600 m., and inside this the strong point at A is built of neat polygonal masonry with some rectangular blocks intermingled, for which rabbeting is used. Here three courses are *in situ*. Outside the

circuit, to the south, the church of Profitis Elias is set on a crag which is defended on three sides by cliffs and on the fourth by some 50 m. of wall, less than 2 m. thick and built of roughly shaped polygonal blocks.

The distribution of ancient sites gives us a clear picture of the extent of the territory of Ambracia at some period in its history. The sites at Kastriotissa and Aninou are co-ordinated to control the entry into the route southwards of the Makrinoros ridge, and they belong rather to the hill people of that area; the small harbour at Menidhi may have been disputed between them and Ambracia. The sites on or near the watershed eastwards of Ambracia are likely also to belong to hill peoples who were outside the control of Ambracia; but that near Levitsikon must usually have been held by Ambracia, because it commands the direct route from Ambracia into the valley of the Kalendini river and also to Korakou on the river Achelous. The frontier between the territory of Ambracia and its neighbours to the north-east seems to be marked by the fortified sites of Chuka, Khosepsi, and Gouryiana, which were held by people outside Ambracia's control. We have already noted that the site near Ammotopos belonged to the Molossians and is connected with their intrusion into the plain north of the Gulf. Before they appeared, we may assume that the plain there was disputed or divided between Ambracia and the site at Rogous. The right bank of the Arakhthos, which has few inhabitants, was dependent on Ambracia as far north perhaps as Pistiana. The natural defences of Ambraciote territory were the impoverished hill country to the east, the impassable gorges of the Arakhthos above Kalendini, the great, barren mass of Mt. Xerovouni with its extension in Pírgos Tsoungri and the deep flowing Arakhthos in the plain itself. The main route between Ambracia and the plain of Ioannina must always have been along the shoulder of Mt. Xerovouni. This is blocked by the site near Ammotopos. A subsidiary route follows the valley of the Louros, and here the modern road has been built with a good deal of skilful engineering and the construction of several bridges. The first long gorge begins just north of Voulista Panayia and runs for 10 kilometres. The entry is blocked by the site at Voulista Panayia. The two sites at Ammotopos and Voulista were co-ordinated; for anyone passing up the Louros valley to attack Voulista had his flank and his line of retreat threatened by Ammotopos. Voulista is also well placed in regard to enemies from the west, because a high and broad ridge lies between it and the valley of Thesprotikon.

It is clear that the ancient site Charadra is to be equated with that at Voulista. The name means 'the gorge', and here the gorge proper begins. As Charadra and Charadros have been confused, I set out the

evidence. In 189 B.C. when the Epirotes were advising Marcus Fulvius to attack Ambracia, it happened that some Aetolian envoys on their way to Rome were captured at sea off Cephallenia and brought into Charadros, that is by sea into the river Charadros (Plb. 21. 26. 7: κατήχθησαν εἰς Χάραδρον). They were then taken to Bouchetos, which I shall later give grounds for identifying with the site at Rogous. In 219 B.C. Philip of Macedon, having captured Ambracius for the Epirotes, advanced with his army past Charadra (Plb. 4. 63. 4: τὴν δύναμιν προῆγε παρὰ Χαράδραν), as he wished to cross into Acarnania by the narrowest passage over the Ambraciote Gulf, that is from Preveza to Actium. If one does not know the terrain, it looks as if Philip made an unnecessary detour. It is not so in fact. Even the modern motor road has to pass north of the great sources of water which lie east of Filippias and are supposed popularly to be the outlets of the waters of the Lake of Ioannina. Philip would have had to do likewise. The Louros is a big river, flowing very fast past Filippias, and one needs a bridge to cross it. The modern bridge is at Filippias. The bridge in 1912 was at Pandanassa. The ancient bridge or ford is likely to have been at Pandanassa or higher up near Voulista. There is then nothing improbable in equating Charadra with the site at Voulista.¹

The remarkable group of fortifications at the north end of the gorge above Voulista controls the area where routes come together from the upper Acheron valley, the Louros valley, the shoulder of Mt. Xerovouni, and the middle Arakthos valley via Plakas. The defence is in depth and culminates in the powerful fortified town at Kaloyeritsa. The importance of the routes of entry from the south into what Polybius called 'the upper districts of Epirus', and we call Central Epirus, and the strategic position of Arta, can be seen from consideration of two campaigns. In A.D. 1292 Nicephoros, despot of Arta, was threatened with attacks from two sides: the army of the Emperor was expected to cross from Thessaly into the plain of Ioannina, and the Genoese were expected to launch an attack from the sea. Nicephoros secured the alliance of Florent de Hainaut, Prince of Morea, and of Richard, Count of Cephalonia. The Emperor's troops appeared first in the field, coming from Thessaly, and laid siege to Ioannina.

¹ Previous suggestions for Charadra have been mainly Salaora (e.g. Oberhummer, *Akarnanien* 26, Evangelides, *BE* 12, Bursian 1. 36 n. 4, and Büchner, *RE* s.v.); Leake 1. 254 and 4. 255 suggested Rogous. My visit to Salaora shows it can be eliminated. There is a tendency to confuse or fuse Charadra and Charadros; for instance, Büchner frankly says 'Charadra auch Charadros genannt'. F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford, 1957) 1. 517 identifies Charadra with Salaora; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 1 (1940) 98 places it on the north coast of the Gulf. Leake 1. 258 supposed the Louros to have been called Charadros in ancient times because it is such a rapid stream (and issues from the long gorge). *MP* 3. 113 notes that the river is 100 yards wide at Louro, where there is a ferry. For palaeolithic finds at Pandanassa see p. 290, below.

Nicephoros and his allies marched north into the plain of Ioannina, drove off the Emperor's army and took much booty. Meanwhile the Genoese landed at Preveza and marched, ravaging as they went, towards Arta. Nicephoros sent 1,000 cavalry south, and this force saved Arta and defeated the Genoese troops on land. The Genoese survivors escaped to the Genoese fleet, which now lay in the harbour of Arta, that is at the mouth of, or some way up, the Arakthos, which issued into the Gulf near the monastery Panayia, as we know from the itinerary of Cyriacus of Ancona (see above, p. 139). When the main force of Nicephoros and his allies arrived, he camped opposite the fleet of the Genoese, which then put to sea and lay in the Gulf. As Nicephoros now held the coast, and as he prevented the enemy from landing to obtain water, the Genoese finally departed.¹ The second campaign was in 1912. Ioannina was the headquarters of the Turkish troops in Epirus. The first Greek offensive had driven the Turks from Macedonia westwards to Leskovik. A Greek offensive was then launched from Arta with two objectives in mind. One force attacked Preveza. It was held up by severe fighting for the possession of Mt. Gribovo (now Mt. Vigla by Strongili). The other captured the defile by Koumsadhes (Ammotopos) after prolonged and heavy fighting; two days later, on 26 October, it captured the bridge of Pandanassa over the Louros river and Filippias, 'tenant ainsi les débouchés dans la plaine d'Arta des deux routes venant de Janina'. Preveza, now isolated, fell a week later. The Greeks then concentrated their forces and attacked Pende Pigadhia, which they captured a few days after the fall of Preveza. The Turks then withdrew to Ioannina. The next Greek attack came in from Metsovon, but there we may leave the campaign.²


2. THE CANTON OF LAKKASOULI

This canton, in which the river Acheron draws its headwaters, is a wild and remote area. As such, it formed a centre of guerilla warfare in the Greek War of Independence and again in this last War. Hemmed in on the west by the high and wide range of Korillas and on the east by the ranges of Olytsika (Tomarus) and Piteras, it is both difficult of access and remote from the main centres of population. The drainage of the basin within these ranges is concentrated below Polistafilon (Rusatza) into the Acheron, which flows south in a narrow valley to below Trikastron (see Map 3). Here the river turns abruptly north-west to cut through the Korillas range; it plunges into a deep-cut funnel-shaped

¹ *The Chronicle of the Morea* (ed. J. Schmitt, London, 1904) 8782-9235.

² Lt.-Col. Boucabeille, *La Guerre turco-balcanique 1912* (Paris, 1913) 68 f.

gorge in the limestone (see Plate Xa) and is no more seen until it emerges near Skala Tzavalainas. While the gorge itself is deep and impassable, the mountain sides above it are thickly wooded and carry no track. In order to reach Gliki from Trikastron I climbed over the ridge to the south-west, passing through the remains of an oak forest near the summit, and dropped into a rift-valley parallel to the line of the Acheron gorge. Ascending this valley, I passed through the scattered village of Ano-Skafidhoti (Bornik), crossed a high saddle and dropped through the few houses of Perikhati (Kufana) to the Acheron, which I forded on 1 May 1930. It was fast-flowing and knee-deep. This route took three and a half hours. The route north of the gorge (which I have not used) is longer and more arduous. It was, however, used by celebrants of the festival held in honour of the Souliotes at Kakosouli. They made the steep ascent from Palaiokhori Botsari. Travelling from Kakosouli I descended through a steep and thickly wooded valley to the north side of the Acheron gorge, where the foaming river is occasionally visible below one. The scenery is as wild as Byron depicted it. Southwards of Trikastron a low watershed leads to the headwaters of streams which fall into the Louros (p. 55, above). There are no remains of antiquity at Ano-Skafidhoti and Perikhati; it is probable that both areas were then forested with oak.

Trikastron forms the natural centre of communications in the southern part of Lakkasouli. This village of sixty houses is Albanian in speech and the older people are illiterate; maize, pigs, fruit, and olives (reaching here their northern limit in the Acheron valley) supply their diet. To the north of the village the crag which forms the southern bastion of the Acheron gorge (526 m.) falls in sheer precipices towards the river; the other sides of the hill are fortified by a rubble-filled wall, faced on both sides with fairly well cut limestone blocks. The circuit-wall uses both large and small blocks (e.g. $1.00 \times 1.50 \times 0.50$ m.), and the style is a mixture of ashlar and polygonal, the former predominating; at the south-west corner the wall stands to a height of 20 feet. On the west side a narrow saddle formed the approach to the site; here the wall has disappeared, but the south-west angle of the wall turns outwards at right angles to a distance of 4.50 m., marking the remains probably of a strong tower guarding the entry. On the south side there are remains of three towers, standing out 6 m. from the wall-circuit and presenting an outer face of 8 m.; they are bonded internally by crosswalls, the ground-plan being . The masonry of these towers is better cut than that of the circuit-wall and rabbeting is employed; the style also is more regular (see Plate IXb). It is

probable that the towers are a later addition to the defences. On the top of the crag a derelict church is said to have been struck by lightning. After my first visit in 1930 the local priest dug a pit 15 feet deep, beside the church, in a hunt for treasure; he found nothing valuable. The walls of the pit were formed by a thick deposit of unstratified sherds and bones. The earliest of the sherds were of the fourth century B.C. Here and in the fields below the walls I found sherds of a pre-historic type (cf. p. 303, below). The circumference of wall and cliff is some 1,050 paces. The sherds in the fields below suggest that there were buildings also outside the circuit. Beyond the narrow neck on the south a spring of fine water fills a small well. In the village I bought two bronze arrow-heads and some coins.

In the valley below Trikastron the priest had built a crazy bridge over the river at the point where it plunges into the gorge and disappears (see Plate Xa). He told me this was the point where the Acheron descended to Hell. It was certainly an awe-inspiring sight from the bridge, which on my next visit had collapsed. I visited the two churches in the fields to the north-east, but I found nothing of interest. The ground here is very flat, a sign perhaps of an earlier lake. The presence of the two churches in so remote a place may continue a pagan tradition; for a pilgrim passing from the Oracle of the Dead to Dodona would come to Trikastron and then pass the site of these churches. The route towards Dodona follows the eastern arm of the Acheron. I walked from Trikastron in five hours to Derviziana (130 houses). This village is the modern capital of the canton. In a district there called Petroto I saw some sherds, which seemed to be of medieval date. The village stands high above the Acheron stream, and possesses flocks, maize, and fruit. Cherries are sent to Ioannina. From Derviziana I walked over Mt. Piteras eastwards to Kato Mousiotissa in the Louros valley in two and a half hours. This involves a steep climb and a steep descent. A less arduous route follows the Acheron stream. I walked up to the saddle between Piteras and Olytsika (Tomarus) and descended through Varyiadhes to Kopani at the head of the Louros valley, whence one climbs into the plateau of Dodona.

The low hills between the Acheron stream and its western tributary in Lakkasouli form a tangled area of deeply eroded flysch, covered in oak scrub and maquis. Paths through it are difficult to find. The small villages consist of widely scattered hamlets, so that the Greek Staff Map gives two Toskesis (the more southerly is also known as Dagovetsi), three Lipas, and three Ayioi Yeoryioi. I visited an ancient site which is one hour south down the Acheron valley from the northern Toskesi and then half an hour up to the west. The site is on the end of a spur facing towards Derviziana. The axis of the ridge is 140°; it is crossed

by the path from Toskesi to Sistrunion. In the thick scrub there are traces of a wall-circuit, enclosing an area some 350 paces long by 85 paces across. On the east side four courses are standing. The blocks are large, e.g. $1.50 \times 0.90 \times 0.65$ m., rough-faced but well fitted. The horizontal courses are regular, but the vertical joints are often at an angle; some small polygonal blocks are also used. The wall is some 3 m. thick, but appears to have been faced with worked blocks only on the outer side and to have been backed with rough stones. A second and small site lies near Toskesi, in an area known as Ayios Yeoryios on an isolated hill on the west bank of the Acheron stream. This is defended partly by cliffs and partly by a wall some 1.70 m. thick, of which four courses are standing to a height of 1.80 m. on the south-west side. The blocks are both large and medium-sized. They are rough-faced, and there are traces of a gateway at this point. I picked up a clay whorl, pierced and measuring 8 by 4.5 cm.

Crossing the low saddle east of Toskesi I descended towards Varyiadhes. Before reaching it and (I think) to the north of the path there are foundations of some ancient buildings *in situ*. The bearing from here to Kopani village is 85° . The thickness of the walls is one block only, the average being 0.45 m.; the blocks are large, e.g. 1.10×1.00 m., well cut and rectangular, and of hard limestone. Several blocks have projecting knobs and one has a vertical groove, 4 cm. wide and 3 cm. deep, cut in its outer face. These foundations are similar to the houses at Ammotopos. Three L-shaped pieces of wall represent one or more houses built on a rectangular plan. The longest extant piece of wall is 12 m. in length; it is continued at an interval of 11 m. by another piece 2.50 m. long. This wall runs slightly north of east. To the north of this on a higher level there are remains of a parallel wall, representing another building, whose west wall is formed by blocks of which the outer face is convex and the inner concave, the wall itself being apsidal. To the west and just outside the foundations I saw a tomb, measuring 1.40×2.00 m.; it was lined with limestone slabs 0.145 m. thick. Continuing towards Kopani village and ten minutes before reaching it I noted another group of similar tombs measuring, for example, 2.20×1.10 m. I was told of another group of tombs one hour north of Kopani beside a mill, which I did not visit. The villagers say that each of these tombs contains the bones of several skeletons. Ancient house foundations are also reported in the district Silae.

In the western part of Lakkasouli the villages are built high up on the eastern slopes of Mt. Korillas. Leaving Trikastron I reached the village Palaiokhori Botsari in four hours. To the south-west of the village and on a high spur, overhanging a gorge, an ancient site which

measures some 500 paces in circumference is defended by walls and cliffs. The circuit-wall is 3 m. thick. It is faced on both sides with well cut limestone blocks and filled with rubble; the blocks on the north side are large, e.g. $1.00 \times 1.00 \times 0.70$ m., and those on the east side are medium-sized, e.g. $1.00 \times 0.25 \times 0.50$ m. (here eight courses stand to a height of 2.23 m.). The style is ashlar but the vertical joins are often sloping; the blocks are well fitted. There are traces of a transverse wall running north to south and bisecting the site. On the southern side a tower 6.40 m. square projects from the wall, and at the western angle an internal tower measures 7 by 6 paces. The site slopes very steeply towards the Acheron valley, is thickly wooded with scrub and has no spring in the vicinity. The village has two churches. Ancient blocks are incorporated in each of them, and one block has a projecting knob.

Passing through the villages of Paliokhori Botsari and Romanon, where two cremation burials in *pitthoi* of the prehistoric local rough ware, a slab-lined cist tomb with two coins dating after 148 B.C., and two others of which one contained two iron spear-heads, a bronze bowl, and a clay lamp showing two gladiators of the third century A.D., have since been found,¹ I reached Sistrunion in two and three-quarter hours. At a quarter of an hour's distance above the village to the west a long narrow limestone ridge is fortified with a circuit-wall, of which the circumference is some 650 paces. The width of the wall is 2.95 m.; it is faced on both sides with well cut tetragonal masonry and filled with rubble. The horizontal courses are regular, with occasional use of rabbeting, while the vertical joins are at an angle and irregular. There is no drafting of the corner-stones. The blocks are large; they vary from 2.30×0.53 m. to $1.12 \times 0.55 \times 0.60$ m. The site is long and narrow, the axis of its length running north-east and sloping downwards in that direction. At the south-west end there are remains of a cross wall, enclosing a citadel on the highest point, and just below this there are foundations of a rectangular building. Near the north-east end within the circuit there is a rock-cut cistern, measuring 7 m. in diameter; it is 12 ft. deep today, but it is partly filled with rubbish. The circuit-wall makes use of four recesses and is built in a curving line at the south-west and east corners of the site. There are two projecting towers. One projects 4 m. and its face is 5.40 m. wide; the other is illustrated in Plate IXc (see also Plan 21, 15). The original wall has been repaired at a later date with smaller stones. There are masses of unworked flints in this place. Burials have recently been found with sherds of the prehistoric rough ware and a lamp of fourth-century date.²

¹ *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 200 and pl. 171.

² *Ibid.* 201 and pl. 171.

From Sistrunion I took a path through the area of flysch, passed the small village of Ardhos and reached Derviziana in two hours. This path passes close to the larger site claimed by Toskesi. The area north of this path is densely covered in scrub and is very thinly populated. As there were no reports of ancient remains, I did not traverse this country. High above it on the west slopes of Mt. Olytsika the village of Baousioi (locally Bagosous) was said to possess a very ancient church. When I visited it, I walked from Dodona round the north side of Mt. Olytsika. A landslide had just carried away the church and part of the village. There were, however, some well cut rectangular blocks of limestone showing at the edge of the landslide, each measuring over a metre in length; one of these blocks contained socket-holes and carried the mark made by a door-bolt. It was evidently a threshold-block. From here I looked out over the dark-green scrub, which covers the basin of the upper Acheron, and I saw beyond it the gap through Mt. Korillas by which one passes from Dodona to Paramythia. The source of the Acheron river lies just below Baousioi.

Until the first motor-car reached Paramythia in 1932 or so, all traffic between Paramythia and Ioannina followed a route across the northern part of this flysch belt. I have used it several times. It takes a matter of twelve hours in good weather and of two days in bad weather. There are no villages on the way but some Khans. On leaving Paramythia one climbs up the Kaki Skala, so called because it is dangerous for mules, and passes under the small village of Elevtherokhori into a stream-bed which runs north-east as far as Trolous. From this point one climbs up onto the ridge north of Mt. Olytsika. This takes some eight hours. It is a delightful ride on a summer's night with the plane-trees giving off their sweet scent. It is a devastating walk in wet spring weather; for then one has great difficulty in fording the stream and the side streams, and one is driven up onto the wet clays of flysch, into which mules sink to the knee. It must be almost impassable in winter. During the Turkish period part of the route was laid with pavé, and there are small high-arching Turkish bridges at the worst crossings. The foothills on either side are clad in a dense prickly scrub where a few large oaks survive, and the hill-tops are barren. The only ancient site reported to me was at Zaravoutsi. It is apparently a small walled fort. At the time I was suffering from malaria, and I did not investigate it.

After crossing the ridge north of Mt. Olytsika I came into view of the small plateau of Dodona and the great plain of Ioannina. Now one passes through better Khans and several villages. It is important to emphasize the nature of the wild and barren country which separates the canton of Paramythia from that of Ioannina. It accounts

for the wide difference in culture which exists between the two areas today and probably existed in the past.

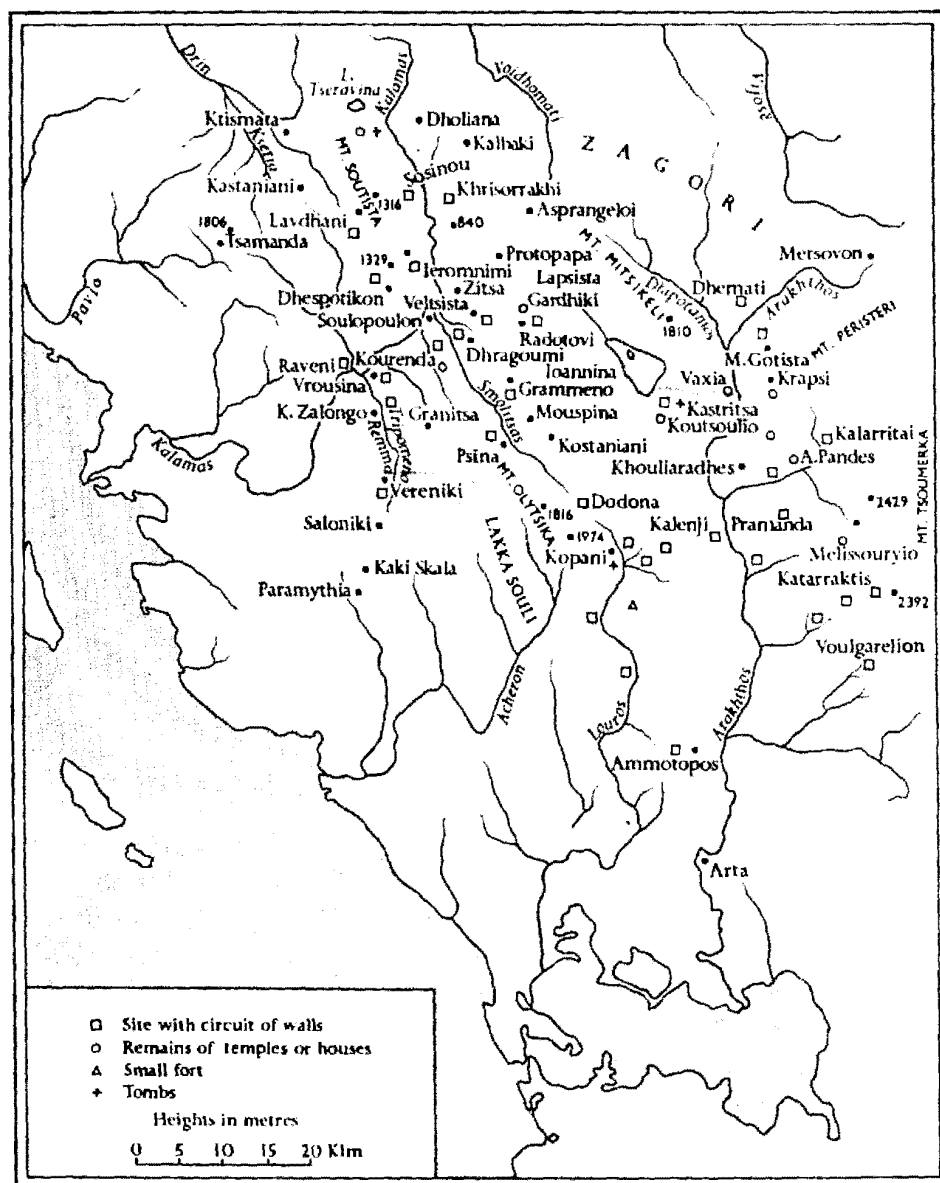
The distribution of the ancient sites in Lakkasouli is unexpected. The only large and powerful site, Trikastron, is at the southernmost tip and controls the entry into the canton of Preveza; it also guards the entry from the canton of Paramythia, if one comes over the hills from Gliki. So far as Lakkasouli itself is concerned, the fortified sites are rather small. They are set to block the entries into Lakkosouli, and the best constructed of them is that at Sistrunion, which is remote from everything except Lakkosouli. One has the impression of a rather self-contained area, towards which Trikastron acts as a block and not in any way as a centre.¹

3. THE CANTON OF IOANNINA

The undulating plateau of Ioannina rests on a broad zone of limestone, bounded on the north-east by the bare grey mass of Mt. Mitsikeli and on the south-west by the twin peaks of Mt. Olytsika. The plateau is almost entirely deforested. It is more than 500 m. above sea-level and one enjoys wide vistas, especially towards the south-east, where the towering black precipices of Mt. Tsoumerka form an imposing background. To the north the view is bounded by the high peaks of Mt. Nemerçkë which lie across the Albanian frontier. Within this setting of great mountains and wide plain the lake of Ioannina is most beautiful. The city of Ioannina, where the mosques and minarets of Ali Pasha's citadel stand high on a promontory running into the lake, occupies an incomparable situation (see Plate XIa). The streams of the northern part of the plateau run into the swamp of Lapsista. The area of water varies with the season; it is usually small in the summer, but it extends in the spring almost as far as the lake of Ioannina. The lake itself is subject to slight seasonal variations. It drains through underground channels (*katavothres*) at its southern end. In the southernmost part of the plateau there are some eight places where pools of water collect and form lakes in wet weather; and in other places the dark patches of soil show that they were once the beds of small lakes. The limestone detritus and the alluvial deposits of the plateau are fertile. They provide rich pasture for the migrating flocks of sheep, especially in spring, and they grow cereals in summer. The fringes of the plateau are thickly studded with villages which take their produce

¹ This area is little known and has only recently been mapped correctly. See P-K 2. 1. 106. As the village of Toskesi is named after the Albanian tribe of Tosks, Lakkasouli was probably inhabited at one time by Albanians only.

to Ioannina, the largest city in Epirus, with a population which has fluctuated between 20,000 and 30,000 in the last few years.¹



MAP 7. Ancient remains in the Cantons of Ioannina and the Upper Kalamas

Between the south-west fringe of the plateau and the mass of Mt. Olytsika there is a small plateau on a higher level, which contains the site of Dodona. Part of this plateau is also drained by subterranean

¹ P-K 2. 1. 84. Ioannina had a population of some 35,000 under the rule of Ali Pasha (1788-1822) and almost as many in 1951, when the civil war in the hills caused some migration to the city.

channels. It lies at some four hours' distance from Ioannina, and it is separated from Ioannina by a limestone ridge, which commands a magnificent view of the Pindus range and its western outliers. The Megalos Lakkos, which runs northwards from the small plateau and contains the Smolitsas stream, a tributary of the Kalamas, is well wooded with oak scrub and maquis. The lower slopes of Olytsika carry vineyards and orchards of cherry, apple, and pear. The middle slopes of the mountain are bare and forbidding, with screes forming long grey scars on its flanks. A belt of firs runs above the screes and below the high peaks (see Plate I). To the south and east of Dodona the limestone hills are barren. The source of the Louros river is a few miles south of Dodona on the edge of the plateau. Dodona stands on the low watershed between the Louros and the Kalamas. On its south side there is a small, fertile basin with a brown-red soil in winter and with bright green pasture and young crops in the early summer. It is dominated by the towering mass of Mt. Olytsika which cuts off the declining sun in the west.¹

The ancient town of Dodona (see Plan 12) is strongly fortified with a circuit-wall, which is faced with limestone blocks on both sides. The wall, 3.60 m. wide, is bonded at intervals with cross-walls, one block thick; they run through the width of the wall, which is otherwise filled with rubble. The style of the masonry is ashlar on the north side, where the wall is on level ground; here four courses are standing, the height of the courses being fairly uniform at 0.50 m., and the face of the blocks has a bulge. Where the ground slopes, the courses are less regular and the style departs from ashlar, many vertical joins being at a slant and some blocks being rabbeted. The gateway at C is guarded by strong towers. The side-walls of the gateway are 9.50 m. long; it is 3.50 m. wide except at the portal where it is 2.50 m. wide (see Plan 20, 10). The corner-stones at the angles of the towers and of the wall are drafted. Tower A, for instance, projects 4.20 m. from the wall and its face is 7 m. long. The south gate was cleared by Evangelides and was dated by the sherds under it to Hellenistic times. The passage of the gateway widened inwards up to 1.67 m. The first part of it is 2.50 m. long, measured from the outside face of the circuit-wall, and then there is a step up; thereafter it continues for 0.77 m. to a second step up onto the ground level of the town (*PAE* 1956, 156). The east gate, which is between two towers, was also cleared. Evangelides suggested that this gate had a portcullis. A stone staircase was found inside a circuit-wall and led to one of the towers (*PAE* 1955, 173). The circuit was certainly built for purposes of defence. The circumference is some 700 m.

¹ P-K 2. 1. 85 for its position and the visits of early travellers.

The theatre is built on the last declivity of the hill (see Plate I). The *cavea* faces east of south (162° magnetic), and one looks out over the small plain. The seating blocks are rectangular without any hollowing for the legs of the spectator. On the occasions when I visited Dodona most of them had fallen down the slope. It was therefore difficult to count the number of rows. I estimated sixty-four rows in all, three being at the top between the bounding wall and the upper *diazoma*; S. I. Dakaris, who does not mention the three at the top, has shown the actual number to have been fifty-seven. The upper *diazoma* measured 250 paces, that is some 220 m. The orchestra was then heavily silted up with soil, to a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ m., as later excavation showed.¹ The east side of the bounding wall of the *cavea* is built up and buttressed by three small towers; the central one has been strengthened by a later addition to it. Between the two northerly ones I noted an aperture above ground-level in the wall; through the aperture one sees the core of the building and daylight beyond it. There was in fact a passageway passing beneath the upper part of the theatre and issuing into the *cavea* at a point roughly one-third of the way from the top of the theatre, that is a little above the lower *diazoma*; this passage has now collapsed but is not entirely blocked. That it served as a drain is improbable; a drain would hardly emerge so high in the *cavea*. I thought at the time that it was a passage for entry into the theatre from outside, and I still think that this is a probable explanation. The south side of the *cavea*, facing the plain, is contained by a wall to which six towers act as buttresses. The tower at the south-east corner stands in sixteen courses to a height of some 25 ft., and the tower at the south-west corner projects 2.90 m. from the wall. The masonry is ashlar in style, but some vertical joins are at a slant. Some blocks are rabbeted; they are large, measuring, for example, $1.20 \times 0.50 \times 0.40$ m., and they are usually set side by side in a wall two blocks thick, but some are set as headers and stretchers, e.g. on the south-east side. Polygonal style also occurs. Corner-stones at the angles are drafted. Beside the south-west corner of the theatre there was a drinking point; the hole for draining the water away is still visible. The water, I was told by villagers, was piped down from the slopes of Mt. Olytsika, where there are two springs at the beginning of the belt of firs.² In the plain itself there is a well, 400 m. west of the theatre, under some magnificent elms (*Ulmus glabra*); such trees were planted by the mountain nymphs, daughters of Zeus, in Cilicia (*Il.* 6. 419–20).

Since these words were written, S. I. Dakaris has excavated and

¹ *PAE* 1956, 157.

² The sacred spring, mentioned in *SGDI* 1588, was probably a bituminous spring; see p. 39 and n. 2, above.

restored the theatre, and he has given a provisional description of it. I have let part of my account stand, as it contains some points not mentioned by him. The following details are drawn from his excellent description.¹ The *cavea*'s longest diameter is 129 m., its angle of inclination is 23° 50', and the top seat is 24.50 m. above the orchestra. I was told that in 1962, when a dramatic festival was held, a total of between 45,000 and 50,000 people was seated at two performances. The lowest row of seats for honoured guests had hollowed backs. The orchestra had an internal diameter of 18.70 m., and the foundation of an altar (*thymele*) was found at its centre. Two of the six towers supporting the south wall of the *cavea* contained staircases which led to the lower *diazoma*. The original *skene*, a rectangle of 31.20 × 9.10 m., was built in isodomic ashlar masonry and was entered at the back through an arched doorway, which had a true arch with a keystone.² There was a room at either end of the *skene*, and the central part between them, facing the orchestra, held the wooden *proskenion*; clear evidence shows that the stage was more than 3 m. above the level of the orchestra. Sockets of masonry were found in front of it. These show that posts supported a roof over the *skene*, which had an upper story. At the back of the *skene* there was a *stoa* of the same period. After 219 B.C., when the Aetolians sacked Dodona, the stairways to the *diazoma* were altered and additions were made to the *skene*. Stone seats were also laid at this time for the stadium, which has been partly excavated to the south of the *cavea*. Tiles from the roof of the *skene* bearing the stamp ΔΙΟΣ ΝΑΟΥ have been dated c. 200 B.C. There are indications that the theatre suffered in the destruction of 167 B.C.³

The precinct of the sacred buildings lies below the town on the south side. It is entered from the east by a gateway 2.90 m. wide at the exit and narrowed by the doorpost blocks to 2.40 m.; for these blocks project 0.25 m. The style of the gateway and the adjacent walls is regular ashlar. As the area was being excavated on the three occasions I visited the site, I did not take measurements, but I noticed that there was very little fine pottery and the few sherds I saw were mostly of black glaze. The pillars were mainly of conglomerate rock which, I found, came from a locality which I shall now describe.

Today most visitors to Dodona come from Ioannina. They cross a comparatively low and unimpressive ridge from the main plain to enter the little plain of Dodona in its narrow valley. The valley in fact has no exit; it is rather a little basin in the limestone formation,

¹ *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 2, 17 f. with plans and plates; also now *Antike Kunst Beiheft* I (1963) 35 f. and *Eph. Arch.* 1959 (1964), a volume dedicated to D. Evangelides, which appeared too late for me to use it.

² *Arch. Delt.* 16 pl. 9 b.

³ *Ibid.* pl. 33 and n. 70.


which is drained by two natural vents (*chonevtres*), both now covered to prevent animals from falling into them. But they are inadequate for the purpose; in the winter a small lake forms on the low ground below the theatre, and this happens in summer too if there is much rain. As one crosses the ridge from the Ioannina plain the most impressive sight is the scree-scarred flank and the peaks of Olytsika (see Plate I). The grandfathers in the village of Alpohori say that the mountain was heavily wooded with firs on its upper slopes when they were children, but many trees were felled in 1912 and afterwards. For many years now the water has rushed unimpeded down the steep slopes and has carried scree and boulders into the plain. For several hundred feet the fields on the lower slopes have been swamped by boulders.

On my first two visits I reached and left Dodona by this route, but on the third occasion I followed a route which pilgrims coming from the south must have used, that is up the valley of the river Louros from below Kopani. The river Louros is fed mainly by two magnificent springs which are further south, at Ayios Yeoryios and at Vouros, but above Kopani there is quite a lot of water in the mountain stream. One ascends its narrow valley between high cliffs of limestone. On turning a bend in the valley one sees above these high cliffs a higher ridge, which is the outlier of the Dodona plateau, and higher still the top of Mt. Olytsika. The vista is alpine, peak towering above peak, as at Delphi when one walks below the cliffs under Delphi village and then climbs up via Ayia Panayia to the Castalian spring. As one approaches the head of the valley, one crosses a natural bridge of conglomerate boulders, wedged as they fell over the stream. Such a bridge is called by the modern Epirotes a *theoyefira*, a 'god's bridge', and it is the conglomerate rock of this valley which provided the material for the pillars of the temple at Dodona. Finally one emerges from the long gorge of the valley. One crosses the Louros for the last time where it issues in strong headsprings (*kefalovrisia*) and then mounts a low col, some 100 ft. high. From the top one looks straight at the *cavea* of the theatre, the sacred precinct and the town wall of Dodona. The ascent from below Kopani to the shrine takes about three hours.

That this was the Sacred Way in antiquity is certain, because it is much more direct and involves less steep gradients than the modern road from the south to Ioannina, which is cut on the mountain flank further east. I noted on the way, about forty minutes above the highest field near Kopani, a number of large blocks in line, which may have served as the retaining wall of an ancient road up the side of the gorge. The routes which pilgrims might take from the Gulf of Arta (whether from Palioroforon, Rogous, or Arta), and from the

Acheron valley via Trikastron, converge in the fields below Kopani, whence the ascent to Dodona along the Sacred Way is comparatively easy.

The largest site in the plateau of Ioannina is situated at the north end of the limestone outcrop Kastritsa (757 m.), which runs towards the lake of Ioannina from the south (see Plates Xb and XIa). The east side of the outcrop is precipitous. The northern and western slopes are very steep and craggy. To the south a slight saddle joins this end of the outcrop to the highest point (757 m.), which rises some 250 m. above the lake of Ioannina. The circuit of the walls descends on the north and west almost to the level of the plain, and the total circumference is some 2,625 m. (see Plan 15). The area inside the circuit has no buildings now except for the deserted monastery of St. John; but the rock has been cut for foundations, and signs of terracing are visible all over the area, which show that it was once closely inhabited. The foundations of many ancient house-walls are showing. The style is mainly polygonal, and several large buildings can be traced. There are also signs of medieval house-foundations, and considerable medieval repairs have been made to the wall-circuit, especially on the south side. The monastery and its court are buttressed by a stretch of wall which may have been part of an earlier and smaller circuit, enclosing only the high part of the ridge. This conjecture is perhaps supported by the appearance of two stretches of wall parallel to one another, at E on Plan 15. Another stage in the development of the site is suggested by the possibility that a wall runs from M to N (I thought I saw definite signs of it from the air when flying from Ioannina to Athens); if so, it explains the appearance of two parallel pieces of wall at this part of the site.

The angle at N stands 9 ft. high in five courses, and the angle of the corner-stones is deeply drafted. The walling near the angle is mainly ashlar but becomes predominantly polygonal as one moves south. At F the northern piece of wall is ashlar and the western piece is polygonal in style, while the fragment on the south, being built on a steep slope, consists of oblong blocks bedded at an angle horizontally, thus . At G the gateway is 2.60 m. wide and the passage is 6.60 m. long; the masonry consists of very large blocks (for instance, the three courses at the north-east corner of the passageway are formed by three blocks to a height of 3 m.), the style is ashlar at the corner-angles and polygonal on the main stretches of wall, and the angle-stones at the corners are deeply drafted. Similar drafting is found on the gate-blocks; the ground-plan of the gate is shown on Plan 20, 8. A ramp leading to this gate from the south was noted by Clarke, who saw

pavement blocks still *in situ*. At the north end of the west side of the gateway the rock has been cut level to receive the foundation course. The wall at E is a fine stretch of well weathered polygonal, and this style predominates also on the south wall. Here the towers are of different dimensions; tower B projects 16 paces and is 19 paces wide, C 12 and 12, and D 7 and 7. South of D an internal tower seems to have covered a postern-gate. This south wall has been largely filled with stretches of medieval walling of small stones. Beside the point where the modern path crosses the ruined wall, the polygonal style of the ancient wall merges into quasi-ashlar; this may indicate the side of a gateway which has now disappeared. The tower at A is 12 paces wide at the base; the west face is 15 paces long and the south-west face 11 paces. These two towers, A and B, defend the weakest part of the site.

The whole length of the east side is naturally very strong and contains no tower. The width of the wall here reaches a maximum of 3.50 m., and the wall stands to a height of some 10 ft. between A and H. The gateway at H is walled up with small stones, but its presence is indicated by the deep drafting of the blocks which formed the outer angles; the width of the gateway is 4 paces and the depth is 9 paces. The gateway at I (see Plan 20, 7) is also walled up but is revealed by the deep drafting of the blocks which form the south-east angle of the tower and the north-east angle of the gateway. The width of the aperture is also 4 paces; the blocks at this point are very large, measuring, for example, 1.80 × 1.00 m. The gateway at K is 3.50 m. wide, and the passage is 4.70 m. long. The corner-stones are deeply drafted, rabbeting is used, the door-block measures 1.20 × 0.75 × 0.45 m. and the block opposite on the west side has a socket-hole 0.15 m. wide by 0.17 m. high. At L the gateway is smaller, being 2 paces wide by 4 paces deep; the tower on the east side is 7 paces wide and the projection on the outside of the gate on the west side is 8 paces. The gateway at M (see Plan 20, 8) is some 300 yds. distant from the modern road in the plain, which skirts the north end of the spur, and it is approached by a strongly marked ramp. The gateway is 4 paces wide and 5 paces deep, and the style of walling is large polygonal, more massive than on the south-east side of the circuit.¹

The little village of Kastritsa lies to the east of the hill in a low-lying plain which stretches down to the lake. When this was being drained in 1948, a trench revealed the presence of pottery, and S. I. Dakaris conducted an excavation between the trench and the edge of the hill.

¹ For the site see Leake 4. 127, Hughes 1. 477, Lampros 11. 28, Dakaris in *PAE* 1951, 173 f. and 1952, 362 f., and P-K 2. 1. 84. Dakaris puts the circuit of walls at over 3 kilometres.

I shall discuss the prehistoric pottery later. So far as the classical period is concerned, the earliest object is a piece of a bronze *lebes* with birds on the rim, which is of the late seventh or the sixth century B.C.¹ Next comes a piece of a *skyphos*, probably of Attic manufacture; this is to be dated to the late fifth century B.C.² Other pottery is datable to the fourth century B.C., and there are two bronze coins, one of Philip II of Macedon, and one of the Molossians.³ Tombs were also found here. It looks as if these finds come from an open settlement or from tombs in the plain. They do not afford any dependable clue to the dating of the walled site on the hill. Some trial pits on the top of Kastritsa hill and below the monastery showed the existence of some tombs there in Hellenistic times; from the latter spot came a terracotta head of a woman of the second century B.C. or perhaps the end of the third century.⁴ A little to the south of the southern end of Kastritsa hill I found prehistoric pottery on the edge of the plain near Koutsoulío, which I published in *BSA* 32 (1932) 133.

The site at Kastritsa was certainly a large town. The many gateways provide exits for different quarters of the town, and there are foundations of buildings almost everywhere within the circuit. Some parts of the rock have fallen away on the west side, carrying soil with them. The vast majority of the numerous sherds are of coarse red pottery and I saw only a few fragments of black-glaze. Kastritsa dominates the central and southern parts of the plateau; it lies midway between the entries into the plain from the east at Dhriskos (see Plate Xb) and from the south at Kopani. The natural attraction for trade in the plateau of Ioannina is towards the south, and the choice of Kastritsa as the site of the main town in the plateau was evidently influenced by this fact.

The south-east side of the plateau of Ioannina is bounded by low limestone foothills, which gradually rise in height until they join the barren mass of Mt. Xerovouni, which extends southwards almost as far as Arta. To the east of the foothills and of Mt. Xerovouni the Arakhthos cuts its way in deep gorges, most of which are impassable. The best approach from the middle Arakhthos valley is via Plakas to Kalenji, a village some five hours distant from Ioannina. Kalenji and its neighbour Plaisia are built on the edge of a limestone basin, of which a part is drained by an artificial channel. The accumulated alluvium in the basin is very fertile, and the swampy areas provide

¹ *PAE* 1952, 382, fig. 20.

² *Ibid.* fig. 21, i; cf. *Hesp.* 18 (1949) pl. 85 no. 24.

³ *PAE* 1951, 175 n. 1. The types are Head *HV* 224 bronze I and Franke *AME* 101, Gp. 4, series I.

⁴ *PAE* 1952, 384 fig. 23 and 368; the head falls between nos. 246 and 254 of *Troy; the terracottas of the Hellenistic Period, Suppl. Monograph. 3* by D. B. Thompson.

excellent pasture, while the altitude is favourable to fruit-trees. After the long climb up from Plakas village on the Arakhthos I lost little height when I dropped down to the basin of Kalenja. The air affords a refreshing change from that of the Arakhthos valley, and the calm of this fertile, secluded basin is most attractive. On the south-east side of the basin there are two crags with a gap between them which overlooks the sheer gorge of the Arakhthos (see Plate XVIII*b*). These crags form the citadel of a fortified site, of which the circuit-wall is 2.80 m. wide, faced on both sides and filled with rubble (Plan 13). The style is well cut polygonal, using both large and small blocks (e.g. at Z there are nine courses, 4.10 m. high), but the two towers at B and E are built in regular ashlar masonry. In tower B rabbeting is used, and the angle-stones are deeply drafted; the face measures 10.30 m., the blocks being, for example, $1.90 \times 0.75 \times 0.85$ m., and the side-walls are in good polygonal style. Tower E measures 5.65 m. in the projection and 8.70 m. on the face; it stands to a height of 3.60 m. in seven courses. At A a channel runs vertically down the wall and measures 0.10 m. wide by 0.04 m. deep. On the north-east side of the site a medieval wall of small stone and tiles, set in mortar, is some 2 m. thick and is extant for a distance of 20 paces. Within the circuit the foundations of buildings are visible; at Y three courses are *in situ*, the blocks being, for example, 1.60×0.65 m., and the dimensions of a rectangular building are 19×15 paces, while that at X measures 11×7 paces, and the blocks are well cut and rectangular but smaller. From C a stairway once led down into the gorge and met the river below a 70-ft. waterfall; but only the top of the stairway is extant. On the east side of the site there have been considerable landslides, which may have carried away the walls. The present circumference is some 1,100 paces, and it occupies a strong position on the flank of the route from Plakas. The villagers reported that many tombs had been opened between the village and the site, and that many coins had been found; I visited an opened tomb 80 paces south of the church Ayia Paraskeve and saw no sign of the usual limestone slabs.

The best crossing of the Arakhthos north of Plakas is not far from the southern end of the Kastritsa ridge. After leaving this ridge at Khani Koutsoulia I crossed the plain and a low limestone ridge and then descended steeply to the Arakhthos in a little over an hour. The river was bridged here by a German engineer about 1930, in order to improve the regular route between Ioannina and the villages east of the Arakhthos. The climb eastwards from the bridge is very steep. I took an hour to reach the top of Petrovouni (Vastaveci) and another three-quarters to traverse the mountain-side and reach Khouliaradhes (160 houses), the largest village in this area, which is known as the

Khouliarokhoria and comprises both sides of the Arakhthos. At a distance of three-quarters of an hour from Khouliaradhes and south of the path to Pramanda I visited an ancient site on the hill-top, known locally as Sirouno. It is defended by cliffs on the north and west, and by a wall, 1.05 m. thick, consisting of two layers of limestone blocks roughly cut in polygonal style. At the highest extant point it stands in five courses to a height of 2.45 m. At the south angle of the site there are remains of a tower, measuring 8 paces on the projection and 10 paces on the face. Both right-angled and obtuse-angled recesses occur, rabbeting is used in the masonry, and the angle-stones at corners are deeply drafted. The total circuit of the site is some 400 paces. The fortress has been repaired at a later date with small stones and cement. The site was probably little more than a refuge, and the ancient settlement lay below in the area known as Kambos, where tombs lined with limestone slabs have been opened. Coins and Hellenistic pottery have been found at Sirouno and at Kambos; I was shown one of a hoard of eighteen silver coins of Histiaea which had been found in a small jar. Leake (4. 217) heard of one of the sites in this area but did not visit it.

There is another site, which I have not visited, to the north-east of Khouliaradhes, at Ayioi Pandes, in the territory of the village of Mikkalitsi. The church there is built on ancient foundations, of which the blocks measure from 1.50 to 1.80 × 0.40 to 0.50 m.; they may be the walls of ancient houses rather than masonry from a fortified site.¹

A less important crossing of the Arakhthos is reached from Khani Koutsoulío via Ellinikon (Lozetsi), a small village one and a half hours distant from the Khan; neither at Ellinikon nor at the monastery Tsoukas, perched high above the Arakhthos gorge, did I find any ancient remains.² On crossing the Arakhthos below Ellinikon I ascended again to Khouliaradhes, whence routes lead up the tributary known as the Kalarritikos or Douviaka to the higher villages. Of these Pramanda, with a population of 5,000, depends mainly on flocks which are pastured during the summer on the heights of Tsoumerka and Peristeri, but it is also rich in fruit and grows maize and some wheat. Many of the younger men work in Ioannina or travel abroad. To the south-west of Pramanda on a high ridge known as Ayia Panayia there are the remains of a fortified site, some 600 paces in circumference, of which three sides are defended by cliffs and the fourth (the north-west side) by a wall 2.10 m. wide and faced on both sides. The blocks are well cut, but with the outer face rough; they

¹ Described by N. B. Kosmas in *EE* 1955, 8 with figs. 2-4.

² Leake 4. 218 was told of 'some remains of antiquity' at Seriana; I do not know the village and its whereabouts are not clear in his account.

vary in size from large to small (e.g. $1.60 \times 0.60 \times 0.45$ m.; $0.55 \times 0.40 \times 0.45$ m.). The style is mainly ashlar, but inclines to polygonal on steep slopes. At the north-west corner a right-angled turn of the wall stands to a height of 2.70 m. in four courses of regular ashlar masonry; at a place where smaller blocks are used, the wall stands to a height of 2.50 m. in eight courses. On the west side there are remains of a gateway, of which the passage is 2.40 m. wide (Plan 20, 14); the blocks here are unusually large, e.g. $2.0 \times 0.60 \times 0.70$ m. On the outer face of the wall I noted a vertical channel 0.09 m. wide by 0.08 m. deep. Both within the circuit and outside it on the lower slopes towards a road-cutting, which was new in 1934, there are a large number of sherds. A bronze battle-axe, a bronze pin, and a celt, which will be described below, came from the vicinity.

To the south-east of Pramanda, at an hour and a half's distance, I visited the village of Melissouryio, which lies at the head of a tributary of the Kalarritikos. The tributary passes through a deeply eroded valley of flysch, enclosed between the spurs of Mt. Tsoumerka. The village consists of 400 families of which only fifty stay there in the winter; from the head of the valley a pass (which I have not taken) leads to Theodhorigiana in the Achelous valley in three and a half hours. In the district known as Dovro tombs lined with limestone slabs were reported, but I did not visit them. N. B. Kosmas reports 'remains of an ancient settlement' near Melissouryio.¹ The three monasteries I did visit (Ayia Paraskeve, Ayios Chrysostom, and, I think, Ayios Ilias) contained no ancient remains. From Melissouryio I skirted Mt. Strongoula and crossed the watershed to descend in two and three-quarter hours to Agnanda in the canton of Arta (p. 152), where vines and figs flourish. Melissouryio and the high villages to the north, such as the Vlach village, Matsouki, are primarily pastoral. The higher slopes are clad in forests of fir, and the deforested slopes grow cereals.

The main stream of the Kalarritikos rises on Mt. Peristeri and cuts its way south and then west through a series of spectacular gorges, of which the upper slopes are thickly wooded with fir. High up the valley the two villages of Sirrakou and Kalarritai, both Vlach in speech, and numbering some 200 houses each, are famed for their metalwork in gold, silver, copper, and pewter, and their flocks of sheep, which enjoy excellent pasture on Mt. Peristeri. Kalarritai possesses over 10,000 head of sheep; they go to Thessaly for their winter pastures near Trikkala. I reached Kalarritai from Pramanda in three hours with a stiff climb. South-east of the village and at three-quarters of an hour's distance from it, the steep side of a ravine carries a fortified site which has been partly swept away by a landslide from higher up

¹ In *EE* 1955, 7.

the mountain. The wall was evidently faced on both sides with very large blocks, and the style was predominantly ashlar; corner-stones are deeply drafted and the corner-stones are laid alternately at the angles. The foundations of a house within the circuit measure 15 by 10 paces, the blocks being rectangular and of medium size. A bronze statuette of a male figure and bronze coins are reported to have been found on the site. I walked up from Kalarritai over treeless and grassy slopes to the high ridge of Mt. Peristeri, and then descended to Khaliki on the upper Achelous, a walk of five hours in the summer, when I passed through numerous herds of sheep and braved many sheep-dogs. From the top of the pass, which is over 6,000 ft. high, I looked across the Achelous valley to the high range which forms the east wall of Thessaly and northwards to the mountain tops of south Macedonia.¹

Proceeding northwards from Pramanda along the western slopes of Mt. Peristeri I reached the village of Krapsi in six hours of rough going. The slopes on the way are well wooded; they are cut by deep ravines, which fall into the Arakhthos. On this route, fifty minutes north of Palaio Khorion, I noted the foundations of an ancient building of limestone blocks, situated on the neck of a ridge running SSE. with cliffs on one side. I was told that there are some more foundations of this kind higher up the mountain-side, but I did not visit them.

To the west of Krapsi a settlement known as Vaxia produced a number of interesting objects. These were found in May 1939, and they were shown to me at Ioannina by Mr. Chr. Soulis, who intended to publish them but never did so. I made sketches of them at the time. There are several terracotta figurines of Aphrodite. Four types show the goddess bare-headed, with varying hair-styles, which resemble: (1) *Louvre Catalogue* 2 pl. 124 e, but with a roll of hair at the front;² (2) *Myrina* 245;³ (3) *Louvre Catalogue* 2 pl. 32 d; and (4) *Myrina* 99, but with hair divided by lines, as in a terracotta head of late Hellenistic times from Cassope (*PAE* 1952, 384 fig. 23). They are of the Hellenistic period, nos. 2 and 4 being of the second century B.C. Seven types represent Aphrodite wearing headgear. Six of these resemble: (1) *Louvre Catalogue* 1, C 626, with a high *polos* (Sicily, late fifth century); (2) *ibid.*, C 517 (Taras); (3) *ibid.*, C 557, pl. 98, with a radiate head-dress (Taras, fourth century); (4) *op. cit.* 2, pl. 5 d (classical); (5) *ibid.*, pls. 37, 26 d; and (6) *op. cit.* 1, C 522, with a very high *polos* (cf. J. H. and S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus* 100 no. 2127). The seventh is unusual; the hair falls to the shoulders, and on

¹ For the view see Hammond *PE* pl. 34, 2.

² S. Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite* I (Paris, 1954) and II (1963).

³ Dorothy Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina* (Boston, 1934).

the top of the head there is a flat biscuit-like disk immediately on the roll of hair, and of the same circumference as the head itself. These types are to be dated from the fifth century into Hellenistic times. Some are solid, and others are hollow. There are also terracotta figures of Artemis the huntress, wearing a cross-band from shoulder to hip, and bare-headed, with tresses of hair to her shoulders. Only one specimen has a head, and two are headless; when complete, they stood 7 or 8 inches high. A headless figurine of a draped woman, some 9 inches high, stands on a flat base; she holds in her right hand either the folds of her dress or an apple. One head, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, belonged to a much larger figurine than the others; the hair, with a central parting, is set high and close, and there is a wreath in it. There are two fine animal figurines, a bull's head and a dog with its head turned half left from the body, and with a slip of red clay on its back. An *acroterion* of clay may be dated to the early second century (see p. 667, below).

Some bronze objects were also found. A pair of ear-ring pendants, 15 mm. high, have the shape of a tall rounded cone, with a button top and a rimmed base, which once carried smaller pendants. The closest parallel to these unusual objects was found in a tomb of the Early Iron Age at Bohemitsa, in the middle Vardar valley. Rey held that they belonged there to a people who came from the north and soon disappeared; and he saw connexions between them and the Early Iron Age peoples at Pateli, Theotokou, and Marmariane.¹ T-shaped bronze pins, with all three points sharpened, were found at Vaxia. One such pin, 4 cm. long, is shown in Carapanos plate 52 no. 16. I saw another, 6 cm. long, at Konitsa in 1935, in the possession of Mr. Georgiades, director of the Gymnasion, who said it had been found locally (probably at Palca Goritsa). Such pins do not figure in Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins*; they seem to be a local type, intended perhaps for thick woollen garments. Some pieces of thin bronze plaque, with bronze nails *in situ*, came from Vaxia; they are decorated in repoussé technique, with circular bosses and with concentric circles, pierced at the centre for nails. They resemble pieces from the Drin valley tumuli (see p. 204, below). A pot lid of clay, with a knobbed top and with round and also rectangular perforations, is of a kind found at Dodona and in Macedonia (see pp. 301 f., below). The group of objects in this paragraph seem to belong to people of northern affinities in the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age.

Other objects from Vaxia are a tear-bottle of blue glass, engraved with rings and zigzags; an iron knife-blade, 20 cm. long and of the

¹ *Albania* 4 (1932) 41 and 49 fig. 5; he notes similar pendants in Bosnia and Hallstatt on p. 56.

same shape as the knife-blade from Kakavi (see Fig. 27, 1); a piece of a bronze bowl; a thin spearhead of iron, not leaf-shaped; half of a silver ring; and a signet gem of clear greenish-white crystal, showing a man walking and a dog running beside his legs. A fine bronze arrow-head is described below (p. 732). An iron arrow-head is of the same type as one from Dodona (Carapanos pl. 58 no. 13).

One hour and twenty minutes north of Krapsi the large and scattered village of Megali Gotista looks out to the north over the flysch basin of the canton Zagori, which is drained by the Dhipotamos and the upper Arakhthos. These rivers unite below Megali Gotista at Khani Baldouma. The Khan lies on the Turkish route which comes from Thessaly over the pass via Metsovon to Ioannina. This important entry into the plateau of Ioannina is overlooked by an ancient site north of Megali Gotista, on height 1,302 m., known locally as Gradetsi (not Gardetsi as on the Greek Staff Map). It is defended on three sides by impregnable cliffs and on the fourth (the north-east) by a wall 2.60 m. wide, faced on both sides with limestone blocks. The style is predominantly ashlar. The blocks are large (e.g. $1.50 \times 0.55 \times 0.50$ m.) and the corner-stones are deeply drafted; this occurs at right-angled recesses of the wall. There are no towers. The circumference of the site is some 1,000 paces. From it one looks across the Arakhthos to the isolated hill of Dhemati (1,220 m.), which is also fortified by ancient walls similar to those of Gradetsi. I never visited the site of Dhemati, but it is strategically the counterpart to Gradetsi. From the confluence of the Dhipotamos and Arakhthos at Khani Baldouma, I climbed up for an hour and a half to the top of the Dhriskos ridge of flysch, some 600 m. high (see Plate Xb), which forms a saddle between Mt. Mitsikeli and the limestone ridge to the south, and from there I took three hours to reach Ioannina, the north end of Kastritsa forming a half-way point.

From the site at Kastritsa one looks directly over Ioannina (see Plate XIa) to an isolated hill called Gardhiki (761 m.), which guards the pass leading westwards towards the upper Kalamas valley. The top of this hill is to a great extent covered with soil, and its sides are formed by steep slopes which provide pasture. The summit is enclosed by strongly built walls. The total circumference is some 1,500 paces. The width of the circuit-wall varies between 2.80 and 3.50 m.; it is filled with rubble, but at some points I noted bonding-walls, built with rectangular blocks through the thickness of the wall, and at other points there are many squared blocks in the debris which probably came from such bonding-walls. The style is mainly polygonal, varying from massive polygonal blocks on the south-west side to a mixture of large and small polygonal blocks on the east side, but some

stretches of wall approach the ashlar style, for instance on the south-east side. The outer face of the blocks is usually rough, and rabbeting is much used. The blocks are mainly large, e.g. $1.20 \times 1.00 \times 0.35$ m., but small blocks are freely used to fill interstices. On the west side there are some massive blocks, e.g. 1.95×0.80 m., and 1.25×1.60 m., where the style is transitional between ashlar and polygonal. I noted eleven towers, of which the outer faces vary between 6 and 7 m. and the projections between 4.20 and 6 m., and right-angled recesses in the line of the wall occur some five times. For most of the wall only a few courses or blocks are extant. The highest piece stands to 3.30 m. in seven courses. The main entry was probably on the north side, where the remains of Turkish pavé road are visible. To the east of this there are traces of a gateway 4.50 m. wide (Plan 20, 11). I thought I saw traces of a small postern gate in the east projecting wall of a large tower, which measures 10.20 m., projects 4.70 m. and is situated in the middle of the south wall; it was defended by an inner wall running at an angle to the main circuit-wall. Within the circuit there are foundations of house-walls; of these I noted one in polygonal style parallel to the circuit-wall and at a distance of 19 paces from it. Inside the circuit at the north-west corner there is a stone-lined cistern with no cement; the stones measure, for example, 0.45×0.25 m. I doubted at the time whether the cistern was an ancient one. S. I. Dakaris saw either this cistern or more probably another cistern in this area which he considered to be ancient; it is lined with stones of medium size in mixed ashlar and polygonal style, without any cement, and it is 4 m. in diameter.¹ I found a considerable number of sherds of black-glaze pottery, rather poor in quality, which date from the fourth and third centuries B.C.,² but no other painted pottery except Turkish. The view from the hill is most impressive; it comprises the northern and the southern parts of the plateau of Ioannina, with their background of mountains.

To the south-west of Gardhiki and above the main plateau of Ioannina a small lacustrine basin in the limestone range contains more fertile arable land and affords pasture in spring; the largest village here is Kotsika, three and a quarter hours distant from Ioannina. On the west side of the basin near the village Polilofon (Kovilyani) the last spur of a ridge running north-west marks a site known locally as Vourta. The circuit-wall, 2.30 m. wide, appears to have been deliberately smashed. Little sign is left of squared blocks;

¹ In *Ch. S.* 48. He gives a plan and a description of the site with photographs of pieces of the walls in figs. 4, 5, and 6 and a sketch in fig. 3. He estimated the circuit here at 800 m. Leake 4. 89 passed below Gardhiki; but he knew of the site and said there were many foundations of buildings within its enclosure. Noted by P-K 2. 1. 85.

² These sherds are in the Museum of the British School of Archaeology at Athens.

there are many sherds within the circuit, which measures some 450 paces, and among them I picked up a piece of good black-glaze. The site is almost half-way to the village of Grammeno, which also lays claim to it. A bronze hand from a statue was said to have been found near here. To the south of the basin of Kontsika and high up on the limestone ridge in the village of Mouspina I copied two inscriptions (nos. 12 and 13). I was told in 1953 that there is a fortified site east of the basin above Marmara, but I had no time to investigate.

The route for pack animals from Ioannina to Paramythia, which is southwards of Mouspina, runs through Kostaniani, where there is a fine Byzantine church of Ayios Taxiarchis;¹ it then crosses over the Megalos Lakkos and passes round the north end of Mt. Olytsika. Walking from Mouspina up the side of the Megalos Lakkos, I reached Dodona, just beyond the watershed in an hour and a half. This narrow valley under the side of Mt. Olytsika grows vines, cherries, apples, pears, and cereals and provides good pasture even in July.

To the north-west of Gardhiki hill, in the little valley between Radotovi and the swampy plain of Lapsista, there is an open site, where D. E. Evangelides² excavated a temple, of which the outside measurements were 10.30 by 11 m., and an extension to it which was a shrine, measuring 9 by 6 m. The peristyle of the temple had eleven pillars on the long sides and six pillars on the short sides. Drums of marble and of limestone and capitals in Doric and Ionic styles were found, those of the Ionic style having twenty-four flutings. Evangelides noted resemblances in the architecture to that of small temples at Dodona, and he dated the construction of the temple 'to the end perhaps of the fourth century'. The temple was destroyed, probably in 167 B.C., as a layer of shattered limestone pieces lay round it. A building with octagonal pillars, of which fragments were found inside, is dated by S. I. Dakaris to late Hellenistic or to Roman times. Beside the temple there was a burial enclosure of stones, some uneven and some well cut, measuring 5.05 × 3.98 m., with walls 0.45 m. thick. The enclosure contained two tombs, lined with slabs, which were rough on the outside and finely smoothed on the inside; the tombs had been robbed in antiquity, and they measured 0.82 × 0.54 m. and 0.70 × 0.65 m. Sixteen ancient bronze coins were found. Six of these were of the Apeirotai, dating to the third century or later; the earliest coin was a Corinthian coin of the period 350–247 B.C.; and four were of the Roman Empire, from which time also a cuirassed statue of a later Julio-Claudian emperor was discovered. There are remains of other buildings in the vicinity. Evangelides places an open town of considerable size in this valley. He has published inscriptions of the

¹ Described by D. E. Evangelides in *Ep. Chr.* 1931, 258 f.

² *PAE* 1952, 306 f.

greatest interest from this site; they show that it was a centre of political importance for the whole of Epirus.¹

The village priest of Gardhiki found in the vicinity, in one of the years 1903–6, a marble relief, which was taken to Ioannina and was discovered in a house in Ioannina by Ph. M. Petsas.² His description of it was published by J. M. Cook in *JHS* 66 (1946) 112: ‘a dedicatory marble relief showing a child riding a chariot drawn by a pair of lions; the relief bears an inscription recalling Euripides, *Supplices* 860:

Ἀρὰ τῷ Διὶ οὗ βέλο[ς] διέπτατ[αι].

Now the line of Euripides to which Petsas refers runs thus:

ὄρᾱς τὸν ἄβρὸν οὗ βέλος διέπτατο;

As our inscription is not metrical, it is not likely to be an adaptation of Euripides’ line; rather, the resemblance may be due to the expression being a commonplace one; ‘the bolt of Zeus flies through’ to its goal is like our expression ‘the hand of God is stretched out still’. There is a closer analogy with a line quoted in Polybius (5. 9. 5) in connexion with the pillaging of the Aetolian shrines at Thermum in 218 B.C., in revenge for the Aetolian pillaging of the Macedonian shrines at Dium. The troops of Philip V, says Polybius, wrote on the walls at Thermum ‘the commonplace line’ (τὸν περιφερόμενον στίχον), the ingenuity of Samus, a companion of the king, being revealed on the occasion, and the line was:

ὄρᾱς τὸ δῖον οὗ βέλος διέπτατο;

This metrical parody of Euripides’ line has the pun on divine and Dium, which gives it point. The dedicator of our relief *may* have composed his words with the line of Samus (and maybe even the occasion of it) in mind; for an Epirote contingent was with Philip, and the Epirotes were eager to avenge the Aetolian pillaging of Dodona and other shrines, of which one may have been the temple at Radotovi. The dedication *may* even have been from spoils won at Thermum. But this remains a speculation.³ Dakaris, who has discussed these points of resemblance and knows the relief, believes that the rider in the chariot is not a child but a young Zeus, and that the Zeus in question is Zeus Areios.⁴

¹ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 260 f. For the statue see C. Vermeule, ‘Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues’ in *Berytus* 13 (1959) 41, no. 54 and pl. 5, fig. 18.

² Reported by S. I. Dakaris in *Ch. S.* 68 n. 1.

³ The relief is now illustrated in S. I. Dakaris, *Οἱ γενεαλογικοὶ μῦθοι τῶν Μολοσσῶν* (Athens, 1964), pl. 5, which appeared after my text was written; it is discussed there on pp. 89–90 and 144–5.

⁴ S. I. Dakaris, *Ch. S.* 68–73; F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*

North of Gardhiki the swampy plateau of Lapsista has no ancient remains. The road from it to the north passes through a dry valley between limestone ranges, until it emerges in the upper Kalamas basin. Of the villages west of the road I visited Protopapa and Gavriissiou, between which a steep scrub-covered hill called Kastri proved to have no trace of ancient walls. Pottery was said to have been found in the vicinity of Gavriissiou; from the description given to me by Christos Soulis of Ioannina the pottery might have been prehistoric, but the villagers were unable to show me the precise find-spot. On the east side of the road the steep barren range of Mitsikeli is crossed by a high pass at Asprangeloi (Dovra), a village of 120 houses, whence one drops into the valley of the Voïdhomati, a tributary of the Aous. I visited a site which is claimed by Asprangeloi. It proved to be a refuge, some 150 paces in circumference and walled with unworked stone, which probably dates from the Slavonic invasions.

Before we leave the plain of Ioannina we should mention that the earliest reference to the Lake of Ioannina, a beautiful expanse of water some 7 kilometres long, is in the twelfth century A.D., when Eustathius calls it Lake Pambotis (schol. on *Od.* 3. 189). But the city of Ioannina is mentioned some centuries earlier as an important place, and the strength of its defences arises primarily from the existence of the Lake, into which its acropolis projects. We may therefore assume the Lake to have been there before c. 879, when 'Zacharias Bishop of Ioannine' attended a Synod at Constantinople. If this form of the name was inspired by the like-named daughter of Belisarius, then the city was founded, or at least so named, in the sixth century. But this is a matter of conjecture. The plural form of the name is found in the first half of the eighth century and thereafter in *Nova Tactica* 1665, Georg. Cypr., *Descriptio Orbis Romani*, ed. Gelzer.¹ The *terminus post quem* Ioannina became an important place is given by the prominence of Dodona in the first half of the sixth century, for instance in Procopius *Goth.* 8. 22, 31 and in Hierocles *Synecdemus* 651. 5. The Lake did not exist in classical or Hellenistic times.

(Oxford, 1957) i. 547, noticed the resemblance and assumed the relief to be later than 218 B.C. Franke, *AME* 86 n. 5, dates it to the 'end of the fifth century'; this is presumably a slip, as he refers to Dakaris who mentions the probable date as the 'end of the third century' (loc. cit. 71).

¹ For the dating of the *Nova Tactica* see Gelzer LXII 'ecclesiae ordinem a Leone institutum verum et sincerum exhibent', that is by Leo III after A.D. 725.


V

THE ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE NORTHERN PART OF THE CENTRAL DISTRICTS

I. THE CANTON OF THE UPPER KALAMAS

THIS canton is bounded on the west by the gorge between Raveni and Vrousina (see Map 7); for these villages and those inland of them tend to trade rather with Ioannina than with Filiates. At this point the Kalamas is joined by a northern tributary, the Langavitsa, which rises near the Albanian frontier, and by a southern tributary, the Tripomeno Remma, rising in the area north of the canton of Lakkasouli. To the north-east the canton is bounded by the main sources of the Kalamas near Dholiana. Within the canton there is no large centre of population; the country is thickly forested with scrub-oak and contains arable land and pasture land, which support a large number of small, scattered villages (see Plates VIIIc and XIIIa). The most productive area is formed by the head-waters of the Kalamas, through which the modern road from Ioannina to Argyrokastro passes; well watered and green with woodland, it bears a closer resemblance to rolling parkland than any other part of Epirus, and I noticed a large number of birds, especially doves, woodpeckers, and bee-eaters.

The entry into the canton from the west is controlled by Raveni and Vrousina, both of which possess an ancient site. An isolated hill between Raveni and the Kalamas river is defended by cliffs on the south side and by a circuit of walls crowning the steep slopes on the other sides; to the west the stream Gaidharos falls into the Kalamas. The walls, which are faced on both sides and filled with rubble, vary in width from 3.30 m. between G and A to 2.80 m. on the west side, and the total circumference of wall and cliff is some 800 paces (see Plan 16). The exit of the gateway at A is 2.60 m. wide and narrows to 1.50 m. at the head of the passageway, which is 6 m. long; the passage then appears to turn south (see Plan 20, 16). The outer wall north of the entrance is 2.50 m. wide and the main wall 3.30 m.; the main wall east of the gateway is 3.60 m. wide. A ramp is observable leading up to the entrance from outside and measures 3 m. in width. The wall between G and A stands to 3.90 m. in six courses at its highest

point; the style is polygonal and the blocks vary from very large, e.g. 2.50×1.00 m., to small. These blocks penetrate from 0.50 to 0.90 m. into the wall. The stretch of wall east of the gateway approximates to ashlar in style, the blocks being large and small oblongs; rabbeting is employed and the outer face of the blocks bulges slightly. The west wall is polygonal in style (see Plate XIIa). The towers at G and B are bonded internally by cross-walls, the ground-plan of tower G being ; the thickness of the cross-walls is 0.60 m. The external dimensions of the towers are: G projection 6.60 m. face 6.45; B 6.0 and 6.30; C 3.80 and 5.00; D 9.20 and 5.20; E 3.30 and 6.10; and F face 4.10. The tower at E is practically ashlar in style, and the corner-stones at the angles at E are deeply drafted. The main wall beside tower F is 3.30 m. wide, whereas the west wall elsewhere is 2.80 m. wide. Inside the circuit there are lines of house-foundations which suggest a rectangular layout of streets. A few oaks grow beside the church of Ayios Dhimitrios, but there is no water within the circuit. Below the strong tower D an ancient road leads down to the Kalamas at a point where there is a ford.

The ancient site at Vrousina lies on a small rise, which forms the end of a ridge. It stands some 300 ft. above the Kalamas just before it is joined by the Tripomeno Remma. The length of the fortified ridge is 120 paces and the breadth averages 20 paces, so that the circumference is less than 300 paces. On the side facing south-west there are two stretches of wall, one above the other; of these the higher is built with mortar, while the lower is faced with fairly well cut blocks measuring, for example, $1.40 \times 0.25 \times 0.60$ m. and rough on the outer surface. The style approaches ashlar. At the east end of the site a carefully built cistern is lined with a wall 0.60 m. thick, on which some sort of stucco has been smeared; the inner diameter is 1.30 m. This was clearly a small acropolis commanding the entry into the upper Kalamas area both from the south-west, where the route from Pende Ekklesies climbs high over the oak-clad Vlachori ridge to circumvent the Kalamas gorge, and from the south along the valley of the Tripomeno Remma. Just north-east of the site I crossed the Kalamas in a box, slung on wires between two main piers, which once carried a bridge (see Plate VIIIc). There are two subsidiary piers, one on each bank, and protecting walls on the east flank. Of the main piers the southern one consists of thirty-nine courses of very well cut masonry. The exposed face of the blocks measures, for example, 0.35×0.18 m., 0.45×0.18 m. and 0.40×0.18 m.; the blocks low down are larger, e.g. 1.25×0.35 m. The style is ashlar; the courses are regular, but of different heights (e.g. six courses near the bottom make a height of

0.95 m., the next six a height of 1.05 m., and the lowest sixteen courses a height of 3 m.). The ground-plan of the pier is an irregular heptagon, the sides measuring 2.58, 1.72, 1.68, 2.31 m., and at a rough estimate 2.40, 0.90, and 1.60 m., that is a total of over 13 m. The corners are excellently laid, and the corner-stones are drafted at the angles. There are definite traces of mortar, although little has been used; the core of the piers is not rubble but scientifically packed stone.[†] The village of Vrousina is now a small one, but it once had eleven churches and reputedly 500 houses.

Proceeding up the narrow valley of the Tripomeno Remma, I reached Kato Zalongon in one and a quarter hours. Opposite the village, on the right bank of the stream and just south of a bridge, the end of a ridge falling in cliffs to the west and joined by a low saddle to the main ridge north-eastwards is defended by ancient walls, of which only the south wall stands to more than one course. The wall here is 4.20 m. thick, faced on both sides and filled with rubble; the style is ashlar, the blocks are mostly large, e.g. $1.00 \times 0.70 \times 0.39$ m., and the wall reaches a height of 2.90 m. in four courses. At the west end of this south wall a gateway, 3.30 m. wide, is defended by a tower (Plan 21, 12); the ramp leading to the gate from the east is still visible and runs close under the wall for some 100 paces. The circumference of the circuit of the cliff and the wall is some 550 paces. Within it there are remains of a cistern and the foundations of a building near the summit. An angle of the building is preserved. Its sides measure 5.30 m. and 1.40 m., and three courses are *in situ*; the blocks are, for example, $1.40 \times 0.42 \times 0.50$ m., and the style is evidently ashlar.

Proceeding from Kato Zalongon up the valley I reached in two and a quarter hours a very high ridge on which another site is situated. The ridge is at three-quarters of an hour's distance north of Vereniki village, and is situated between two gorges which descend into the Tripomeno Remma. The north side is sheer precipice and the other sides are steep, except at the north-east corner, where a narrow saddle takes one across to the main ridge. At this point there are the remains of a gateway (Plan 20, 19 and Plate XIIb); the wall here stands as high as 2.75 m. in eight courses. The style is ashlar with some vertical joins slanting; and the blocks are long and rather shallow oblongs. The width of the gateway is 2.20 m. and the passageway is 4.70 m. deep; the wall flanking the gateway on the east is 2.80 m. wide, while the width of the main wall is not discernible owing to the deposit on the inner side. The top corner-stone at the north-east angle of the flanking wall is $0.60 \times 0.40 \times 0.60$ m., and the core was probably rubble. To the south of the gateway a tower projects 4 m. and measures 5.50 m.

[†] The measurements are those of Clarke A 43.

along its face; the blocks here are larger than at the gateway, being, for example, $1.20 \times 0.50 \times 0.80$ m. The style is again ashlar with some vertical joins slanting; rabbeting is used. On the east side there are traces of a wall built in similar style, and within the circuit there are worked blocks evidently from house buildings. The total circumference of the site may have been rather more than 1,000 paces. A spring flows just outside the east wall of the site. In the small village of Vereniki I was told that coins and pottery had been found in some fields known as the Paliokhori, lying between the site and the village. From Vereniki it is one and a quarter hours to Saloniki. From there I climbed in an hour to join the route between Ioannina and Paramythia above the Kaki Skala; and then I descended in one hour and a half to Paramythia. I was tired and benighted during the descent, having walked that day from Vrousina and having made notes on two sites. The whole valley of the Tripomeno Remma is very narrow, with heavily wooded sides and little arable land; the villages are small and remote, and depend mainly on pasturing flocks. Saloniki stands high on the upper slopes of the limestone range. The houses are built of dry walls of limestone slabs, and the villagers are all shepherds and goatherds.

The usual route for pack-animals from Raveni to Ioannina follows the right bank of the Kalamas until one crosses to Soulopoulon on the left bank after three and a quarter hours; it passes through well-wooded rolling country. To the north of it I visited Marina, but I found nothing to justify reports of ancient remains there. The modern road runs at some distance south of the Kalamas from Vrousina to Soulopoulon, a route along which no ancient remains were reported. The area south of this road was visited by Clarke. Leaving Soulopoulon he passed after one and three-quarter hours through Botzara (70 houses), which possesses vineyards, and in two hours from there he reached Granitsa (45 houses), set among oak and beech woods. In half an hour from Granitsa he passed through Radhovizi (30 houses) and then following a high ridge above Strinianetsi he passed below Saloniki three hours later; and from Saloniki he reached Paramythia in three hours by the Kaki Skala. In traversing this sparsely populated and wooded country he heard of no ancient sites, except that at Vereniki. He obtained a bronze coin with an unidentifiable Roman emperor's head from a peasant, who had found it at Vereniki.¹

To the south of Soulopoulon a narrow valley leads in one hour to Kalokhori where there are beech woods, and in another hour to Kourenda. Clarke visited a site high on the ridge east of Kalokhori and half an hour distant from the village. The circumference of the

¹ Clarke C 56.

site is less than 400 paces, and the only remains of the walls are heaps of rubble, marking a wall perhaps 2.25 m. wide. On the summit inside the walls the foundations of a building 4×4.50 m. (outside dimensions) are composed of bigger, better-shaped blocks; the wall is 1.30 m. thick. Some twenty minutes north-west of Kourenda village, an open area on a ridge is approached by what appears to have been a paved way in Turkish times. Here there are many foundations of buildings and terrace walls, made of small stones and containing a few blocks, which may perhaps have been squared. The area is extensive and is littered with fragments of coarse red pottery, but there is no conclusive indication that the site is an ancient Greek one. Here a tile is reported to have been found bearing the letters ΠΑΣΣΑΡ. The tile which was red and over an inch thick was later broken and lost. The area in which it was found is called Pissarenis by the villagers. A local antiquarian, Mr. Stamatis, said that he had also found an elephant's bone, a ladle, and a fragment of a pillar. In another part of Kourenda Mr. Stamatis found a tomb which yielded pottery and bronze vessels; the latter were sent to the Museum at Athens, where Clarke was unable to trace them.¹ Clarke visited the site of the tomb, 40 minutes from the village on the road towards Ioannina and past the church of Ayios Christophoros, and noted five well cut blocks measuring, for example, $1.00 \times 0.55 \times 0.10$ m.; a sword was said to have been found here.

Just to the east of Soulopoulon the Smolitsas joins the Kalamas. Near the head of its long narrow valley the village of Psina (45 houses), standing high on the limestone slopes, claims a site called Kastri, situated north of the village and on the last height of a ridge. This long narrow ridge is defended by a wall-circuit, devoid of towers and having only two right-angled recesses in the east wall. The south end, which is only 19 m. wide, is strongly defended and the corner-stones at S are deeply drafted (Plan 21, 13); and there are traces of a gateway in the east wall, which appears not to have been defended by any out-work. Both rectangular and polygonal blocks are employed in the circuit-wall, which stands at the highest point to 8 ft. in six courses; the blocks are well cut and well fitted, both large and small being used, and the wall is faced on both sides (though I have no note of its width). The length of the site, running north to south, is 650 paces and its width varies from 30 paces at either extremity to 150 paces at the centre. Some of the enclosed area is rocky and unfit for houses. A tomb had been opened outside the gateway and I was told that the bones of two skeletons and two 'iron wreaths' had been found; two slabs from

¹ Clarke A 33; I also visited Kourenda and met Mr. Stamatis, who was rather reticent about his finds.

the tomb were of a whiter limestone than that used in the walls and measured $1.15 \times 0.95 \times 0.20$ m. I saw a tall *lacrimatorium* vase, 0.095 m. high, from this or another tomb. To the south of the site and above the village of Psina the site of a shrine was reported. I was shown six terracotta figures from there in the possession of Mr. M. Koletis. One of these is of late fifth- or fourth-century date showing a goddess, wearing a rather shallow *polos* and with her hair running in waves from the centre;¹ another shows a seated goddess holding an apple to her breast in her right hand, and another a female votary with a votive cake in her left hand at her side.

Petroleum springs were reported at 'petreila' to the north of the site Kastri. I took two hours to walk from Psina to Mouspina in the canton of Ioannina. To the south-west of Psina the villages of Eleutherokhorion and Koumbaries (Bourgelitsa), lying across the watershed and in the canton of Lakkasouli, possess no ancient remains.

The road from Soulopoulon to Ioannina follows the valley of the Veltsiotikos stream to its main source at Klimatia. From here I climbed the limestone ridge and descended into the plain of Ioannina in three and a half hours, passing below the site at Gardhiki. The fortress commanding the western entry to the pass lies just south-west of Klimatia (Velsista), a large village of 230 houses, and occupies a ridge top situated in the fork between the Veltsiotikos and its northern tributary, the Kokkalyaris. The ridge faces west; the west and south sides are protected by cliffs and steep slopes down to the Veltsiotikos, while the north side is steep and the east side is joined by a saddle to the ridge on which the village stands. Below the church Ayia Panayia at the south-west angle of the site there are two short pieces of wall two courses high, making 0.80 m., the blocks being, for example, $1.05 \times 0.40 \times 0.55$ m. and rectangular; similar blocks are built into the church walls. Of the south wall the only extant piece is a tower towards the east end; this protects a gateway (see Plan 21, 10). The width of the gateway was estimated at 3.20 m. by Clarke and at 2.50 m. by me; the inner side of the gateway is formed by a rock-face standing 10 ft. high, which has been cut smooth and contains a socket-hole, 0.12×0.10 m., to receive the bolt at a height of about 1 m. from the original ground-level. A fallen block in the gateway has a socket-hole 0.21×0.16 m. and a block *in situ* forming the gatepost measures $1.62 \times 0.75 \times 0.55$ m. At this point six courses are standing to a height of 3.10 m., the blocks being large, e.g. $1.70 \times 0.50 \times 0.80$ m., and well cut, and the style is ashlar.

Five paces to the north of the tower a seat, measuring 0.40 m. deep

¹ It belongs to the group on pp. 129–33 of F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten I* (Berlin, 1903).

and 1.40 m. long, is cut in the rock; the seat is hollowed out and the back is vertical, and the sitter looks due south over the uplands. Just east of the seat a large block, $2.20 \times 0.85 \times 0.65$ m., bears chisel marks on its top surface; another measuring $2.20 \times 0.62 \times 2.80$ m. also has chisel marks on the top surface except for a straight squared edge, cut 0.03 m. deep and 0.20 m. broad running along the 2.20 m. length. On the east side of the site close to the church Ayios Nikolaos three large blocks, two adjacent to one another and the third at a short interval, form a line which is flanked on the east side by smaller rectangular blocks, e.g. $0.80 \times 0.70 \times 0.33$ m.; the large blocks measure $2.65 \times 0.80 \times 1.20$ m., $2.20 \times 0.80 \times 1.20$ m., and $1.30 \times 0.80 \times 1.20$ m. The chiselled blocks near the seat may have been moved from here. On the north side of the site, working from east to west, a stretch of wall some 20 m. long is ashlar in style, built of long shallow rectangular blocks (e.g. four courses standing to 1.20 m.), and leads up to a tower which projects 2.20 m. and measures 3.60 m. across its face; the masonry facing the tower is 0.70 m. thick and the wall leading up to it seems to have been 3 m. wide. Near the west end of the north wall-line a strongly built tower stands to a height of 6.10 m. in seven courses; the corner-stones at the angles are deeply drafted, the style is ashlar, and the blocks, measuring for example $1.30 \times 0.90 \times 0.45$ m., are finely squared and founded on the rock. The tower is bonded with cross walls (cf. Plan 21, 11 and Plate XIb). Just above this tower and inside the circuit Clarke noted the *cavea* of a small theatre facing 325 degrees magnetic; the orchestra is 12 paces deep and about 16 paces wide (which implies an orchestra circle with a radius of some 9 paces, i.e. some 7 m.). Part of the paving is *in situ*, consisting of large polygonal slabs, well fitted. The seats have practically disappeared except for one tier on the north-east side, below which there seems to be a curving wall bounding the orchestra and built of blocks of various sizes, 0.35 m. wide. There are faint traces of a *diazoma*, and Clarke ventured the opinion that the theatre was smaller than that at Chaeronea. I estimated the circumference of the fortified site at 450 paces. Many ancient blocks are built into the houses of the village, and the church of Ayios Sotiris has the base of a pillar, 0.50 m. in diameter.¹

Klimatia shares the rich land in the Kalamas valley, producing cereals and vines, with the small village of Dhragoumi (20 houses). Twenty-five minutes from the village and I think to the north-west, the church of Ayios Nikolaos is built on the saddle of a ridge which culminates in a spur with precipitous sides. This ridge is defended with a wall of small stones and mortar, but on the west side at the head of a gully I came upon a stretch of ancient wall 7.80 m. long,


¹ Clarke A 23-25.

and another 1.40 m. high in four courses, built of blocks measuring, for example, $0.70 \times 0.35 \times 0.41$ m., well cut and rough faced. The width of the wall is 2.70 m., faced on both sides with masonry. Above the gully and on a saddle there are the foundations of a rectangular building 22 paces by 17 paces, the walls being one block thick and the blocks measuring, for example, $0.86 \times 0.46 \times 0.50$ m.; inside the building I noticed a number of cut flat tile-shaped stones and many sherds, and I picked up a piece of black glaze on the saddle. To the north of this site and at twelve minutes' distance Clarke noted three lines of wall one within another, forming as it were a triple Chinese box, situated on a spur. The blocks are, for example, $1.00 \times 0.55 \times 0.45$ m., uniform in size and well cut rectangular; the overall width of the wall is 3.50 m. and the style is ashlar. This piece of walling I did not visit. In the village of Dhragoumi I was shown some Greek coins and two gems, one a bluish-grey and the other a light red, clear stone; on one of these the device was a small cross between two small rosettes (or perhaps stars), under which were four lines of cut letters, probably Greek. Moni Panayias, north of Dhragoumi and above the Veltsiotikos stream, has no ancient remains.

Between Klimatia and Dhragoumi the village of Arakhovista (population 500) is separated from Kokkinokhoma (population 300) by a ravine, into which juts the spur known locally as Tsouka. On the small top, measuring some 25 by 12 paces, there are a ruined church Ayios Ioannes, a mortar-lined cistern with an opening 1 m. square, and a wall of small stones built with mortar. On the lower slopes there are two churches, Ayia Panayia and Ayia Paraskeve, and two similar stretches of wall at about 30 ft. intervals down the slope. On the south-west side and under a cliff a *kefalourisi* rises powerfully, and just south-west of this a cavern holds a 5 ft. depth of water which is contained by a wall ashlar in style and built of blocks measuring $1.00 \times 0.50 \times 0.30$ m. and less. Clarke thought this was perhaps an ancient well-house, but I noticed mortar in the wall and did not consider it to be ancient. We differed in the same way with regard to the walls, which Clarke thought contained ancient blocks; my conclusion on the spot was that there had been ancient buildings, including perhaps a shrine, near the *kefalourisi*, but not a fortified site. In support of this view I noted a level space cut in the rock measuring 5 paces by 3 paces low down on the south-east slope.

Returning to the Kalamas river one should note that the bridge at Soulopoulon was built in 1919. Previously the first complete bridge over the Kalamas lay further north at Theoyefira, a natural bridge formed by jutting rocks. This gave special importance to Zitsa, a large village, famous for its wine, which is one and a quarter hours' climb

from the bridge and lies on the edge of the plateau of Ioannina; from Zitsa one takes four and three-quarter hours to reach Ioannina, joining the road above Klimatia. On the east the river is hemmed in by the steep sides of Mt. Pandeloni until one reaches Vrondismeni. North of this the valley opens into a swampy basin, in which the headwaters of the river collect. From here one can turn up the valley south-east below Khrisorrakhi (Zagoriani) and enter the north end of the plateau of Ioannina. This entry is commanded by an ancient site built high on the ridge above Khrisorrakhi. The circumference of the wall-circuit, which is standing to several courses in most parts of the circuit, is 900 paces, and the walls are built on very steep slopes (see Plate XIIIa). The width of the wall is 2.60 m.; it is faced on both sides with masonry 0.60 m. thick and filled with rubble. The style is mainly polygonal, where the wall is built on a steep slope, and mainly ashlar on the south-west side, where the ground is more level. There are two towers, one measuring 14 paces square, and several recesses of the wall, both right-angled and obtuse-angled. The blocks are both large and small; the cutting and the fitting are excellent, rabbeting is employed, and the corner-stones at the angles of the towers and recesses are deeply drafted. The site stands at a height of some 2,000 ft. It commands a superb view of the upper Kalamas basin (see Plate XIIIa) and the entries leading from the north-west towards Ioannina.

Half an hour to the north of Vrondismeni I reached a low hill on the edge of the swampy basin, where an ancient site is marked on the Austrian Staff Map as R. Vela and on the Greek as Paliokastro. The fortifications are entirely medieval. The top of the hill is encircled by a ring wall which stands in places as high as 8 m. The wall is 2 m. wide, constructed of unshaped large and small stones set in copious cement. There are many vents on the outer face of the wall. These are about a metre from the ground and measure about 0.60 m. square; they are intended evidently for drainage. On the east side the wall has three towers, one square, one circular, and one shaped , this last projecting 2.20 m. on its side-wall, which is 1.45 m. thick. Where the circuit bends southwards there is another square tower and on the southern wall there are a circular tower, of which the outside periphery is 7.20 m., and a square tower. Of the west and north sides little remains, and here the slopes are steepest. Thus, the upper circuit has a periphery of some 1,400 m. On its south side an additional wall of the same style encloses an area 200 m. wide by 300 m. long, so that the total periphery of the enclosed area measures some 2 kilometres. The lower circuit is built on a gently sloping area which is less easily defended; yet I noticed only one tower, a round one, on the lower circuit. This circuit was built later than the upper circuit,

because two towers of the upper circuit face into the area enclosed by the lower circuit. The site was clearly that of an important city in medieval times. There are no earlier remains here, and the situation lacks the natural strength which was sought by the ancient Epirotes.¹

To the east of this site at a quarter of a mile's distance there is a gushing source of water (a large *kefalovrisi*) which floods the plain below Vela. Rice is now grown in these fields. Further east a large block of limestone hills with a fairly even top provides some pasture. In the area known as 'Tripes' I visited remains of a number of houses which probably date from the eighteenth century or so. A village would have been built there only in very troubled times; for there are no springs and I noticed only one well.

The medieval site at Vela is one of the largest of that period in Epirus. It enables us to understand the importance of the Bishopric of Vela. As we mentioned above (p. 74), the early Bishopric of Photice near Paramythia was transferred later to Vela. The earliest mention of the transference is in the first half of the eighth century when the Bishop's see was 'Photice or Bela' (*Nova Tactica* 1666 in Georg. Cypr. *Descriptio orbis Romani*, ed. Gelzer). In Hierocles' *Not. Ep.* we find the bishops given as those of 'Rogoi, Ioannina, Photike, Adrianoupolis, Bouthrotos, and Chimara' (3. 527-32), and again in place of Photice δ 'Οφτίνης and δ Βελᾶς (10. 619-25 and 13. 470-6) with Adrianoupolis changing to Drinopolis. Appendix 3, 121 to Hierocles comments *Φωτικὴ ἢ νῦν Πέλλα* (viz. *Βελλᾶ*). It seems likely that in the first half of the eighth century the Bishop had the double title, because Bela rivalled Photice in importance, and that his successor in the thirteenth century limited his title to Bela, since we know there was a Bishop of Bela from A.D. 1233. This withdrawal from Paramythia up the Kalamas valley is typical of the troubled times. The Bishop δ 'Οφτίνης is doubtless that of Uzdina on the middle Kalamas, where the famous Byzantine churches have led to its being renamed *Pende Ekklesies* (see p. 89, above). The earliest mention of the fortified town is in A.D. 1380, when Isaim captured Bela and Opa (*τὴν Βελᾶν καὶ 'Οπάν*).² The Bishop moved finally to Konitsa.

The area west of the upper Kalamas is divided into two sections by the limestone range of Mt. Soutista (1,329 m.), which runs north from opposite Soulopoulon in a continuous line of high peaks, until it descends abruptly to a high saddle, over which the road from

¹ Leake 1. 96 passed near it and realized it was not an ancient site.

² *The Chronicle of Epirus* in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (ed. Bekker, 1849) 49. 227. 10. These passages are discussed by E. Oberhummer in *RE* 20. 1. 660 s. *Photike* (1941); see also Aravantinos 2. 30 f. The identification of Ophtine with *Οὐζντίνα* is supported by the remains of the bridge there; it must have given the place additional importance.

Ioannina to Argyrokastro passes at Khani Delvinakiou. Of these two sections the western one is drained by the Langavitsa, rising at Kastaniani, and falling into the Kalamas between Raveni and Vrousina, while the eastern section provides some of the headwaters of the Kalamas. To the east of Khani Delvinakiou the deep and beautiful lake of Tseravina provides excellent fish for any traveller who rests at the Khani Tseravinas. Some 10 paces from the north-west corner of the building a sword was unearthed, when the road was being cut (sword C, p. 319, below). I was shown at Visani some pottery of the local Bronze Age type. This came from a site which is under water by the edge of Lake Tseravina, which was either smaller or non-existent in antiquity. A district known locally as Paliokhori yielded nothing of interest. I walked from Khani Tseravinas through fine oak-scrub woods to reach the village of Ayioi Anaryiroi (Podgoriani) in two hours. Just north of the village the wooded hill (735 m.) on which the monastery Sosinou stands is fortified with a wall-circuit, of which the circumference is 700 paces. The wall is 3 m. wide, faced on both sides with masonry 0.50 m. thick and filled with rubble. On the south side, where a spur falls in steep slopes, a stretch of wall 30 paces long stands to a height of 2.20 m. in four courses; both ashlar and polygonal styles are employed. There are traces of an inner wall set at right angles to the circuit-wall at this point. On the east side below the monastery Sosinou a stretch of wall 21 paces long stands to three courses 1.50 m. high; the blocks are, for example, $1.30 \times 0.68 \times 0.50$ m. and no small blocks are employed. To the north-east of this point there are two courses of wall built of massive rough-faced polygonal blocks measuring, for example, $1.30 \times 1.00 \times 0.45$ m.; here the rock is cut to receive the foundation course. The north-east side of the site is fortified with a later wall of small stones and mortar. On the south-east and probably outside the circuit a rock-face is cut to form a semi-circular recess facing south-east, of which the diameter is 4.50 m. The monastery, which was locked, draws water from a cistern; there is a spring low down on the north slope of the hill. Situated high above the upper basin of the Kalamas it commands a superb view. From it I looked across to the spur by Vrondismeni, which is a little over an hour's walk distant; one crosses the Kalamas here by a wooden bridge.

I walked to the large village of Ieromnimi in an hour and a half from Mazaraki, where the Kalamas is bridged. The village stands high on the slopes of Mt. Soutista, and many strong springs of water irrigate the fields. The village contains two fine early churches, after which it may take its name. At a distance of 45 minutes above the village a small-topped conical hill called Kastri is defended with rough walls of limestone which are 2.20 m. thick; the blocks of stone

are poorly worked and the walls form a small ellipse, in which there is an undefended gate 1.65 m. wide. Six courses are *in situ* to a height of 1.30 m. The site commands a wide view of the upper Kalamas, but neither in workmanship nor in plan does it resemble an ancient site. There is, however, another site called Elymbos at half an hour's distance away, which I visited the following morning. This consists of a narrow ridge 380 paces long, of which one long and one short side consist of cliffs and the other two are defended by a wall 2.50 m. wide; it is faced on both sides with good polygonal masonry, the blocks being, for example, $0.90 \times 0.65 \times 0.45$ m., and the core is rubble. There are no towers, and the two corners of the wall where it changes direction are deeply weathered. Ieromnimi is a well-to-do village which grows cereals in its irrigated fields and owns good pastures and fine timber on the upper heights of Mt. Soutista; it also controls the entry into an upland valley at the head of which lies the village of Soutista (which I never visited). From Ieromnimi it is one hour's walk to the Theoyefira.

The area between the range of Soutista and that of Murgana to the west consists of high valleys drained by the Langavitsa stream, which runs south into the Kalamas, and by the Yiftopotamos, which runs northwards into the Drin. The upper courses of these streams are divided by a ridge on which stands Kastaniani, the largest village of the area. Thickly wooded with scrub at the lower levels and with forest on the higher slopes, this area contains a large number of scattered villages or hamlets which produce cereals and wine and keep small flocks. A traveller proceeding from the middle Kalamas valley to the Drin valley in Albania would pass through the upper Langavitsa region and cross into that of the Lumi Kseria. This route was much used in Turkish times, but it is cut by the present frontier. It is now replaced by a motor-road further north. I entered this area from Soulopoulon (beside the Kalamas). Five minutes after crossing the river on the route for Dhespotikon I visited a low hill among fields south of the path; on the slopes of the hill were many coarse red sherds and some Byzantine sherds, but no black-glaze. From here I walked in one and a half hours to the lower village of Dhespotikon, which claims a small Byzantine site below the monastery Ayios Elias. Proceeding from the upper village on the route to Lavdhani I climbed in twenty minutes on to a high ridge, formed by an outlying spur of Mt. Soutista. A high point of the ridge just south of the path is fortified with large blocks of hard reddish sandstone, cut from the local rock which forms the ridge. The enclosed site is some 350 paces in length along the ridge, but the average width is not more than 20 paces. Only a few sections of wall are extant, mainly on the west side. The most

impressive is a tower 6.20 m. square; its outer face has five courses standing to a height of 2.80 m. (see Plate XIc). The blocks are massive, ranging from $3.12 \times 0.92 \times 0.69$ m. in the bottom course to $2.30 \times 0.75 \times 0.63$ m. in the third course. The style is ashlar; although the blocks are much weathered, there are traces of projections for lifting them into place. The natural rock on which the bottom course is laid has been cut to embed the blocks. In other sections of the wall, which stand up to three courses, the blocks are less massive, measuring, for example, $1.00 \times 0.75 \times 0.55$ m.; the width of the wall is 3.60 m., the outer face of masonry being about 0.65 m. thick, and rabbeting of the blocks occurs. Near the north-west corner of the site a right-angled recess in the wall contains an aperture 1.30 m. wide, which was probably a small gateway. To the south of this there are remains of a strong cross-wall, built across the width of the site which is here 22 paces. The fortress controls the pass from the Kalamas valley towards the Drin valley. It commands a fine view to the north-west and the south.

From this pass the best route northwards follows the upper slopes of the Soutista range to Lavdhani (120 houses) and then descends along the Yiftopotamos stream below Valtista to Ktismata, beside the upper Drin. Clarke walked in four and a half hours from Ktismata to Lavdhani and thence in three hours to Dhëspotikon. He was told of a site with traces of walls, built with large blocks, at half an hour's distance south of Lavdhani, which he saw but did not visit; his sketch of its position leaves no doubt that it is an ancient site.¹ I took a route from Lia which climbs high along the shoulder of the Murgana range, and I reached Kastaniani in three and a half hours. On this route the view embraces the Pindus range above Konitsa and Metsovon and the peaks of Tsoumerka and Olytsika. I visited the famous monastery of Makri Alexi, which lies below this route; it contains no ancient blocks, with the possible exception of a pillar fragment. At Kastaniani I copied inscription no. 2, which had been found in fields nearby. From here to Ktismata is some two hours. In following this route from Lia I passed through firs at high levels and tall oak and holly lower down; the villages grow figs, pears, and sweet chestnuts. The southern and eastern slopes of the Murgana range form a contrast with the western face, which is washed bare by its heavy rainfall.

The distribution of ancient sites in the canton of Ioannina and in that of the upper Kalamas valley is best taken as one group, because the river itself forms a barrier for most of its length. The canton of Ioannina is defended on the south and on the south-east by a massive array of sites. These extend from Kopani to Kalenji to Katarraktis,

¹ Clarke C 55.

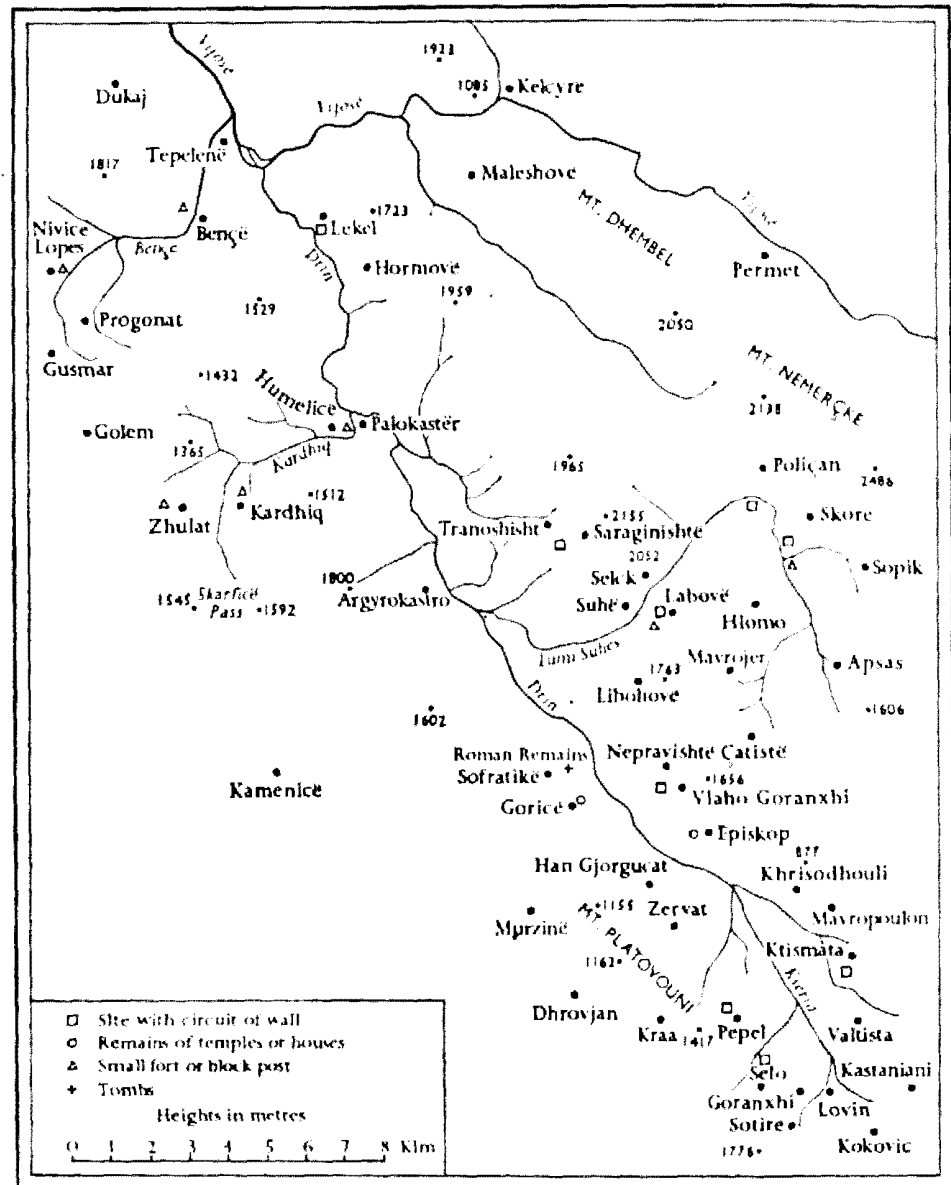
and there are advanced forts southwards to Ammotopos, and these, as we have seen, defend the plain of Ioannina and protect the approach from the Gulf of Arta. Then to the south-east the fortified sites from Katarraktis to Kalarritai form a barrier towards the people of the upper Achelous valley, and the linked forts on either side of the river Arakhthos control the entry from Metsovon into the plain of Ioannina. To the north-east and to the north there are no fortified sites, and we may assume that the peoples there were friendly. There is, however, a strong group of fortified sites blocking the entry from the valley of the upper Kalamas; these run from Khrisorrakhi to Dhragoumi to Psina. In the great plain of Ioannina there are only three fortified sites: Dodona situated between the entries from the south and from the west, Kastritsa near the entries from the Arakhthos valley, and Gardhiki near the entry from the upper Kalamas valley. Altogether the plain has very strong defences but only on the south and on the west. The small group of sites between the Smolitsas and the Tripomeno Remma seems to be a unit on its own, a buffer between the larger sites of the Kalamas basin and the plain of Ioannina. Across the river Kalamas the sites are placed to threaten the crossing-points at Sosinou and Ierommimi, and further south at Raveni. The sites by Dhespotikon and Lavdhani control the route towards the Drin valley, and they are also related to the formidable group of fortified sites around Tsamanda. It looks as if the Kalamas river from Sosinou to Soulopoulon formed a frontier between the Drin valley and the plain of Ioannina. The importance of the sites here is apparent from campaigns in 1382 when Thomas captured Voursina (i.e. Vrousina), Kretsounista (now Dhespotikon), Dhragoumi, and Areochovitsa, and in November 1940 when the Italian advance was stopped by the Greek defence in this area, which General Papagos compared to a horseshoe, and the Greeks turned the tide by capturing Sosinou and the ridge near Kretsounista.¹

2. THE DRIN VALLEY

The long, narrow valley of the Drin contains a bed of alluvial deposit and only on its east side a lowland belt of flysch. These provide pasture, arable land, and fruit, and support a population second only to that of the Ioannina plateau among the inland regions of Epirus. The valley is walled in by massive ranges: on the west by the barren grey slopes of Mal i Keshaj and on the east by the higher bastions of Mt. Burato and Mt. Skafedog. This enclosed valley has two narrow

¹ *The Chronicle of Epirus* 227, 12, and A. Papagos, *Ὁ πόλεμος τῆς Ἑλλάδος 1940-1* (Athens, 1945) 221.

entrances, one at Ktismata on the upper Drin (see Plate XIV *a* and *b*) and the other at Lekel just before its confluence with the Vijosë (Aous).



MAP 8. Ancient remains in and near the Drin valley

The entrance at Ktismata is commanded by a strongly fortified site, just above and south-west of the village, which marks the end of the long spur followed by the motor-road from Ioannina. It controls the routes from the Drin valley which lead to the middle Kalamas valley, to the Ioannina plateau, and towards Konitsa. The circuit of

the walls is 1,950 paces (see Plan 17). The enclosed area is mainly flat and contains ploughed fields and a well, which provides the only supply of water. The south side is defended by cliffs and the others by steep slopes. The site is entered by the narrow spine of the ridge at the north-east angle, above Ktismata. The best-preserved stretch of wall is at C. The wall is 3.10 m. thick, faced on both sides with masonry and filled with rubble. The tower juts out 6 paces on the south and 5 paces on the north, and the outer face containing the angle is 15 paces long; the wall on the outer side has a width of 0.65 m. which consists of two worked blocks (see Plate XIIIb). An average block measures $1.00 \times 0.45 \times 0.32$ m., the style is ashlar, and the blocks are laid alternately at the angles. The tower at B projects 6 paces and has an outer face of 10 paces, and the wall between B and C reaches five courses *in situ*. At A a seat is cut in the limestone rock. It is 0.80 wide \times 0.70 deep \times 1.10 m. high, with a step 0.40 m. wide and 0.20 m. deep; the seat is shaped to the human form and commands a view of the Drin valley. A gap in the wall between A and B may mark a small gateway. On the south side there are wall foundations at E which appear to be those of houses. At F only one course is *in situ*. It is neatly laid on the levelled rock outcrop. There are ancient blocks built into the bell-tower of Ayios Nikolaos. At D an ancient tower, 9 paces square, has been patched with cement to form a dwelling. Eight courses stand to a height of 5.20 m., and the thickness of the wall is 0.90 m., which consists of two blocks; the style is ashlar and the blocks are laid alternately at the angles. The blocks measure, for example, $1.00 \times 0.45 \times 0.04$ m., and are well cut with a smooth outer face.

A less easy route into the Drin valley crosses the pass between Kastaniani and Kokovic, a village situated on the head-waters of the Lumi Kseria, a southern tributary of the Drin. There may be a small fort here between Kokovic and Valtista;¹ but I could not investigate as I was turned back from the pass at Kokovic by the Albanian frontiersguards. It is in the valley of the Lumi Kseria that a number of interesting tumuli have been excavated. They are in the plain below Vodhinë and close to the stream west of and parallel to the Lumi Kseria. I have not seen them myself. Their position is shown on Map 13.

The tumuli of Vodhinë are in separate groups, and they are regularly arranged within each group. Only one tumulus was excavated by Frano Prendi in 1955 and the results were published with commendable speed in 1956.² His conclusion was that sixteen of the eighteen graves in the tumulus were to be dated to the same epoch

¹ P-K 2. 1. 91. n. 4.

² *BUSS* 1956, 1, 180 f. E. Lepore, *Ricerche sull'antico Epiro* (Naples, 1962), 84 and n. 137, knew of such tumuli but was unaware of their excavation.

as the graves of the tumuli at Vajzë, that is to the period from the eleventh to the ninth century B.C. As I mention below (p. 228), I do not consider that the graves at Vajzë can all be dated to that period, and it follows that the comparisons made by Prendi between Vodhinë and Vajzë do not lead me to date all the graves at Vodhinë to that period either. It is therefore best to include a general description of the Vodhinë tumulus here, while the objects will be more fully described in Chapter VIII.

The tumulus is a half sphere, 3.10 m. high and 17 m. in diameter. The tumulus consists of four layers: the top one, entirely of soil, 0.90 m. thick at its deepest part; the second, comprising one or two large layers of shingly stones (*gurë zalli*); the third, of soil, 0.50 m. thick; and the fourth and lowest, of soil and stones together, 1.40 m. thick. Within the periphery of the tumulus and at ground-level there is a ring of unworked stones, two side by side or one laid transversely, of which the diameter is 13 m. (see Fig. 1); and in the centre of this ring, which is also the centre of the periphery of the tumulus, there is a cairn of unworked stones, a metre or more high. The cairn at least is likely to be original. If it were not so and if the ring of stones was built first and covered by a tumulus, one could not later have introduced the cairn of stones. Two burials must be associated with the cairn at the first stage of construction. They are inhumations in a simple trench. In Prendi's numbering they are Graves 17 and 18. The corpses were laid on their backs with the head to the south-east. Grave 18 was at the bottom of the north part of the cairn. Grave 17 was on the edge of the north side of the cairn, not quite so low down as Grave 18. The other graves were built with four limestone slabs upright in the ground but not tied in any way, and the lids consisted of broken pieces of slab, placed one on top of another. At a level some 40 cm. higher than Grave 17 and in the middle of the cairn, mainly in its north sector and a little in its south sector, there was Grave 16 which was a cremation; and a similar cremation, Grave 15, lay just south of the cairn nearly at ground-level. Finally Grave 14, an inhumation with the head to the north-east, lay among the top stones of the cairn at the centre of the tumulus; it was mainly in the stones but partly in the soil of the third layer.

The other graves are not immediately associated with the cairn. Of those which are under the dome, as it were, of the second layer, that is the layer of shingly stones, Graves 4 and 5 are fairly low down and near the ring of stones, while Graves 8 and 9 are high up just under the second layer. The skeleton in Grave 8 had the head to the south-east. The remaining graves—1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, and 13—are all outside the dome formed by the second layer.

The history of this burial ground may be as follows:

Stage 1. Grave 18 was made, the corpse was laid out in the trench and the cairn was built over it; a relative was buried in Grave 17 soon afterwards, that is in a similar trench at the edge of the cairn. Soil must have been placed over Grave 17 and would have covered part anyhow of the cairn.

Stage 2. Two cremations were added in slab-lined cist graves, nos. 15 and 16. One of these, no. 16, was built on the cairn, and the other close to it; as no. 16 was at least 50 cm. above ground-level, it follows that earth now covered the cairn and its sides either completely or almost completely.

Stage 3. An inhumation in a slab-lined cist grave, no. 14, was placed on top of the cairn in the centre; it was embedded in the cairn and partly covered with the earth which forms the intermediate layer between the cairn and the shingly stones. It seems likely that Graves 4, 5, 8, and 9 were added soon after or at the same time as Grave 14. They alone are placed in relation to the ring of stones and to the dome of shingly stones; therefore it seems likely that the ring and the dome were added at this point.

Stage 4. The remaining nine slab-lined cist graves were added in the soil which either had been laid over the dome or had accumulated with the passage of time; for Prendi does not indicate that the dome or ring was pierced after their construction.

The finds are as follows. For Stage 1 from Grave 18 nothing; from Grave 17 a bronze javelin-head which is almost fiddle-shaped. For Stage 2 from Grave 16 a bronze dagger of a shape which is characteristic of some Middle Minoan daggers, and a number of whole pots from Graves 15 and 16. For Stage 3 from Grave 14 a bronze sword of Type II Group I, of which examples are found further south, mainly twenty-five years before or after 1200 B.C.; and from Graves 4, 5, 8, and 9 nothing at all. For Stage 4, from Grave 1 a bronze ring, probably a bracelet; from Graves 2, 3, and 12 whole pots; and from Grave 12, in which the head was towards the east, a bronze spectacle-fibula and a bronze pin, broken into two parts with a conical head, 19 cm. long; these finds are likely to be either from the latter part of L.H. III C or from early in the Iron Age.¹ It seems, then, that Stages 1 and 2, centring on the cairn, should be dated to M.H. (see p. 310, below); Stage 3 with the ring and domed tumulus to the turn of 1200, i.e. towards the end of L.H. III B; and Stage 4 to the end or the aftermath of L.H. III C. The changes in burial custom from inhumation in

¹ It is on the basis mainly of the fibula and the long pin that Prendi dated all the graves to the early Iron Age.

a simple trench grave to cremation in a cist grave and then to inhumation in a cist grave and with a different orientation seem to require a considerable span of time. The graves which contained weapons, that is Graves 14, 16 and 17, were all associated with the cairn and these were no doubt the graves of chieftains. The grave with the spectacle-fibula and the long pin was outside the domed part of the tumulus.

One tumulus at Kakavi and two tumuli at Bodrishtë were excavated in 1956 by Frano Prendi, who published the results in 1959 (*BUST* 1959, 2. 190 f.). The tumulus at Kakavi contained three skeletons. Two were in a double cist tomb, lined with slabs and divided down the middle by a slab; this was of the Christian era. The third was in a slab-lined cist tomb, $2.06 \times 0.80 \times 0.86$ m. high, roofed with a large slab as wide in places as 1 m. It was for this tomb that the tumulus was made. Its construction was as follows (see Fig. 2a). A circular *peribolos*, 13.3 m. in diameter, was laid with thin limestone slabs, each roughly rectangular; the *peribolos* was only one slab thick, but there were three courses to a height of some 0.20 m. The cist tomb was placed in the centre of the circular *peribolos*, low down, at ground level. Then a tumulus of stone and earth was built over it to form a low cone, now 16 m. in diameter and 1.53 m. high. A number of objects were found in the middle of the cist tomb. A bronze sword, 43.7 cm. long, with four rivet-holes in the shoulders and four in the haft, which is fish-tailed at the top, and with a blade and a medial rib which are both slightly leaf-shaped, is of a well-known northern type and is dated to c. 1000 B.C. A small iron knife, 10 cm. long, with a curving back and with one bronze rivet, and a pair of iron tweezers, 5 cm. long, are of the same context and period as the sword. There were also two sheets of bronze, rectangular in shape, each with five parallel lines of stippled punch-marks along its length and with a rivet-hole at each corner; a rectangular 'object of bronze'; and a piece of bone plaque incised with two sets of concentric circles, each of four rings and each having a hole at the centre for a nail.

Two tumuli were excavated at Bodrishtë. One contained six burials. It was built above a small circular pavement of stones and had no *peribolos*. The mound had been disturbed. The earliest objects were a hand-made bowl with two raking handles rising from the shoulder to well above the rim and a bronze lunate ring. The second tumulus contained twelve burials (Fig. 2b). It was built above a wide circular core of stones more than a metre high, and it did not have a *peribolos* ring. There were both inhumations and cremations. A coin of Ambracia issued between 148 B.C. and the beginning of the Christian era was found between the teeth of one skeleton, and coins of Hadrian


and Lucius Verus also occurred. The earliest objects from this tumulus were spherical bronze buttons of a Bavarian type, bronze rings which are similar to rings found at Dodona, and five small rectangular pieces of bronze plaque.

On the west side of the valley of the Lumi Kseria a number of Greek-speaking villages are perched high on the slopes of Mt. Stugara. The largest of these, Sotirë, was reached by Clarke in three hours from Tsamanda. He climbed over the Murgana range and descended through pines, oaks, and planes. In Sotirë he copied an inscription, but left no account of it; the stone had disappeared when I visited Sotirë. In the village square a granite column, 1.40 m. high and tapering in diameter from 1.38 to 1.40 m., is standing upright and contains on the top surface a hole 0.06 m. in diameter and 0.05 m. in depth. Both the sandstone slab carrying the inscription and the column are reported to have come from the site of a monastery, where the church of the Metamorphosis now stands. I visited the district known as Kastri but found only coarse red pottery and tombs, which were probably of the Turkish period. Proceeding via Goranxhi I reached Selo (78 houses) in an hour. Above this village, to the WSW., there are the remains of a fortified site, which both Clarke and I visited.¹ The foundations of five towers are visible, but the wall linking them has mostly disappeared. It is therefore not possible to reconstruct the plan of the fortifications, which probably enclosed the lower part of the steep ridge named Kilarachia. The best-preserved fragment runs down the steep north slope beside screes towards the stream-bed and consists of two towers linked by a wall 3.30 m. wide, faced with masonry on both sides and filled with large rubble. The style of the wall is mainly ashlar but with occasional use of polygonal blocks, and four courses are *in situ*; the wall runs down a very steep slope, rabbeting is employed, and the blocks are both large and small. The tower at the lower end of the wall is 6 m. square, and on the average six courses are standing; the blocks are large, e.g. $2.20 \times 0.75 \times 0.50$ m. and $1.45 \times 0.90 \times 0.50$ m., small blocks are not used, and the style is transitional from ashlar to polygonal. The angles are well laid, and the corner-stones are deeply drafted. Rabbeting is used in the construction of the tower. As Plan 21, 18 shows, the tower is internal; but the angle-stones of the tower at A are deeply drafted, and this suggests that the wall running southwards from here is a later addition and that the tower was originally external. At the upper end and at 200 paces distance the second tower, 6.90 m. square, is external to the line of the wall; the angle-stones are deeply drafted, the style approximates to ashlar, and the blocks are large, e.g. $1.00 \times 1.20 \times 0.48$ m. Clarke noted the

¹ The site is mentioned by F. Prendi in *BUSS* 1956, 1. 180.

foundations of three other towers, of which the dimensions are 4.80 m. square, 5.50 m. square, and 5.50×3.20 m. At a distance of 120 paces south from the wall which links the two towers there are traces of graves and many red sherds. Higher up the ridge some circular cisterns 1.20 m. in diameter and the foundations of house-walls were noted by Clarke. I visited some caves in the side of the valley, but they yielded nothing of interest. It is probable that the main part of the fortifications of the site has been deliberately razed; otherwise the partial preservation is difficult to explain.

To the east of Selo the village of Lovin was visited by Clarke, as a site was reported nearby. This consisted of walls of undressed stone, the site was not defensible, and the remains are probably of a village dating from Turkish times. Proceeding down the valley from Selo I reached Pepel (92 houses) in one hour. To the north of this village, beyond the hamlet Lismati, the last rise of a long spur set between two valleys is called Kastri and is naturally defensible. The summit is enclosed by a circuit-wall. The circumference is some 300 paces; the wall is 2.20 m. wide, the blocks are large, e.g. $1.00 \times 0.53 \times 0.35$ m., but roughly hewn. On the west side, facing the narrow saddle which connects the hill with the main ridge, there are traces of a gateway in the thickness of the wall with an aperture 1.95 m. wide; the side of the gate is built with larger blocks, e.g. $1.60 \times 0.78 \times 0.73$ m. I noted only one tower in the circuit: this projected 4.55 m. from the wall and the outer face was 6.10 m. The layout of the site and the use of big blocks suggest that the site is ancient. The masonry, however, is roughly hewn and is inferior in workmanship to that of Selo and Ktismata. There are many similarities between this site and that at Dhrovjan (see p. 120), which is at three and a half hours' distance from Pepel if one takes the pass above Kraa.


To the north of Pepel one enters the Drin valley proper. The west side of the valley between here and Argyrokastro is dotted with a large number of villages, all Greek-speaking, which are perched high on the bare slopes. There is, however, no walled site of ancient times. The modern motor-road descends from Gardikaq (see p. 121) into the valley at Han Gjorgucat, but a better route for pack-animals enters the valley further north at Goricë. Part of a Roman milestone has been found at the church of Ayios Theodoros at Goricë (see p. 697, below). Near Goricë, two and a half hours south of Argyrokastro, a spur runs into the plain and the motor-road makes a curve round it. Just north of the spur and east of the road there are a number of large well-cut blocks, e.g. $2.10 \times 1.15 \times 0.95$ m. and $1.70 \times 0.82 \times 0.25$ m., some of which are slotted to receive clamps, and a well sculptured piece of entablature , which probably indicate the

site of a temple. On the spur and east of the road there are traces of a large tomb (I think, lined with slabs), 2.70 m. long and 1.45 m. wide; beside this I found sherds of black glaze. To the north of this tomb there are more well-cut blocks similar to those of the temple-site; close to these a large cistern is cut in the limestone rock. Further up the spur the remains of walls built of small stones without mortar, similar to those at Kamenicë (see p. 119), mark the site of a late medieval village, which was large. Beside the road below Sofratikë, some forty minutes nearer Argyrokastro, tombs of the Hellenistic type and lined with slabs are close to the road. Sarcophagi have also been found here. At a distance of ten minutes into the plain and north of the village a wall of stone and mortar is built in a semicircle and is buttressed at intervals of 4 paces, the buttresses being 1.60 m. thick. This is the retaining wall of a small theatre of Roman times. Traces of a Roman tower between here and Libohovë have been noted by earlier travellers.¹ Argyrokastro itself stands well above the plain. The houses are grouped along the limestone slopes of steep little valleys and are dominated by a Turkish fortress, which contains no ancient materials. The town depends for its water supply on rock-cut cisterns, and the sun sinks early behind the grey cliffs of Mt. Keshaj. It has none of the qualities which seem to have prompted the siting of ancient towns. Its population in 1945 was 10,910.

The villages on the east side of the upper Drin valley are less numerous than those on the west. On the Greek side of the frontier I visited Mavropoulon and Khrisodhouli but found nothing of interest; the former claims as its own the site which belongs to Ktismata. On the Albanian side the largest and richest village is Libohovë (500 houses), which is situated among extensive groves and is well watered in contrast to Argyrokastro. The population is almost entirely Mohammedan. South of Libohovë one reaches in fifty minutes the first hamlet and after another fifteen minutes the second hamlet of Nepravishtë. There are a few olives at Libohovë and Nepravishtë; they do not grow elsewhere in the valley. At twenty minutes' distance from the second hamlet towards Vlaho Goranxhi, one turns west along a rocky ridge to reach a *heroon* of the Bektashi sect, known as Meliani (on the Austrian Staff Map 'Melanit-teke'). Near the monastery there are remains of a wall, built of well-cut blocks, measuring, for example, 1.10 × 0.45 × 0.40 m., and of a rectangular tower, standing to a height of 3.90 m. in seven courses; the dimensions of the tower are 9 paces by 8 paces, and the wall is 2.50 m. wide, faced with masonry on both sides and filled with rubble. These remains are on a flat-topped ridge with steep sides, the area being some 500 paces long by 200 paces

¹ References in P-K 2. 1. 55 n. 2, to which should be added Evangelides *BE* 37.

wide; although elsewhere in the circuit there are only a few large and well-cut blocks, it seems probable that the site was once fortified with a ring-wall. A number of well-cut fragments suggest that the site of the Teke, which was previously that of a Christian monastery, was once the site of a temple. The fragments include a piece of a pillar, 0.60 m. in circumference, with a squared base, and some pieces of cornice and entablature, all of a fine white limestone.

In the village of Vlaho Goranxhi the church Ayia Panayia contains a capital in poor Ionic style; a pillar-base; a fragment of egg-and-tongue moulding; a triangular stone plaque with a triangular inset and a three-leafed tendril in relief thereon; and a fragment of cornice about 1.30 m. long.¹ At one hour's distance from Vlaho Goranxhi I reached the church in upper Episkop (Poshtme), outside which there is a fragment of an Ionic pillar, 0.75 m. high, 1.05 m. in circumference; the flutings are 0.05 m. apart. The church of Ayia Panayia in Episkop Siperme contains sculptured fragments; a fragment of an Ionic pillar, circumference 1.05 m., with flutings 0.05 m. apart; a block on which rosettes and cartwheels are sculpted in relief and set within spirals, the borders of the block being either hatched in parallel horizontal lines or decorated with alternate hatching in vertical lines and egg pattern (this block forms the altar and a cross has been cut into it), blocks of marble 1.60 × 0.95 m. set in the floor, which are grooved and socketed, one still containing a lead socket; some of these blocks are sculptured in relief with a flower ; and a fragment of frieze from a cornice, 0.95 × 0.75 × 0.30 m. Some large blocks are built into the church walls.² I was told that under the church there were remains of a road, and that this was not the Turkish road, which passed at a higher level. In the fields south-east of the church there are many sherds, and ten minutes to the west of the church I found a well-worked block 1.20 × 0.65 × c. 0.30 m. I was told by the priest that there were several such blocks at a quarter of an hour's distance south of the church on a slight rise. This may have been the site of the temple from which the sculptured members came. From Episkop Siperme I walked in an hour to Han Gjorgucat, passing through some oaks, vineyards, melon-fields, and maize.

To the north of Libohovë the only break in the mountain wall on the east side of the valley is formed by the Lumi Suhës, which drains

¹ P. Versakis in *PAE* 1914, 243 f. describes the church here as of the second to the third Byzantine period.

² P. Versakis in *Eph. Arch.* 1916, 114 f. describes the church as being of the late twelfth century, and as the successor of a sixth-century church of Justinian's period, when the village was so named because it was the seat of the Bishop of Drinopolis. He also describes the church of Zervat across the valley as built in 1605 on the site of an earlier church (*ibid.* 248 f.).

a high plateau within the double range of Nemerçkë. Whereas Libohovë and the villages north of it are Albanian in speech, those of the plateau form the most north-easterly pocket of Greek speech in North Epirus. Between Libohovë and the plateau the two hamlets of Labovë (115 houses) are of mixed speech, the mother-tongue being Albanian. On the south side of upper Labovë and overlooking the gorge of the stream, a steep limestone ridge ends in inaccessible cliffs, except on the north side. Here there are remains of a wall, which varies from 1.00 to 1.50 m. in width. The perimeter of the enclosed area, which is roughly triangular in shape, is 630 paces; at the north-west angle the wall is reduced to rubble. The north-east angle is strongly fortified by tower A (see Plan 21, 16); this commands the narrow neck of the ridge. In the ground behind the tower and inside the circuit there are two wells, each 1.50 m. in diameter, some 70 paces apart. There are traces of house-walls in this the highest part of the enclosed area. To the west of tower A the circuit-wall takes a right-angled turn; the right angle contains an internal square tower. The outer wall stands here to a height of 5.20 m. in seventeen courses; the style is ashlar, the blocks are well cut with a straight outer face, and they are long and narrow, e.g. $2.00 \times 0.35 \times 0.75$ m. The angle-stones are not deeply drafted, nor is rabbeting employed. To the west of this point a semicircular tower B (see Plan 21, 8) defends a gateway, of which the exit is 2.25 m. wide and the inner entry 2.70 m. wide; the tower stands to a height of thirteen courses, with three courses to a metre, and the blocks are skilfully curved. The wall here is less than 1 m. thick. At lower Labovë the church of the Koimesis Tes Theotokou is a fine example of Byzantine architecture; Clarke made a thorough examination of it and found nothing of pre-Christian date.¹

The largest site in the Drin valley is situated north of the Lumi Suhës at the village of Saraginishtë (50 houses). Westwards of the village a long ridge runs SSW. It is protected on the east side by conglomerate cliffs, overhanging a stream-bed, while the west side slopes steeply down to a valley some 400 ft. below. The northern end of the ridge consists of a higher summit, called Ayios Michail, with a rock outcrop and cliffs at its northern extremity; a narrow neck leads from it to a lower and undulating ridge, called Yerma, which is bounded at the south-east corner by cliffs and then falls away more steeply to the south (see Plan 18). The whole length of the ridge, including Ayios Michail and Yerma, is some 1,000 paces. The highest point is 2,520 ft. above sea-level and commands a wide view of the Drin valley (see Plate XVb); it is higher than Argyrokastro. At A the church of Ayios

¹ P. Versakis in *Eph. Arch.* 1916, 108 f. describes the church as being of the twelfth century and on the site of a church of the sixth century built in the time of Justinian.

Michail is built on the foundation courses of a tower; nine of the original courses are *in situ* to a height of 3.90 m., the blocks of conglomerate are well cut and well laid with a smoothed outer face; they measure, for example, $1.90 \times 0.50 \times 0.40$ m., and the wall is about 1.20 m. wide. The tower at K is ashlar in style, but the vertical joins sometimes deviate from the perpendicular; the blocks of conglomerate and of limestone are well cut and measure, for example, $1.90 \times 0.40 \times 0.40$ m. The towers at G, F, and D are all built in the same style: the wall consists of two thicknesses of masonry with no rubble filling, and measures in the case of D 1.50 m. in width. The style is ashlar; the blocks are long and narrow. The dimensions of tower D are 7.50 m. square. The tower at A is probably constructed on the same principle as those at G, F, and D; it is, however, difficult to be certain, as the church is built upon the wall itself. The tower at E, measuring 6.70 m. square, is built with the same long narrow blocks, but the blocks are so laid in each layer that they present alternately a long face and a short face; for every second block is laid with its length at right angles to the face of the wall. The circuit-wall at B stands in five courses to a height of 2 m.; it is 3.75 m. wide, the blocks are large, and the style is a mixture of ashlar and polygonal. The wall is faced on both sides with masonry and is filled with rubble. The south wall by tower D runs across the slope and is 4 m. wide. The style of masonry is ashlar, and the blocks measure, for example, $1.55 \times 0.40 \times 0.50$ m.; up to five courses are *in situ*. Although the inner side of the wall is difficult to observe, it is probable that the wall is faced on both sides with masonry and filled with rubble. A peculiar feature is a cross-wall, one block thick, built through the width of the wall and at right angles to the outer face, and such a cross-wall occurs at intervals of, for example, 5, 7, and 3 paces, the average distance between the cross-walls being 6 m. The purpose is doubtless to strengthen the wall, and I have noted similar examples at other sites. Clarke described them as 'buttresses' in his notes; this term would be precise only if they projected beyond the thickness of the wall, which I did not consider to be the case. At the south-east angle X, there are a number of foundations which may mark the site of a temple or a tower. Near the edge of the cliff the rock has been cut to form a squared recess about 1 m. wide, 1 m. deep, and 2 m. high—possibly a look-out post of sentry-box shape; for it commands a magnificent view.

The complete circuit of the walls is difficult to trace because the western slopes of Yerma have been deeply eroded by rainfall. I was, however, fairly confident that the lower western wall followed the line of the 50-ft. contour as indicated at I. There is, however, no sign of a wall across the neck which joins Yerma to Ayios Michail. The

growth of the site seems to have been as follows: first, the acropolis circuit A-B-G; second, and perhaps contemporary with the first, the fortification of Yerma with a circuit-wall which survives only in the north part from F (this wall may have followed the 150-ft. contour, for there are signs of walls across the site at that contour on the south side); third, an extension to the west (and possibly to the south) linking D-I-J-K. The circuit of the acropolis is some 800 paces; that of the inner Yerma site 1,400 paces; and that of the final periphery of wall 2,600. The whole area so enclosed is littered with fragments of pottery and tiles, and with the foundations of buildings. There are two good springs of water, one on the east side of the neck, and the other on the western slope of Yerma. The villagers reported the existence of a well, now covered by a fall of rock, beside the church Ayios Michail; another well, some 2 m. in diameter, lies outside the inner west wall of Yerma. In the centre of Yerma, rather to the east side, one fragment of a conglomerate pillar standing 18 inches high may mark a temple site; for the older villagers say there used to be several pillars, and the spot is called Kolonnes. At the south-east corner X a weathered fragment 1.30 m. long of a pillar 0.60 in diameter and extensive foundations suggest the site of a public building or a temple. In and beside the church of Ayios Michail there are two fragments of a pillar, which measures 0.35 m. in diameter; an Ionic capital, dating to the time of the Roman Empire, 0.40 m. wide and 0.16 m. high, with a section of pillar, 0.35 m. in diameter, having twenty flutings; a block shaped like a stele and socketed, which is built into the wall and perhaps inscribed on the concealed face (dimensions 0.50 × 0.20 × 0.16 m.); and an inscribed stone copied by Clarke (no. 38). At C there are several blocks with slots for bolts and doorposts, and these may mark the site of a gateway into the acropolis from the neck, which affords the easiest entry to the site from the north-east.

From the south-west corner of the site a path descends fairly gently through oak-trees to Litovishtë, which one reaches in some ten minutes. At about 100 feet below the south-west corner Clarke records the existence of 'a 30-paces long stretch of well-preserved polygonal wall of massive stones, standing 6 or 7 feet high; the stones are pretty well joined and no small bits are used; this is just beside a stream'. I did not see this wall, as I took a different route to Litovishtë. Here at the church of the Metamorphosis Clarke copied an inscription (no. 40) and noted two other stele fragments which may have been inscribed but were not legible; there are also a number of well-cut conglomerate blocks. To the north of the site at the village of Saraginishtë the church of Ayios Nikolaos and its precincts contain six fragments of fluted pillars, 0.40 m. in diameter; some fragments of well-cut limestone

sarcophagus; and a window-embasement of soft stone, of which the outside dimensions are 0.64×0.30 m. Reports of other inscriptions, found at Yerma but now lost are mentioned below. Clarke saw some enormous red tiles 0.50 m. wide, 1.70 m. long, and 0.02 m. thick with raised rim 0.05 m. high in all; these had been found well below the circuit-wall of Yerma.¹

The path from Saraginishtë to the valley reaches Tranoshisht (some 25 houses) in half an hour. Five minutes before entering the village there are a number of well-cut conglomerate blocks, and 50 ft. lower beside a fine fountain an inscribed stone (see no. 40), which Evangelides dated to the third century B.C. The church Ayios Minas contains several similar blocks measuring, for example, $1.65 \times 0.70 \times 0.25$ m., which are not *in situ*. The walk from Tranoshisht to Argyrokastro took me some two hours.

To the SSE. of Saraginishtë Clarke copied an inscription (no. 37) in the church Ayia Paraskeve at the village of Suhë, where he also noted a number of squared blocks of conglomerate measuring, for example, $1.20 \times 0.45 \times 0.45$ m., and seven fragments of columns 0.35 m. in diameter. The river between here and Labovë is crossed by a bridge 120 paces long and 4.50 m. wide, with four piers and two buttresses.

The lower Drin valley narrows where it is entered by the stream Kardhiq, two hours to the north of Argyrokastro. At this point a tongue of land in the fork between the stream and the Drin is occupied by a Byzantine fortification, known as Palokastër. The wall is 2 m. wide and consists of small stones and tiles, plastered with cement. Some of the stone is from the river-bed; large conglomerate blocks are used only as a single foundation course. The circumference is some 500 paces and the plan is rectangular; there are remains of a gateway in the west wall. Two tombs, some 6 ft. by 2 ft. and lined with small stones set in cement, had recently been opened; I was told they had contained nothing except bones.² North-west of Palokastër a site is reported on the side of the valley at Humelicë; there is said to be a small fortress which contains some large blocks. Neither Clarke nor I visited it, but the situation is appropriate for an ancient site. To the north of Palokastër the valley narrows and becomes thickly wooded with oak scrub and maquis. The river flows in a gorge for several kilometres, and the sides of the valley are very steep. Then at Lekel the defile opens, and the valley widens out before the confluence of the Drin and the Vjosë at Tepelenë.

On the first spur which runs down from the mountain-side towards the river, south of Lekel, and just before the defile opens, there is a fortified site which commands the entry from the north into the Drin

¹ For earlier references to this site see P-K 2. 1. 55 n. 1, and add Evangelides, *BE* 37.

² See P-K 2. 1. 53 n. 3 for earlier references.

valley. The spur itself is steep and narrow; cliffs protect the two long sides. The other sides are fortified by a wall 3.40 m. wide, faced with masonry on both sides and filled with rubble. Where the wall is on a slope it is strengthened with cross-walls built through its thickness. The style is ashlar. The blocks are fairly well cut, long and narrow, and measure, e.g., $1.25 \times 0.48 \times 0.30$ m. The stones from which they are cut are conglomerate and limestone. The courses are regular. The outer face of the wall is formed usually by the long side of the block (i.e. 1.25×0.48 m. in the above instance), but sometimes by the short side (i.e. 0.48×0.30 m.), when the length of the block lies through the thickness of the wall. In the towers, for instance on the east side, there is no sign of the usual deep drafting of the corner-stones. The top courses of the walls which form one tower consist of two layers of masonry laid side by side. The foundation course of the wall projects some 0.15 m. on the outer face. The top of the site stands some 500 ft. high above the river Drin. The average width of the enclosed area is 150 paces and the length is some 700 paces; the top of the ridge is on a steep slope, but it is fairly flat and is suitable for habitation. The wall can be traced for some 200 paces on the south-east side of the circuit. In the village of Lekel the church Ayios Michail is built of blocks from the site, measuring, e.g., $1.30 \times 0.30 \times 0.40$ m. To the south-west of the church I was told that a 'tholos-tomb' had been partly uncovered, but that it was no longer visible; it was probably a vaulted tomb of the Macedonian type. The houses of the village are scattered among fruit-trees, especially mulberries, and my memory is that the houses did not number above 50.¹

Before leaving the Drin valley it is necessary to explore the upper waters of the Lumi Suliës and the Kardiç. Proceeding from Saraginishtë via Shtegopol one passes below Selck, an Albanian-speaking village of some thirty-five houses, and climbs a high ridge to reach the Greek-speaking village of Poliçan. With a population of 2,500 Poliçan is the largest village in the long rift within the double range of Nemerçkë. The villages to the north-west are Albanian-speaking, while those to the south speak Greek as their mother tongue. Poliçan therefore regards itself as the most northerly village of the area Pogoni. At Poliçan both Clarke and I copied some inscriptions (nos. 3, 5, 6 and 35). When I was there, I was detained by the Albanian police and was therefore unable to visit the site near Poliçan. I draw on Clarke's description.² He reached the site in twenty-five minutes from the village. It stands on the south side of the river and is protected on the west

¹ The site is mentioned by Lampros 1913, 288 and Evangelides, *BE* 36. Leake 1. 30 and 57 passed Lekel, but he was not told of the site.

² Clarke B 78. The map reference for the site is E 3, 6303.

side by screes. The wall is in a very bad state of preservation, and it is nowhere more than a metre high. The width of the wall of the inner circuit is some 2.50 m. The blocks are $1.00 \times 0.60 \times 0.40$ m. and are roughly hewn from local limestone; there are also some fragments of sandstone and some bright red sherds. The inner circuit of wall is some 290 paces. The outer circuit is 50 ft. lower down the steep slopes and is traceable only for 200 paces on the north side. The axis of the site runs east and west. The whole site is heavily denuded and eroded.

From Poliçan to Skorë (100 houses) takes fifty minutes. From Skorë one reaches Hlomo in an hour. Half-way between the villages a site occupies a steep-sided crest in the angle of the confluence of the Suhë stream and a tributary. The south side is defended by cliffs, and the west side by screes, which run down towards the stream. The line of the circuit-wall is revealed by the accumulation of soil and debris. On the east side a piece of the foundation course is *in situ*. The blocks are of local limestone, roughly hewn, large and polygonal in shape. The circuit is some 350 paces, and there are signs of a gateway in the south-east side. There are a few red sherds on the site. While the upper part of the hill is limestone, there is an outcrop of schist sandstone on the west side. A different site, known as Paliokastro, was visited by Clarke. It is situated on the right bank of the Suhë stream, like the site I have just described. This site consists of 'a minute pimple, not 25 paces in diameter', lying in the angle between the Suhë stream and the Sopik stream. Clarke noted no walls, but he observed a rock-hewn seat about 4 ft. by 3 ft. with a back 3 ft. high.¹ From Skorë Clarke walked in thirty-five minutes to Sopik, a village of some 270 houses, which stands 3,330 ft. above sea-level; thence in two hours to Apsas, where there are some twenty houses and a large number of huts used for workers in the extensive vineyards; thence in forty minutes to the monastery Metamorphosis, reputed to be a thousand years old. From the monastery he walked in thirty-five minutes to Çatistë (125 houses) and thence in thirty-five minutes to Mavrojer (20 houses), which is half an hour's distance from Hlomo (135 houses). From Hlomo I walked over the ridge to upper Labovë in some two hours.

These Greek-speaking villages have depended to a great extent on contributions of money sent by their emigrants, who went mainly to Athens and to the U.S.A. Only a small amount of cereals, mainly maize, is grown, but they have an abundance of soft fruit and there are several fine vineyards. The slopes of Mt. Nemerçkë provide excellent Alpine pastures, which are used also by nomad Vlachs. There is good pasture for sheep, goats, and cattle in the lower parts of the plateau, and wild pig and chamois are hunted on the uplands. The

¹ Clarke B 98.

products of the plateau are traded mainly with Libohovë and Argyrokastro.

On the west side of the Drin valley the mountainous area of Kurvelesh is drained by the Kardhiq, which enters the Drin at Palokastër, and by the Bençë, which enters the Vjosë below Tepelenë. The upper parts of both valleys trade mainly with Argyrokastro, which is 30 kilometres distant from Tepelenë. From Palokastër I walked through scrub-covered country via Çepos to Plesë in an hour and a half. There is a Turkish fortress at the village of Kardhiq. On the neck leading to the fortress a ruined house contains some large worked blocks, both rectangular and polygonal, measuring, for example, $1.40 \times 0.40 \times 0.70$ m.¹ From Kardhiq I climbed in one and a half hours to Zhulat. Here the local *kalajë* or *kastro* is a ruined village of no great antiquity. I was told of a house in which there were large worked blocks somewhere near Zhulat. However, my Albanian guide took me instead to Fush e' Bardhë, one hour to the south. At this remote shepherds' village I was told of an inscribed rock high up on Mal i Gjatë (1,545 m.). After a climb of more than three hours the inscription proved to be a rock face with small veins of quartz. But my disappointment was relieved by some shepherds, who killed a kid, roasted it whole, and gave the head to me as the guest of honour. I then descended to the summit of the Skarficë pass, which links the area of Delvinë with the Kurvelesh. There are fine springs of water near the head of the pass, and from it I returned to Kardhiq in two hours.² Kardhiq holds the central position in the basin. It also commands the entry to the Skarficë pass, and a route leads from it over a pass to Progonat at the head of the Bençë river. In addition to the blocks in the house beside the Turkish fortress I was told by several people independently that there are similar blocks and rock-cut cisterns in the Bidrigetch district of Kardhiq. I did not visit the spot, but it is almost certain that an ancient site exists there.

Proceeding northwards from Kardhiq through scrub and swamp I reached Kolonjë in one and a half hours, and then in one and three-quarter hours Golem, where a fair amount of wheat is grown. There are reported to be three springs of petroleum, one of which is large, in the hills above this village.³ Climbing northwards towards the head of the pass, which is fifty minutes distant, I passed some tombs beside the path after half an hour's walking. The district is called Shinepruntë. The tombs do not appear to be ancient. Descending from the head of

¹ Leake 1. 63 was told of this site.

² Leake 1. 65 descended from this pass towards Kamenicë and Delvinë and noted the vineyards, olives, poplars, and cypresses, which marked the approach to the coastal belt.

³ I saw a petroleum seep either on my way to Gusmar or from Nivicë to Salar, but I did not make a note of its position.

the pass into the headwaters of the Bençë river, I skirted the barren limestone slopes of Mal i Thatë (1,568 m.) to reach Gusmar in one and a half hours. During the descent I had a view of the Acroceraunian range through the low pass leading to Kuç (see p. 123). There are two passes which lead northwards from the upper Bençë. One is a low pass to Vermik on the upper Smokthinë, a river which enters the Gulf of Valona, and a higher one leading to Salar i Siperin and the Vijosë valley (see Map 9). From Gusmar it is a short distance to Nivicë Lopes, a scattered village, of which the centre is a narrow ridge with steep cliffs. Just to the west of the ridge two streams converge. This would be a very suitable site for a walled town in south Epirus. The only sign, however, of an ancient fortification is on a summit, some 40 paces wide, which has cliffs on three sides, those on the west being 200 ft. high. Here there are an inner wall and an outer wall, 6 paces apart; each wall is some 2 m. wide and is set with a large quantity of mortar. In the walls there are some worked blocks, including a corner block which seems to be *in situ* and measures $1.52 \times 0.25 \times 0.40$ m.; there is no sign of deep drafting, which is so usual in south Epirus. From Nivicë¹ I climbed in one and three-quarter hours to the head of the pass above Salar. There I looked out over the wide plain of Central Albania to the steep mountain of Tomor above Berat and appreciated the contrast of its more open terrain with the folded mountains and confined valleys of Epirus. I dropped through the scattered hamlets of Salar i Siperin and Salar i Mesëm to the main road above the Vijosë valley in one and three-quarter hours. An interesting inscription (no. 24) was found at Salar on a slab incorporated in a Mohammedan tomb.

Leake 1. 33 records the presence of a site on the left bank of the Bençë stream and opposite Bençë village: 'it occupies the summit of a height and it encloses about two acres.' At the upper end of the site there were the remains of a round tower 'of very thick and regular courses of masonry, cemented with a great quantity of mortar'. Leake decided that the fortress was ancient, 'although no part of the masonry resembles the massy and beautiful constructions of the southern Greeks'.² This site evidently resembles those at Kardhiq and Nivicë Lopes. A small ancient fort or blockpost has been included in a medieval or Turkish fortress.

While this journey through the Kurvelesh was exploratory and the opportunity did not occur later of visiting the other villages, it

¹ My host at Nivicë spoke some German. He had picked it up when he was in Germany during the First World War with Prince William of Wied, who had retired there after his brief 'reign' as monarch of Albania from 7 March to 3 September 1914.

² Hughes 249 also knew of this site.

sufficed to show that there are no considerable walled sites in the area. The villages are Albanian in speech, and it is rare to find a man who knows Greek. The hamlets (*mahaladhes*), which compose the villages, are numerous, as many as five or six to a village, and they are widely scattered. Some *mahaladhes* have been wiped out.¹ The houses too are widely spaced. Every house, with small windows in the upper story only, looks like a small fort. The bulk of the population is Moham-medan. The vendetta is rife. Women are strictly secluded, and we—the men—fed from a common dish with our fingers. The way of life is a remarkable contrast to that of the Poliçan plateau. The highlands of the Kurvelesh with their eroded limestone cliffs are mostly barren and picturesque, especially at Zhulat and Nivicë. The lowlands are thickly covered with a scrub of garigue, maquis, and oak, and there is a paucity of arable land, maize being the main cereal. The wealth of the villages is in their goats and sheep.

Ali Pasha, the tyrant of Ioannina, whose excesses helped to provoke the Greek War of Independence, came from Tepelenë and relied largely upon the Albanians of the Kurvelesh for his troops. At that time Ali Pasha claimed to draw some 16,000 troops from the area round Tepelenë, and they were considered among the best soldiers in Albania, according to Leake (1. 45). There was also a great number of mercenary soldiers from these parts, who were employed abroad in the Turkish empire. Many Albanians attained high positions in the Turkish service. Mohamet Ali, for instance, was an Albanian who founded the royal dynasty in Egypt which ended with King Farouk, and the important route from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean before the building of the Suez Canal was guarded by Albanian mercenaries. A primitive epic which described 'the wonders of our master Ali Pasha' was known to Leake, who published some extracts from it (1. 463 f.). The author of the epic could not write down his verses, and in this he did not differ from the people of the Kurvelesh today. I heard an illiterate Albanian sing the epic of Ali Pasha in 1932, when I was at the monastery of St. John near Elbasan. Mrs. Hasluck, whom I met there, brought him along in the evening, and he sat on the floor and delivered the epic in a sing-song voice with a regular swaying of his body.²

The Drin valley has wonderful natural defences in the lofty ranges

¹ I saw an abandoned *mahalas* of Salar, for instance, and Leake 1. 29 mentions the massacre at Hormovë on the orders of Ali Pasha.

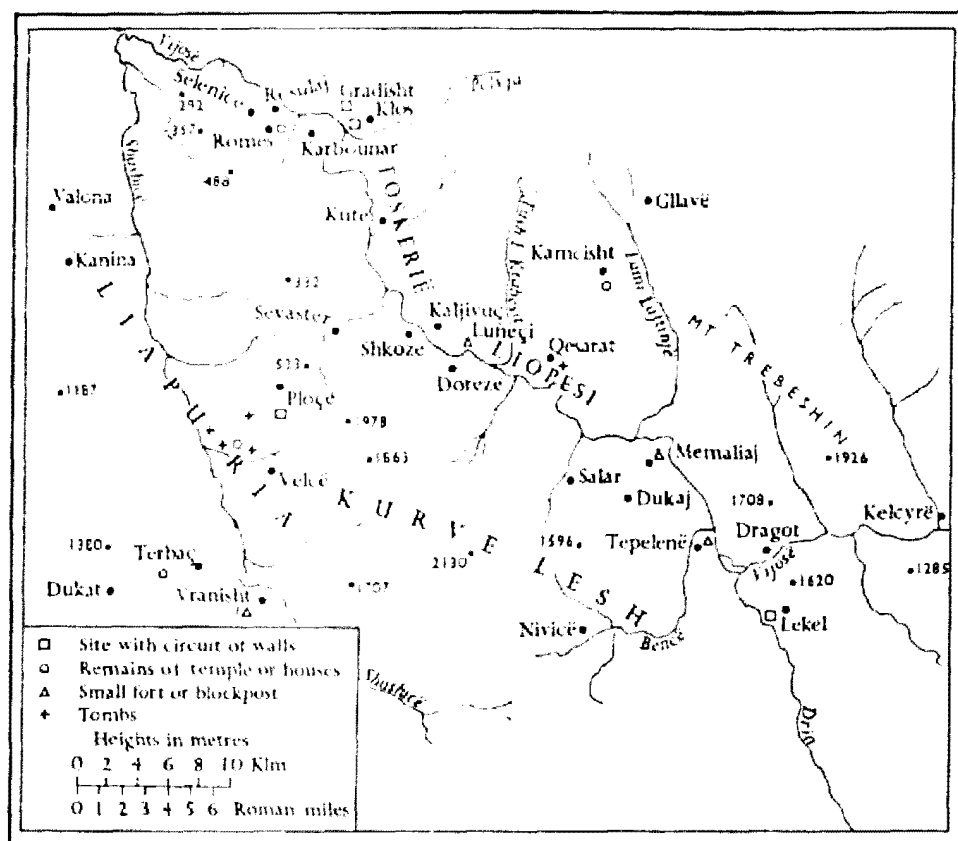
² I have also heard separate groups of young men and of young women singing in alternate strophes to each other in the evening when going up to the Greek-speaking villages from the plain of the upper Drin. The district of Zagorië is also known for its choral lyric; and it has also personal lyric, ballads and ritual songs of its own for family occasions. It has its own 'rhapsodes' (*BUST* 1961, 2. 156 f.).

of mountains which enclose it on both sides and draw close together in the north, where they force the Drin into a long gorge. The entry into the southern end of the valley is blocked by the large, powerful site at Ktismata. The sites at Vlaho Goranxhi and at Saraginishtë control the most fertile part of the Drin valley, and the latter is the largest site and was as important in the past as Argyrokastro is today. The bulk of the population in ancient times lived on the east side of the valley and the line of communication northwards kept to that side as far as Lekel, as Leake did when he followed the Turkish road. Nowadays the motor-road is on the west side. The Drin is a powerful river, liable to rise rapidly in a spate; Leake 1. 57 remarked that the bridge below Hormovë had recently been swept away and the new bridge then was above Hormovë. While one road crossed the bridge and went to Tepelenë, another road ran on past Lekel and into the Vjosë gorge eastwards to a point where the Vjosë could be bridged. The ancient site at Lekel was admirably placed to control the entry into the valley from the north. The people who held the Drin valley did not feel the need for many fortified sites, presumably because they were so much stronger than the hill people on their flanks. The Kurvelesh has no walled sites of even moderate size, and the tribes there seem to have relied on small forts so placed as to threaten the approach up the Bençë and Kardhiq valleys. The district which is called Zagorië has no sites; at least none has been reported, and this may be taken as an indication that there is in fact none of any size. As we shall see, there is an absence of sites in the area of Permet to the east. The walled sites in Paleo-Pogoni are a separate group and the entry into their plateau is blocked by the site at Labovë; we must conclude that the plateau was occupied by an isolated tribe. In the south-west the occupants of the fortified sites at Pepel and Selo must have cultivated the valley of the Kseria stream, and it is likely that they go together with the sites round Mt. Soutista (see Map. 7). The sites on the flanks of Mt. Tsamanda and Mt. Platovouni (see Map 4) are of a similar kind. It seems likely that we have to deal with a group of mountain people, who fortified themselves very strongly on the periphery of an area which has Sosinou and Ieromnimi on the east, Malçan and Dhrovjan on the west, Dhespotikon and Glousta on the south and Pepel on the north.

3. THE LOWER VIJOSË (AOUS)

For the purpose of this narrative the valley of the middle lower Vjosë extends from the break-through between the ranges of Trebeshin and Nemerçkë, which commences at Kelcyre, to the entry of

the river into the coastal plain at Shkozë inland of Poyan (Apollonia). The Gryk' e Kelcyrës or Aoi Stena is particularly striking, because the mountainsides of the defile are very high and precipitous. Plutarch has an admirable description of it in his *Life of Flamininus*, 3. 4. 5.



MAP 9. Ancient remains in the Lower Vjosë valley

At the entry by Kelcyrë the defile is narrow. It is commanded by the fort of Ali Pasha, high up on the north side; I took twenty minutes to reach the fort from Kelcyrë. Despite a careful search I found no signs of any ancient blocks *in situ*. An ancient walled site 'on the south slopes of Mt. Trebeshin' and within sight of the fort of Ali Pasha has recently been reported by Frano Prendi; the walls are said to reach a height of 1.70 m. but no other information is given.¹ The road through the defile is on the right bank; there is no room on the other bank. When one has passed below the fort, the defile soon widens to afford a fairly level bottom some 300 yds. wide on the right bank of the river. At an hour and a half's distance from Kelcyrë the defile is entered by two side-valleys which descend precipitously from the clefts in the double ranges of Trebeshin and Dhembel. At this point there are many

¹ BUSS 1956, I. 180.

springs and some large freshets, the latter mainly issuing from the left bank of conglomerate rock. In this first part of the defile there is one decrepit bridge across the river. To the west of the two side-valleys the defile narrows again and is pinched between two high and sheer rock-faces. It then widens gradually until one reaches the western end of the defile. This was marked in 1934 by a ruined bridge over the Vjosë and some houses. I took two and a half hours to walk to this point from Kelecyrë. Leaving the mouth of the defile I then passed through the small village of Dragot and reached the bank of the river opposite Tepelenë in fifty minutes. In July 1931 I waded through the river just below the confluence of the Drin and Vjosë. A roaring wind was blowing up the valley at midday. In the whole of the defile there is no natural site for a fortress of the ancient Greek type, but both the narrow entry at Dragot and the narrow exit, above which the fort of Ali Pasha stands, could easily be blocked by a small force.

Although the great defile is magnificent, the dominant feature of the area is the Vjosë. Leake 1. 50 has left an interesting description of the river after a night of violent rain. 'The Viosa, which is nearly half a mile broad below the junction, pours even above it such a flood of water against the bridge of Telepeni, that it has almost overtopped the old piers'—which carried planking, as the original arches had been carried away on a previous occasion.¹ A little further downstream the Bençë enters the Vjosë; on the occasion which Leake described, its mouth was 300 or 400 yds. across. The best way to avoid the problems raised by the confluence of the Drin and the Vjosë and then the accession of the Bençë is to bridge the Drin near Lekel and the Vjosë near Dragot. One can then choose whether one will take the right bank or the left bank of the Vjosë in descending towards the central plain of Albania; and the less difficult of the two is perhaps the right bank. It seems likely that the bridges were so placed in antiquity, and that the site at Lekel was designed to be on the flank of both the bridge over the Drin and the bridge over the Vjosë.

Tepelenë, on the left bank and below the confluence of the Vjosë and the Drin, is situated on low ground. It is not suitable for an ancient Greek site, and the Turkish fortifications do not contain any ancient blocks. Aravantinos reported remains of a Roman fort here on the so-called 'hill of Helen', from which he derived the name Tepelenë.²

¹ Leake goes on to tell how a dervish sacrificed a black lamb and two white lambs, pouring the blood upon one of the piers, in order to appease the river-god; he was successful. One is reminded of the Illyrian sacrifice of three boys, three girls, and three black lambs before entering battle with Alexander (*Arr. An.* 1. 5. 7).

² Aravantinos 2. 165. This is also stated by Ser. Byz., and Clarke was told that there was an ancient fort inside the fort of Ali Pasha.

Its enclosed situation makes it very hot in midsummer. In 1701 and in 1921 it was largely destroyed by earthquake, and many houses had not been rebuilt in 1931. At a private house in Tepelenë I was shown a funerary relief (Plate XXIVb). The limestone block was 0.60 × 0.35 × 0.10 m. thick. On the left a seated woman clasps with both her hands the right hand of a dead man, who is recumbent on a couch and who holds a cup in his left hand. A small girl shows behind the woman and a small boy under the couch holds a bowl which rests on a stool. The head of the man is missing. The relief was found near Han Qesarat (see p. 231).

The route northwards for pack animals used to follow the left bank of the Vjosë. At one and a half hour's distance from Tepelenë the river rounds a spur, on which stands the village of Memaliaj. Here Leake 1. 34 reported that there was 'a ruin similar to that at Bençë', and Holland 503 n. described the same ruin as 'probably a Roman fortress'; their evidence seems preferable to that of Lampros, who called it a large acropolis.¹ I crossed on a ferry from the other bank to Memaliaj and I was not told of any site, which suggests there is nothing but a small fort. The valley widens for some kilometres below Memaliaj, and the river then passes through a defile with Dorezë and Shkozë on the left bank and Leshnjë and Kaljivuç on the right bank. A stele of the aedicula type of the first century A.D. has been found in Kaljivuç; the upper part only is extant and carries the inscription P. HERENNIVS P. F. LEGIONIS VI HIC SITVS EST. Remains of a 'villa rustica' were found nearby.² The name Kaljivuç means 'the old ruin', and Nowack marks a ruin on the right bank, as the river enters the defile. Clarke was told that there was an inaccessible church on the rock here and that a gold coin had been found near it; he also learnt that some form of rope bridge had been rigged across the river at this point. This place is called Lunççi (it is not on the Staff Map). Leake 1. 35 evidently referred to it under the name Lunji; he said there was a ruined fortress there like the one at Memaliaj. Holland 503 also mentioned the ruins of an ancient fortress on a pinnacle of rock which could be reached only by stairs cut in the rock.³ He meant to take a ferry here, but the river was too swollen. Shkozë on the left bank is a place where a marble head, column-bases and wall remains have been found, and Patsch copied a Greek inscription on a gravestone of the Roman period which came from there.⁴ Below Shkozë the valley widens again. The last narrows before the river enters the sea

¹ Holland 503 n. 1. Lampros 1913. 288.

² *BUST* 15 (1961) 1. 133 f. and 16 (1962) 2. 119.

³ E. Nowack, *Geologische Karte von Albanien*, 1:200,000; Clarke B 63; Holland 503.

⁴ Patsch 54.

are at Karbounar and Klos. Here Holland managed to cross the river on a ferry. I shall describe Klos later.

The motor-road from Tepelenë to Valona winds round the barren slopes of the Kurvelesh mountains at a considerable height above the river. The first village one reaches is Dukaj. Evangelides reported that there are some polygonal walls above the village,¹ and there may be a site similar to those at Bençë and Kardhiq. The road then turns further away from the river and attains the top of a narrow ridge, which forms the watershed between the Shushicë and the Vjosë. The village on the ridge at this point is Ploçë; from it a branch road turns south-west and descends towards Valona, which is eight hours distant by foot. This strategic point commands the entry from the interior into the Shushicë valley and one of the routes from the coastal area into the Vjosë valley. Just above the village a high ridge (622 m.) is occupied by an ancient site. The ridge is long and narrow, its axis running east and west, and its sides are formed by cliffs and precipitous slopes, except on the short north side where the ridge sinks gradually towards the village. The total circuit of cliff and wall is some 2,200 paces. The average width of the enclosed area is 250 paces. Cuttings in the conglomerate rock for foundation-courses and many remains of house-walls show that it was closely inhabited. The style of the circuit-wall is ashlar. It is built with long narrow blocks of conglomerate measuring, for example, $1.00 \times 0.55 \times 0.40$ m. The wall is faced with masonry on both sides and is filled with rubble. It varies in width from 3.30 to 2.20 m. On the east side, where the wall is 2.20 m. wide, it is repaired by the insertion of small stones and tiles set with mortar; here the wall stands to a height of 2.70 m. in seven courses. Towards the northern end of the east wall a gateway, 3.50 m. wide, faces north (see Plate VIII*b*). On the outer face of the circuit-wall, which is 2.60 m. wide, the gateway was arched at A, and the sockets for the gate-bars are preserved at C and D (see Plan 22, 1*a*, *b*, and *c*); they measure, for example, 0.30 m. wide by 0.12 m. high by 0.15 m. deep. A vertical channel running down the height of the wall in the passageway at B measures 0.12 m. wide and 0.08 deep. One side of the gateway stands to a height of 2.40 m. in five courses. A second gateway in the south part of the east wall faces south. It is protected by two projecting angles to the west (see Plan 20, 12). Between these two gateways there is a small gate, which is approached from the outside by rock-cut steps. At the south end of the site the circuit-walls narrow to enclose a passage 9 paces wide. At the north end of the site where the slopes are more gradual the circuit-wall is buttressed at every 3 paces.

¹ Evangelides *BE* 36; Clarke *C* 67 was told of a site there.

This site is also described by Patsch.¹ He gives the width of the wall on the north side as 1.85 m. and describes the courses there as alternating ('Quaderlagen die als Läufer und Binder wechseln'). If this alternation refers to the blocks, then the technique of building is such as has been described at Lekel (see p. 213); if it refers to complete courses, this is not paralleled by any site in Epirus. He also noted a rock-cut cistern and the foundations of two large buildings outside the walls. On the path towards Sevastër in a district called Klis he saw some tombs of an ancient cemetery which are carefully described. They are of the Macedonian type of vaulted tomb,² very well built with walls one limestone block thick, and date to the period of the late fourth century and the third century B.C. One had been opened and Patsch gives a plan of it. The main room is 2.78 m. wide and 2.75 m. long; the doorway from it had a door of two leaves, the vestibule is of the same width and 1.05 m. long, and the outer doorway is designed for a single-leaf door. Behind the main room there is a retaining wall with a gap in it, perhaps for draining away any accumulation of surface water. The outlines of other tombs of this kind could be made out in the turf. Patsch thought that they were on either side of a road some 15 paces wide. In the village and on the site he came across three blocks of limestone with fragments of inscriptions, one of which gives a name in the genitive case; they may come from this cemetery, particularly as two of the blocks are from a curving arch.³ The lids of two containers for ashes, made of limestone, were shaped to represent a gable roof, one with a rosette in the pediment and with the ridge and tiles carefully represented, and the other plainer but with the name inscribed on the base of the pediment; they measured 0.595 × 0.51 × 0.25 m. high, and 0.505 × 0.42 × 0.15 m. high. The lower part of a container, also in limestone, was found. Dowel holes were in the lids and in the lower part. These are of the Hellenistic period.⁴ Patsch saw in the village two fine heads. One in marble is probably a representation of Alexander and is more than life size; the other in limestone is of Dodonaean Zeus, and a line of holes show that it once had a metal wreath, presumably of oak leaves.⁵ Sculptured fragments, bases, capitals, and pieces of pillar range from early Hellenistic down to Byzantine times; these are in a fine limestone, which is not local and probably came from the quarries at Kanina. Patsch illustrates a terracotta mask, which is of the classical rather than the Hellenistic period; a stone bowl; and a Roman lamp with scenes of gladiatorial

¹ Patsch 31 f.

² Ibid., fig. 11; see A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (Baltimore, 1957) 211.

³ Patsch 39-40.

⁴ Ibid. 46, figs. 34-36.

⁵ Ibid. 39-42 and figs. 25-28.

combat.¹ He learnt from the villagers that most of these objects were found outside the wall-circuit, and he concluded that there were residential quarters on the north-west, north, and east of the fortified area. The coins which he acquired were of Amantia, Ambracia, Epirus, and Syracuse, and of Rome down to the late Empire; and Ugolini found mainly coins of Amantia here. Ugolini reported a water-spout in marble of the fourth century B.C. and some *ex voto* bronzes, one being of a warrior wearing a helmet with cheek-pieces and a high crest.² Patsch copied a bilingual inscription which records the establishing of a granary for the community by a generous magistrate; it shows that there was a Latin-speaking quarter in the town c. A.D. 200.³ I saw a small column of light-coloured sandstone, 0.60 m. in circumference, with an Ionic capital of which the top measured 0.30 × 0.25 m. The capital had grooves on two faces and Ionic volutes on the other two faces; the latter had a rosette in the middle in one case and a male head and shoulders in the middle in the other case. Below this bust there is a loop. Where the column joins the capital there is a row of long beads. On the top there is a stone tang which was probably designed to fit into an architrave. This capital and column are probably Hellenistic in date and are of an Italian or Etruscan type, and are likely to be from the cemetery.⁴ Albanian archaeologists have recently cleared a stadium with steps on three sides for a length of 45 m. It had seventeen rows of seats on the west side, and inscribed blocks indicate a date before the Roman period for its construction.⁵ A small relief portraying Pan and three nymphs comes from Ploçë (it seems to be of good Hellenistic style), and a stele showing worship of Aphrodite Pandemos.⁶

I walked from Ploçë down to the river Vjosë opposite Kutë in two hours and twenty minutes. Here I forded the river at the second attempt with much difficulty (it was in August but the river was running fast and waist high), and I walked on even ground through fields of maize and small fertile valleys to reach Klos in two and a half hours. The ancient site is on a hill, 349 m. high, overlooking the junction of the Polyja stream with the Vjosë. The top of the hill is fairly flat and cultivated, and the sides are steep except towards the west, where a narrow saddle joins the main ridge leading to Gradisht. The Vjosë curls round the foot of the hill and then enters a wider valley and later

¹ Patsch 48, figs. 38 and 39.

² *AA* 1. 114 with figures.

³ Patsch 199.

⁴ For busts on a capital see G. Q. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca* (Milan, 1935) pl. 390; D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek Architecture* (Cambridge, 1929) fig. 91 (at Paestum); and A. Maiuri, *Pompeii* (Rome, 17th ed.) 148 pls. 38 and 39.

⁵ S. Anamali in *BUST* 1958, 2. 106 f.

⁶ *Annuario d. r. Sc. Arch. di Atene* 3(1916-20) 287, fig. 146.

the coastal plain. Although only a few courses are standing (five on the south side), the line of the wall can be traced and the circuit measures some 1,900 paces.¹ The only towers I saw were two, both guarding the entry from the saddle, on which there are traces of an ancient road. One of the towers is 3.90 m. square. The style of masonry in the towers is ashlar with the blocks alternating at the corners. The blocks are large, measuring, for example, $1.20 \times 0.90 \times 0.45$ m. Praschniker also noticed the comparative rarity of towers. There are a few zigzags in the line of the wall. The circuit-wall is 3.30 to 3.60 m. wide, faced on both sides with limestone blocks and filled with rubble. Some blocks in the lowest courses are very large, e.g. 2.85×1 m., but quite small blocks are also used. The blocks are well cut and usually rectangular, but many blocks are rabbeted and some polygonal blocks are used, so that the courses are irregular. The rock is cut to provide a bed for the foundations. Inside the circuit there are rock cuttings for the foundations of houses. The inscription which records the names of magistrates, copied by Patsch, was still built into a house in the village when I was there. The site has yielded a limestone relief of Artemis Phosphorus and a limestone bust of a satyr, both of the Hellenistic period, a funerary relief with four figures, a grave stele of the Roman period (in the collection at Valona) and a funerary relief of late imperial times.²

I walked in twenty-five minutes from Klos to the large site on the hill of Gradisht, which falls steeply to the Vijosë valley. The highest point is 524 m. high, at the southern end of the site, and a narrow saddle joins it to the main range on the north. It commands a magnificent view towards the sea. Although I could not trace the line of the wall at some points, I estimated the circuit at 1,800 paces. The wall is 3 m. wide, faced on both sides with finely cut limestone masonry in good ashlar style, and filled with rubble. The blocks are of medium to large size, e.g. $1 \times 0.48 \times 0.50$ m. The east side is protected by a number of bluffs, and between two of them in the northern part of the east side there are the remains of a theatre, which faces east. The *cavea* is in a natural hollow and is not quite a semicircle; the seats are 0.65 m. deep. The periphery of the orchestra measures 44 paces, excluding the space between the wings of the *cavea*, that is the space facing the stage; and the distance from the base of the orchestra between the wings of the *cavea* to the top seat is 108 paces. I noticed a well in the south-west part of the enclosed area. The site has been fully examined and described by Praschniker, as well as by Patsch

¹ Patsch 118 visited the site but made only a few remarks about the walls.

² Praschniker 84 and Sestieri in *RdA* 4. 197 made the circuit 1,850 m., which is much the same as my estimate.

before him and by Sestieri after him.¹ I give now a summary of Praschniker's description and plan, and my notes on some of his points. He describes a theatre on the south-west side of the site, which looks west, with the greater part of its seats cut in the living rock and with traces of a diazoma; when Sestieri saw this theatre, the foundations of the back wall of the stage buildings had been exposed by digging in what is now a field, and the line of a portico, some 20 m. long, was visible near the left-hand *parodos*. Neither of them saw the theatre on the east side of the site. Praschniker put the circuit of the walls at 2,550 m., which means that my estimate was conservative. There are only a few rectangular towers on the outer circuit, and the faces of the wall are linked by a cross-wall built through the thickness of the wall at intervals of some 5 m. He gives a plan of one gate, which is defended by a tower. At the north end of the site, where a narrow saddle runs on to the main ridge, the circuit is strengthened by a cross-wall, which encloses the northern tip of the site; where this wall joins the outer circuit on the west, there is an internal tower. There are cisterns cut in the rock within the circuit.

The western and higher part of the site is walled off by a wall with square towers which face the eastern part of the site, itself contained within the main circuit-wall. This inner western area is about a quarter of the total area enclosed by the main circuit-wall. The dividing wall is similar in style to the main circuit-wall in the lower courses; it then consists of a much later wall on top with smaller stones and some tiles. Praschniker thought the whole of this wall to be a late addition, but Patsch and Sestieri believe that the lower courses are those of an ancient wall *in situ*; I favour the view of Patsch and Sestieri, especially in view of the analogy which is offered, for instance, by Rogous. The public buildings, which include the theatre with a western aspect, an agora and a gymnasium, are all within the area west of the dividing wall.² It seems likely then that this western part is the original fortified area, and that the remainder of the site was included not long afterwards, when the style of walling was still the same. The upper part of the dividing wall is of course much later. It stands to a height of some 8 m. in places. Praschniker has a good plan of two of the towers of this dividing wall. The two theatres and the public buildings reminded me of the site at Kamarina.

The site is Byllis, at one time a Roman colony. Its name is mentioned in an inscription of the principate of Lucius Verus, which is cut in

¹ Praschniker 68 f.; Patsch 102 f.; Sestieri in *RdA* 4. 47 f. The outer wall is illustrated in Praschniker 75, fig. 28, and the inner wall in Patsch 102, fig. 84. A summary of the ancient evidence on Byllis is in U. Kahrstedt, *F. S. Abramit* 2. 44.

² See Praschniker's plan on p. 70.

the rock face just below the southern circuit-wall and above an ancient road, some 3 m. wide, leading up to the entrance into the town. The inscription records the generosity of Lollianus in repairing a *via publica*, which had been narrow, rough and dangerous, so that it was made suitable for wheeled traffic, and likewise bridges over the river Argyas and over streams at his own expense.¹ The position of the inscription suggests that the road in question is that which it faces: namely, as the inscription says, 'quae a col(onia) Byllid(ensium) per Astacias ducit'. Its later direction cannot be inferred, since the visible part is the top of a road which zigzagged up the steep hill.² The collection at Valona has a limestone statue of a conic actor, which is of the late Roman period.³ Patsch saw the top of a gravestone with a bull's head in the pediment, a type which shows the influence of Apollonia; it is good Hellenistic work and may date to the second half of the third century or the second century.⁴ Praschniker found a fragment of a funerary relief; an inscribed one has been reported recently,⁵ and I copied inscriptions on three others, which are of the Roman period (nos. 8, 9, and 10). Inside the main circuit there is a niche in a cut face of rock with a dedication to Dionysus;⁶ it is on the east side of the site and above the place where I saw the theatre.

Ugolini explored the part of the Shushicë valley which lies west of Ploçë.⁷ He found at Spela Placu a rock-cut tomb, 2.05 × 1 m. and 0.60 m. deep; it lay only 0.10 m. below the surface of the rock and was probably covered with a monolithic slab. A cist grave, lined with slabs, was said to have contained bones, a vase, and an iron sword. At Guitet, one hour west of Ploçë, there were tombs and also ancient blocks of masonry; and similar blocks of masonry were found at Kiafa Bossit nearby. Three small tumuli were noted near the stream Proj Brumis. At twenty minutes' walk from Guitet he saw a limestone *akroterion* of the Hellenistic period and a slab with a carved oak-wreath, which was probably Byzantine; coins of the Apeirotai were said to

¹ Patsch's reading of the inscription is an improvement on *CIL* III. 600. The relevant part of the inscription reads thus: 'viam pub(licam), quae a col(onia) Byllid(ensium) per Astacias ducit, angustam, fragosam <pe>riculosamq(ue) ita munit, ut vehiculis commectur, item [pon]tes in Argya [f]lumine et rivis d.s.p. et inser[ip]sit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)'. Here I take it that *munit* means 'repairs' and governs both *viam* and *pontes*, and that d.s.p. stands for *de sua pecunia*. Patsch completes d.s.p. as *de suo posuit* and thus makes Lollianus 'build' the bridges; and Sestieri 48 speaks of Lollianus 'constructing' the bridges.

² Conjectures are made by Tomaschek, *RE* 2. 1. 799 s. *Argyas*, Patsch 115, Praschniker 74, and Sestieri *RdA* 4. 205. I shall return to this problem later (p. 699, below).

³ Patsch 116, fig. 95.

⁴ Patsch 107, fig. 86; see P. M. Fraser, and T. Rönne, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones* (Lund, 1957) 193 n. 17, where reference is made to this gravestone.

⁵ Praschniker 153, fig. 68; *BUST* 1961, 1. 107.

⁶ Patsch 116, fig. 94.

⁷ *AA* 1. 118 f. I cannot find the names given by Ugolini on the usual maps.

have come from this site. At Maje Spardit on a hill he found two tombs, each of which measured some 2 by 1.05 m. Similar tombs were found at Mertekë, and he opened one of them. It was lined with slabs. It was 2.03 m. long, 0.50 m. deep, 0.58 m. wide at the head and 0.53 m. wide at the feet. The position of the skeleton showed that the corpse had been laid on its back, with a stone pillow under the head, and one piece of good black glaze was found in the grave.

Ugolini reported another group of tumuli near Vajzë. They lie to the north of Vajzë and west of Ploçë in a plain beside a small tributary of the Shushicë, just west of a hill 282 m. high. These tumuli were excavated by the Albanian archaeologist Frano Prendi in 1954 and 1955. The results were published in Albanian, with a short summary in French, in *BUSS* 1957, 2. 76 f. The discoveries are of the greatest importance, but they have passed unobserved outside the Communist area. I shall describe the objects in detail later, but it is desirable to make some general comments at this stage. Prendi believes that, though we might suppose the objects belong to different epochs, the tumuli are of the same period, namely the eleventh to the ninth centuries B.C., at which period he places the beginning of the Iron Age; moreover, he thinks that the bearers of this civilization were Illyrians, that they introduced the change from bronze to iron in the making of their weapons and that they were then 'the creators of Iron Age civilization' (*ibid.* p. 110).

I think Prendi's conclusions are incorrect. The objects from the graves in the tumuli are of widely differing epochs: the swords range from a rapier of M.M. III to a slashing sword of L.H. III C and the spearheads from Middle Helladic types to those of the Early Iron Age, while the knives and the daggers cover an even wider range. Now it is not conceivable that the spearheads of the slotted and the shoed types, for instance, were in use in the eleventh century concurrently with spearheads with a socketed haft; for their methods of attachment to the spear were completely outmoded by the invention of the socket, which happened in the fifteenth or fourteenth century. The weapons and the graves from which they come must therefore be dated separately to their own epoch; they cannot all be lumped together in the centuries of transition from bronze to iron. It is therefore important to look more closely at Prendi's finds. His detailed report is in Albanian; it is rather undeveloped in the matter of technical terms and my knowledge of literary Albanian is far from perfect. The four circular tumuli measured respectively 24 m. in diameter and 2.22 m. in height, 18 m. and 2.20 m., 21 m. and 2.30 m., and 20 m. and 2.05 m. Each tumulus contained a number of tombs—among them some Hellenistic tombs of a much later date. Some tombs had been pillaged and others

were intact; and it was probably due to pillaging in antiquity that some objects of early date were found in the soil of a tumulus but not in any particular tomb. There were also a number of flint blades and flint axes in the soil, and it is possible that they are indications of still earlier burials or at least of some religious cult in the Vajzë plain; they show a close similarity to flints from Velcë which have been assigned to the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic periods.

The most significant grave is Grave 12 in Tumulus A. Here alone there were signs of cremation. The inventory of this grave was as follows: a slotted bronze spearhead and a bronze spearhead with a shoe, both of M.H. types, lay beside the corpse, and a bronze rapier of M.M. III type, a bronze knife of M.H. type and a high-handled cup of M.H. type were on the cairn of stones which formed the '*krematorium*'. Among the objects which were found in the soil of Tumulus A were another bronze spearhead with a shoe, a bronze spearhead of M.M. type and three bronze daggers or knives, all of M.H. type. These weapons will be described in detail in Chapter VIII. It is enough for our purposes here to observe that Grave 12 in Tumulus A has very close parallels with the Middle Helladic graves and tumuli of the Nidhri plain in Leucas, even to the details of cremation and the mixture of Minoan and Mainland types of weapons. There can, I think, be no doubt at all that Tumulus A was constructed in the Middle Helladic period to cover Grave 12 and perhaps other graves, now pillaged, from which the scattered weapons of Middle Helladic date in the soil of the Tumulus must have come.

Tumulus A contained fourteen graves in all. Graves other than Grave 12 yielded a variety of objects, which will be described in detail in Chapter VIII: a pot of Minyan shape (Grave 6), beads of Mycenaean glass paste (Grave 13), a bronze 'kite-shaped' dagger of an Italian or Danubian type (Grave 14), long bronze pins (Graves 1, 9, and others), a leaf-shaped spearhead of bronze and an iron sword (both in Grave 8), an iron knife and a long spiralling pin of iron (both in Grave 2). These varied finds show that graves were added to the Tumulus at different times in the Middle Helladic, Late Helladic, and Early Iron Age periods. It seems likely that the Tumulus was the burial place of a royal dynasty or dynasties which spanned several centuries.

Tumulus B contained only three tombs, from which there came long bronze pins (Graves 1 and 3) and a leaf-shaped spearhead of bronze (Grave 2). The soil of Tumulus B produced a bronze sword of the L.H. III B-C transitional period, and a piece of gold leaf with a design probably of L.H. III C. Tumulus C contained sixteen tombs, from which there came beads of glass paste, bronze beads, and long iron pins (all from Grave 2), an iron spearhead of 'olive-leaf' shape

(Grave 3), an iron pin of Glasinac type and an iron buckle (both from Grave 5), a bronze finger-ring and a leaf-shaped arrowhead of bronze (Grave 6). Similar objects were found in the soil of this Tumulus. Fewer objects came from Tumulus D; its four graves yielded pins of bronze, pins of bronze wire, and biconical clay-beads. The discoveries from the graves of these three tumuli are evidently all of the period which extends from L.H. III C to the Early Iron Age. Their closest parallels are with burials in tumuli at Vodhinë, Bodrishtë, and Kakavi, most of which fall within the same period.

The group of tumuli forms 'a segment of a sphere', and the tumuli are some 30 or 40 m. apart from one another. It seems then that they were planned as a group. Tumulus A was constructed in Middle Helladic times, and it is the burials of that period which are the richest. Tumulus A was either re-used or was still in use for burial in the last period of the Bronze Age, when Tumulus B was constructed. One may conjecture that another royal family settled in this area and constructed Tumulus B when the original royal family was perhaps still using Tumulus A. Tumulus C and Tumulus D seem to have been constructed at the very end of the Bronze Age and to have been used for burial in the Iron Age also. There were cist graves in all the tumuli. Some of them were lined with stone slabs, as in the M.H. tumuli at Leucas; and some corpses were laid simply in the soil, that is to say in pit-graves, a phenomenon which occurred in Tumulus A only. Cremation was noted in Grave 12 of Tumulus A only; all other burials were inhumations. The consistency of the burial practices is a further indication that we are dealing with a settled group, or rather dynasty, of conservative character.

To the south of Vajzë the village of Velcë lies on the east side of the Shushicë valley, and I take it that this is 'Velcia not far from Valona' where L. Cardini made an important find of neolithic pottery.¹ Further up the valley, and on the west side of it, the village of Vranisht is said to be ten hours distant from Valona and four hours from Kuç, which lies near the head of the Shushicë valley (see p. 123, above). I was told more than once that a district of Vranisht called Hora has an ancient fortress, built with large blocks and constructed with some mortar; on one occasion it was said to be Venetian, and it may be a fort similar to those in the Kurvelesh. The village north of Vranisht is called Terbac. Between it and Dukat (see p. 126) I was told that there is an inscription carved on a rock face near the church of St. George. The Shushicë valley is still largely unexplored. It is the principal part of Liapuria, the district which runs from Valona to the Kurvelesh (which is sometimes included in it) and is inhabited by the

¹ *RdA* 1. 289-90.

Liaps, who consider themselves distinct from the Tosks. As regards the valley of the Vjosë the Tosks hold the right bank above Klos to Shkozë (this sector is called Toskerië on the Austrian Staff Map), and the Liaps hold the basin between Dorezë and Memaliaj, an area called Liopesi. The sides of the Aoi Stena and the areas to the east, Danglli and Kolonia, are inhabited by the Tosks; and so are Argyrokastro and the villages just on the east side of the Drin valley.¹

I have already mentioned the ferry over the Vjosë at Memaliaj. Here the Vjosë is joined from the north by the Lumi Luftinjë, which drains the west face of the Trebeshin range and affords a route northwards to Berat. At the head of the valley I visited Gllavë and Rabijë, which are one hour apart, and I walked from there via Izvor to Kamcisht in two hours; no one in these Mohammedan villages was able to speak Greek. At Kamcisht I copied an inscription (no. 11). From Kamcisht I walked south-west in three and a half hours via Toç to Qesarat beside the Fush' e Krahësit, a more westerly tributary of the Vjosë. The valleys of the Luftinjë and the Fush' e Krahësit are both heavily wooded. They support a number of small villages, which grow maize and keep flocks of goats and sheep. Near the Han of Qesarat, in the district called Mongilia, some tombs had been opened; some urns were in the tombs and a funerary relief from here had been sent to Tepelenë (cf. p. 221). From the Han I walked up the right bank of the Vjosë, following at first a good and level path, and reached the ferry opposite Memaliaj in two hours and forty minutes. There is no doubt that for pack-animals the easiest route to the north-west from Tepelenë follows one or other bank of the Vjosë; it is far less arduous and affords better footing than the main motor-road via Ploçë. When Holland returned from Selenicë to Tepelenë (op. cit., p. 524), he took 'the direct road along the river', as he had done in going from Tepelenë to Apollonia.

Selenicë lies a few miles below Klos on the left bank of the river. It is on the east side of the last spur of the Ploçë ridge, which forms the watershed between the Vjosë and the Shushicë, the latter being some 130 yds. wide near the confluence. Holland has left the best description of the asphalt mines at Selenicë. In 1813 the asphalt lay on the surface at many points on the top and on the declivities of the hill, and the mine shafts were driven into the deposit, some as far as 100 ft; the miners extracted the asphalt which was 'nearly a perfect black with a resinous lustre' (p. 519).² These mines are likely to have been worked

¹ See Leake 1. 61 f. and p. 31, above. The interaction of the Tosk and Liap dialects in this part of the Vjosë valley is mentioned in *BUST* 1962, 3. 180.

² The blackness of *Illyrica pix* was evidently famous; it is mentioned in Ovid, *AA* 2. 658 and *Pont.* 4. 14. 45.

since prehistoric times, but Holland noted that they were far from exhausted, and so did Poseidonius in Strabo 316. Springs of asphalt extend eastwards from Selenicë to Resulaj and Romës. Holland, who had a knowledge of chemistry and geology, visited an area near the mines where a large amount of inflammable gas emerged and there was also a spring of warm water; it is evidently close to the small lake by Romës.¹ He saw some 'sculptured marbles' nearby and concluded that this was the site of the Nymphaeum and its oracle, which interpreted the movements of the flaming gas. Jones, who visited the mines in 1815, saw remains of ancient buildings two miles upstream from the mines.² Holland's description tallies in every detail with those of Aristotle (*Mir.* 127), Dio (41. 45), Strabo (316 and 764), Aelian (*VH* 13. 16), Plutarch (*Sulla* 27), and Ampelius (8. 1). The mine 'on the hill', μέταλλον ἐπὶ λόφου, was described by Poseidonius, as Strabo tells us. The other authors set out rather to describe the wonders of the Nymphaeum. Ampelius writes as follows: 'Ibi ignis est, et de terra exit flamma. In silva Panis symphonia in oppidum auditur. Item sub eo monte in campo lacus aquae pleni; inde pix exit et bitumen; cum manibus subplodas, pix alte attollitur et quasi ab aqua bullescit.' Ampelius here shows that the Nymphaeum was near 'lakes in the plain', that is in the low ground near the Aous; and this point is made by Dio: πρὸς τῷ Ἀώῳ ποταμῷ. Nowack has reported that the pitch bubbles in the bed of the Aous by Resulaj. Sherds of the Greek and Roman periods have been found here, and a limestone *cippus* representing a warrior making a sacrifice comes from Selenicë; it is of the second or first century B.C. and is now in the collection at Valona.³

If any ancient descriptions ever coincided with modern conditions and ancient remains, it is most markedly so with the Nymphaeum and Selenicë. Yet Patsch and Praschniker have rejected the identification and placed the Nymphaeum some 5 miles from Apollonia at the church of St. Nicolas, where there is no possibility of an ancient mine and only a small seep of petroleum, such as occurs at a number of places in this region.⁴ Their identification carries with it the conclusion that the mine at Selenicë did not belong to Apollonia. For Pliny 3. 23. 145 places the Nymphaeum on the frontier of Apollonia with Amantia and Byllis ('Apollonia . . . cuius in finibus celebre Nymphaeum

¹ See E. Nowack's geological map. He made a special study of the Selenicë area in *Neues Jahrb. f. Mineral. Stuttg. Sonderb.* i (1926) 500 f.

² The visit of Mr. Jones is recorded by Leake 1. 379 n. 1. He also describes the mines and identifies the site with the Nymphaeum.

³ *AA* 1. 108.

⁴ Patsch 194 f., remarking that the ancient oil-wells must have dried up at St. Nicolas; Praschniker and Schober 57 f.; E. Polaschek, *RE* 17. 2. 1525 (1937), entertains the identification made by Patsch and Praschniker, but he also suggests Selenicë with its outliers Resulaj and Romës.

accolunt barbari Amantes et Buliones'); if then the Nymphaeum is at St. Nicolas, it is some 20 kilometres from Selenicë, so that the mine at Selenicë would undoubtedly be in the territory of Amantia and Byllis. Yet every ancient author who mentions the mine attributes it to Apollonia; nor can we believe, as Patsch and Praschniker suppose, that so powerful a city as Apollonia had a frontier only 5 miles distant from its walls. Fortunately we can see the misunderstanding which led Patsch and Praschniker to their view. They thought that the passage in Ampelius meant that the Nymphaeum was 5 miles from Apollonia. In so doing they omitted some words which they thought to be hopelessly corrupt. Ampelius 8. 1. has only one manuscript. It reads as follows: 'Apollonia etcathamantia milia passus quinque in monte limfae ubi ignis est.' Now the *miracula* of Ampelius always begin with a locative or an ablative of the place where the wonder is (e.g. 'Ambraciae in Epiro' and 'Leucade mons unde'); we can therefore read 'Apollonia' or 'Apolloniae'. In the following letters there is evidently a corruption of 'ab Amantia', as 'limfae' is of 'Nymphaeum'. We therefore have: 'Apolloniae ab Amantia milia passus quinque in monte Nymphaeum ubi ignis est', or, if we keep the same number of letters, 'Apolloniae aut ab Amantia' etc. No doubt the name Amantia was corrupted to the better-known name Athamania, and the 'e' of the locative was read as 'et'. A similar corruption in a similar context has occurred in Aristotle *Mir.* 842^b11. Here Beckmann gives the following as the original text: ἐν δὲ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ πλησίον κειμένη τῆς τῶν ἀθλατικῶν χώρας φασὶ γίνεσθαι ἄσφαλτον ὀρυκτὴν καὶ πίσσαν. He adds that the π is probably spurious. Apelt gives ἀτλαντικῶν as the text of the codex Laurentianus, which is the best codex. In either case Ἀμαντιῶν is evidently the reading which should be restored; it is close to either of the texts.¹ This form of the name is found in Caesar *BC* 3. 12. and in Pliny *HN* 4. 10. 35: 'liberi Amantini atque Orestae'.

Ampelius then places the Nymphaeum at five Roman miles' distance from Amantia. Nowack's map shows a lake at Romës, and it is 7 kilometres from there to Klos, that is five Roman miles. On the other hand, Romës is 16 kilometres, that is eleven Roman miles, from Plogë. It is therefore better to identify Amantia with Klos.² The information

¹ The proposals of the most recent editors of Ampelius, E. Assman (1935) and N. Terzaghi (1947), are in the restored text of Terzaghi. 'Apollonia(e in) Athamantia (a mari) milia passus quinque in monte Nymphaeum.' There is, however, no ground for assuming a lacuna, and the restored text makes little sense, because all the coastal strip 5 miles inland is in the swampy coastal plain and Athamantia is unknown. Wölflin in his edition (1853) saw that Amantia was probably the name needed in the text.

² I shall discuss the other evidence for this identification later (p. 698, below). The matter has been discussed with varying conclusions by Leake 1. 375 f., Patsch 49 f., Praschniker 89 f., G. Veith, *Der Feldzug von Dyrrachium zwischen Cäsar und Pompejus* 47 f., M. Sufflay, *Städte und Burgen Albaniens* 10 f., L. Robert, *BCH* 52 (1928) 433 f., and

of Ampelius that the Nymphacum was five miles from Amantia is likely to have been derived in fact from a Roman road,¹ and this identification fits also with the distances given in the Peutinger Table (see p. 698, below).

We do not know when Amantia and Byllis were founded. Apollonia is likely to have controlled the coastal plain of the Aous in the sixth and early fifth centuries, when she was relatively strong; and Herodotus 9. 93. 1 implies this in speaking of the river which flows from Mt. Lacmon 'through Apolloniatic territory'. Thronium probably possessed the asphalt mine until 475–450 B.C., when Apollonia acquired it (see p. 495, below). Most of the statements which we have about the mine and the Nymphacum seem to have come from a common source. The fact that Pliny speaks of the Bylliones and Amantes as *barbari* shows his source to have been Greek, and it is Pliny who cites Theopompus twice with reference to the wonders of the Nymphacum and the quality of the fossil pitch, that is of the mine.² As Theopompus is the source of other information about Epirus, we may conjecture that he lies behind most of the statements and that in his day the territory of the Amantes and the Bylliones reached down the Aous valley almost to Romës and Selenicë, that is before the year 330 B.C. But Apollonia kept the valuable mines of asphalt, and she emphasized them in her coinage from 229 B.C. (when she entered the protectorate of Rome) until the time of Geta.³

Sestieri, *RdA* 4. 35 f. and 197 f. It is the chief topic of Ugolini *Amantia*, and it is touched on by Tomaschek in *RE* 1. 2. 1724 and 3. 1. 1105. Beaumont 67 made an interesting contribution. Tomaschek in *RE* 2. 1. 799 discussed the reading in Ampelius. U. Kahrstedt seems to err in putting Amantia south of the Llogora pass (*F. S. Agrami* 2. 41 f.).

¹ A Roman milestone marking mile 5 from Apollonia was found at Levani (*CIL* III 7365 and Patsch 195).

² *FGH* 115 (Theopomp.) F 316 and 320 are both citations from Pliny (2. 237 and 16. 59), and we may assume that his other remarks on the same subject are also drawn from Theopompus and in particular the remark about the 'barbari Amantes et Buliones'. We learn from the two passages which are cited by name from Theopompus that (1) the fossil pitch was no worse than Macedonian pitch; (2) any intermission of the flame portended disaster; (3) the *crater* did not burn the foliage of the thick grove which grew round it; (4) it was always hot beside cold water ('iuxta gelidum fontem'); (5) rain only increased the flame; (6) it emitted pitch into the water, which was undrinkable; and (7) the pitch was more liquid than any other pitch. Now Arist. *Mir.* 127 makes points (1) and (3); Dio 41. 45 makes points (3), (4), and (5); Plu. *Sulla* 27 makes point (3); and Aelian, *VH* 13. 16 gives an application of point (2) and makes point (3). On the other hand, Strabo 316 and 764 and Ampelius do not make any of these points; but Strabo and Ampelius have the following points in common, that the fire issued from a mountain or rock, the pitch and the asphalt were in a lake, and the pitch bubbled in the lake (Strabo 764 says ἀναφύσσης and Ampelius 'bullescit'). It seems highly probable then that Theopompus is the source ultimately behind Aristotle, Dio, Plutarch, Aelian, and Pliny. Strabo and Ampelius, however, have a different source in common; and Strabo gives us his name, Poseidonius. The informants of Theopompus and of Poseidonius were no doubt citizens of Apollonia; the former regarded the Amantes and the Buliones as barbarians.

³ The uses of asphalt and pitch were numerous, e.g. the caulking of ships, the water-

Little need be said about the choice of sites in this canton. Those of Gradisht and Klos were built side by side in order to concentrate their power against the strongest state in South Illyria, namely Apollonia, and to exclude her from the areas of Toskerië, Liopesi, and the hinterland towards Mt. Trebeshin. Ploçë is well placed to be the centre for Liapuria and the Kurvelesh; it was drawn towards the Gulf of Valona and at the same time held a strategic position on the ridge between the Shushicë valley and the valley of the Vjosë. The fact that there are reported to be Roman forts at Tepelenë, Memaliaj, and Lunëçi is a strong indication that the Roman road ran alongside the river and had small guard posts at ferries or bridges. But I shall discuss this point later.

It is of some interest to compare the bridge piers which we have noticed in Epirus with some across the Shkumbi (Genusus) below Elbasan.¹ The bridgehead there (see Fig. 3*d*) is built in masonry upon the rock which forms the bank; the same is true of the bridgehead foundations which were observed at Arta.² The bridge is 300 m. long. This makes us realize that the bridge in the Acheron valley, which was a thousand feet in length, was unusual but not unparalleled;³ it was also built on piers but it was a double bridge, so that there were probably two sets of piers ('pons magnus columnatus duplex', Ampelius 8. 3). The piers of the Shkumbi bridge show no sign of being constructed to carry an arch, and the piers closest to the bank, which Praschniker illustrates, seem to be intact and flat-topped. We know in the case of the bridge at Finik that the piers were joined by plank-ing,⁴ and this was no doubt the case with the bridge over the Shkumbi. The interval between the piers is 12 m.; at Vrousina the interval between the two main piers is about twice as great, and there was probably a central pier, now submerged. Such intervals could well be spanned by timber beams. The ground plan of a pier in the Shkumbi bridge is almost a hexagon. The end facing upstream is the acute

proofing of gate-posts, the sealing of jars, the caulking of musical instruments, the burning of besiegers (at Apollonia in Vit. 10. 16. 10), the punishing of slaves, the dipping of sheep, the prevention of vine pests, the sealing of roofs, the preparation for casting of bronze, the removal of hair and medicinal purposes. A glance at the compounds of *πίσσα* in L-S-J⁹ will give an idea of its value. For the coins see Head *HN*² 314.

¹ Praschniker and Schober 59 f. and figs. 69-71. I have worked out some of the measurements from their excellent illustrations. The bridge seems not to be of Roman construction; nor is it on the line of the Via Egnatia. Praschniker traced the Apollonia branch of the Via Egnatia along the edge of the coastal plain to Rogozinë, where it joined the Dyrrachium branch on the right bank of the Shkumbi (121 f.); he saw remains of piers in rivers on the latter branch but does not illustrate them. In describing our bridge on the route from Elbasan to Berat he does not connect it in any way with the Via Egnatia.

² See p. 140, above.

³ Plin. *HN* 4. 1. 4; see p. 66, above.

⁴ See p. 117, above.

angle of an isosceles triangle of which the base, as it were, is the thickness of the pier (see Fig. 3*c*). The ground plan of a pier at Vrousina is an irregular heptagon; and that of a pier at Uzdina (see Fig. 3*a*) is a hexagon with two niches adding irregularities.¹ The object of these shapes is to create an efficient slipstream. The piers of the bridge over the Shkumbi are built with an outer face of masonry and an interior core of stones from the river bed, set in some binding material (such as clay or lime, but apparently not mortar). The piers at Vrousina are built with an outer face of masonry and an interior core of scientifically packed stone; a little mortar was used in these piers but may be due to subsequent repairs (Praschniker noted signs of later repairs and additions in the piers of the bridge over the Shkumbi).

The masonry of the Shkumbi bridge is ashlar. The blocks are finely cut, with drafted edges and with a rough face between the drafting, and the corner stones are drafted at the angles. The Shkumbi piers are relatively large, being some 18 m. in circumference, whereas those at Vrousina are a little over 13 m. and that at Uzdina is just under 10 m. The blocks too are large, averaging 0.60 m. long by 0.32 m. high, whereas those at Vrousina average 0.40 × 0.15 m. The height of the courses varies in both cases. The masonry of the Shkumbi bridge can be dated by its technique to a good Hellenistic period. It is likely in any case to be earlier than 229 B.C., when the Romans annexed Dyrrachium, Apollonia, and territory inland of these cities; and it shows no sign of Roman technique. It belongs then to a period of Epirote or Macedonian domination in this part of Illyria. As the bridge is built to make regular communication possible across the river from south to north, that is from Berat to Elbasan through the sink of the Devoli and not down the Shkumbi valley from the east, it is practically certain that it was built by Epirotes rather than by Macedonians.

The evidence is strong that the Epirotes were expert in building the bridges which their powerful rivers demand if communications are to be kept open. The bridgehead on the Arachthus at Arta is said by Petsas to be of the classical period (see p. 140, above); it is built of very large, carefully worked blocks. The bridge at Vrousina is later in the Hellenistic period than the bridge over the Shkumbi, because the blocks are smaller, but it is very well built and the masonry is good. The double bridge on piers in the Acheron valley was built not by the Romans but by the Epirotes, presumably in the Hellenistic period; for Pliny *HN* 4. 1. 4. remarks rather condescendingly 'Acheron . . . mille pedum ponte mirabilis omnia sua mirantibus'. There was a bridge over the Aous, in Molossian territory probably, which was of importance

¹ For Vrousina see p. 187, above, and for Uzdina see p. 89, above.

in 171–170 B.C. (Plb. 27. 16).¹ The piers of a bridge at Minina were said to be like those at Vrousina, but I have not seen them. There may have been a bridge there in Roman times, if not earlier. The piers at Uzdina are made of small brick set in mortar. Those of the Frankish bridge at Karytaina are made of smallish stone set in mortar, and they are less elaborate in ground plan.² The bridge at Uzdina was therefore built probably in the Byzantine period, when brick was more in vogue and when indeed Uzdina achieved very considerable importance.³

¹ In November 1940 the Greek army was unable to cross the swollen Vijosë river and so failed to cut off the Italians who were retreating towards Konitsa from Armata (A. Papagos, *Ὁ πόλεμος τῆς Ἑλλάδος 1940–41* [Athens, 1945] 222).

² Miss A. Frantz very kindly gave me a coloured slide of this bridge.

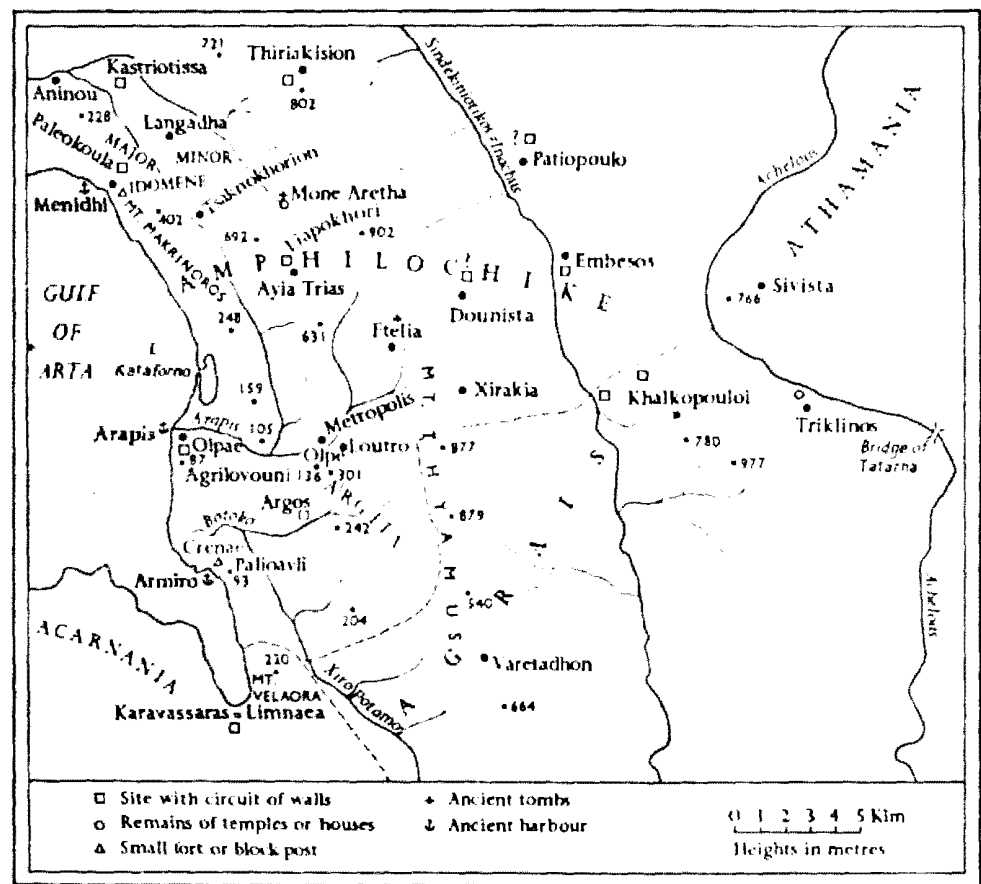
³ See p. 195, above.

VI

THE ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE EASTERN DISTRICTS

I. THE VALTOS

EPIRUS is separated from Aetolia and Acarnania by the northern part of the Valtos, which extends from the east coast of the Gulf of Arta to the western watershed of the Akheeloos valley. The most fertile part of this area is the coastal plain. It is watered mainly



MAP 10. Ancient remains in the Valtos

by two streams, the Arapis in the north and the Botoko in the south. The plain and the foothills grow excellent tobacco, wheat, and maize, and support vineyards, sheep, and goats; there is also good fishing

in the Kataforno lagoon. The largest village of the area is Loutro. It is situated a short distance inland from the plain, and being on the bank of the Arapis it enjoys cool winds in summer and has a copious supply of water (in part from wells). The corresponding ancient site is on the edge of the plain to the north of the Botoko stream, and its exact position is indicated by the hill marked 91 on the Greek Staff Map.¹

On the north and north-west sides of the hill the slopes fall steeply towards a ravine, and on the east the hill is joined by a narrow saddle to the main ridge; the other aspects of the site have less natural strength, for the lower slopes fall gradually into the main plain and on the SSE. into a small plain. The top of the hill, which is flat and measures 130 paces long from east to west and 75 paces wide, is enclosed by a circuit-wall; the only tower is at the highest point, facing the approach from the saddle, and its outer face is broad in relation to its projection from the wall. This circuit forms the acropolis, some 250 ft. above the plain; it possesses a wide view, and it is well placed to control both the main plain and the higher plain of the Xerokampo. From the north-west angle of the acropolis a wall some 400 paces long and without towers or recesses runs south-west along the ridge-side above the ravine until the last declivity before the plain, where it turns south and forms two sides of a tower; then it becomes no longer traceable. From the south-east angle of the acropolis another wall without towers or recesses (so far as can be seen) runs southwards along the east side of a spur down to the last declivity before the plain, where there are remains of a tower. Between this tower and that last mentioned at the north-west corner of the site the circuit-wall is not continuously traceable, but at the foot of the spur on its west side and below the line of the circuit-wall there are traces of a theatre facing south.² The circuit-wall is 2.20 m. wide, faced on both sides with masonry and filled with rubble; there is no sign of any cross-walls through the thickness of the circuit-wall. The style of the masonry approximates to ashlar; the horizontal courses are regular, but the vertical joins are often not perpendicular. The blocks are of local sandy limestone, rather crudely cut and not smooth-faced; they are large in size, e.g. 1.00 × 1.00 × 0.50 m., and a few are very large, e.g. 2.62 × 0.70 m. (according to Heuzey). The wall stands in four courses to a height of 2.60 m. at the south-east corner. There is no sign of rabbeting or of any deep drafting of the corner-stones at the angles. I noted two pillar-fragments on the site, 0.20 and about 0.35 m. in diameter, each with twenty flutings. While the circuit of the acropolis is some 400

¹ I have checked this by taking compass bearings on prominent features. Leake 4. 242 places it too far south on his plan.

² Noted also by Heuzey 282 and by Rhomaëus in *Arch. Delt.* 2 (1916) 51.

paces, the circuit of the whole site is in the region of 1,900 paces.¹ On the lowest slopes of the next ridge to the north of the site I noticed some tombs of which the four side-slabs were showing in the ground. Kirsten, who visited the site in 1939, saw some drums of Doric columns and pieces of octagonal pillars.²

The main road from Karavassaras (Amfilokhia) into the plain crosses a low limestone ridge, which culminates in a barren hill of schist limestone called Palioavli. On the top, which has been flattened and measures 200 paces by 50 paces wide, some traces of ancient building survive in a number of large blocks without mortar. These probably come from a circuit-wall; for on the south side of the highest point the foundation course of a tower 9 paces by 8 paces appears to be *in situ*.³ From this tower there are traces also of a wider circuit-wall, which encloses an area roughly circular with a diameter of 500 paces. This wider circuit-wall is a rough-and-ready affair, ill-cut and ill-finished, using both small and large blocks of rectangular shape (the largest being, for example, $1.40 \times 0.25 \times 0.45$ m.). The area so enclosed is not level; there is no sign of emplacements for buildings, but there are remains of a cistern. My impression was that this wall represents a hasty fortification of a temporary nature and that there was a small fort or fortified shrine on the summit itself. The hill itself is waterless. Heuzey noted strong sources of water at the foot of the rocks on the seaward side. The eastern side approaches the Xiro-potamos bed which is dry in summer; water is drawn from wells in this part of the plain. There are signs of ancient dwellings at the foot of the hill, where I noticed coarse red pottery and a large worked block of limestone. This is just opposite Khan Palioavli, where I saw a coin found near the limestone block.

To the north of Palioavli the limestone outcrop Agrilovouni rises from the plain between the mouths of the two streams, the Arapis and the Botoko. The top of the hill (87 m.) is fairly level and there are remains of a circuit-wall, which has been deliberately smashed; the line of the wall is indicated by level stretches and by stone-debris. It is some 300 to 400 paces in circuit. On the NNE. side there is an excavated area, 20 paces by 20 paces to a depth of 12 ft. On the top I found a good piece of black-glaze lip from an open jar. Rhomaeus observed the foundations here of a large temple, about 32×14.70 m. Kirsten visited the site in 1939. The masonry was of well-fitting blocks

¹ Leake 4. 238 f., visiting the site when the walls were better preserved, put the extent of the walls at 'more than a mile'. He noted the foundations of 'a large quadrangular building, probably a temple' on the south outside the circuit. Heuzey has a plan facing p. 282.

² *Arch. Anz.* 1941, 104.

³ I think it is a corner of this tower which is illustrated by Kirsten loc. cit. 103 fig. 1.

with projections for lifting, laid in ashlar style; clamps of the double T type and of the Z type were used.¹ To the north of Agrilovouni the lagoon is close to the foot of Mt. Makrinoros. Near the north end of the lagoon and by the sea Heuzey reported the presence of a ruin called Hellenikouli; he said it was larger than the fort at Agriliaes but smaller than the other fortified sites. It is clear from his description that he did not visit it. I did not obtain any information of any site at this end of Mt. Makrinoros.

North of the plain the main road climbs for a distance of 10 kilometres round the steep slopes and narrow ravines of the Makrinoros range. It runs at a considerable height above the sea, and the slopes are thickly wooded. This road makes hot walking in summer. A much easier and cooler route for pack-animals follows the top of the Makrinoros ridge, which is mostly level and free of trees as far as Tsaknochorion, where it crosses a saddle linking the Makrinoros range to its eastern neighbour and descends via Langadha to Aninou on the edge of the Arta plain. The northern part of this route is commanded by the two fortified sites of Palcokoula and Kastriotissa (see p. 149, above). At the south end of the Makrinoros ridge I found no remains.²

The country between the coastal plain and the watershed of the Achelous valley has been the refuge of brigands and the base of resistance movements for generations. The whole area is densely covered with prickly scrub, maquis, and oak-forests. The steep slopes and the ravines are almost impenetrable. When I first visited the area, I found the tortuous valleys and the numerous ridges most confusing; for there are few viewpoints, and the Austrian Staff Map was misleading. Further acquaintance revealed three main ridges: the coastal range of Makrinoros, the parallel but wider range of Ayia Trias (both of these terminating north of the stream of Arapis), and the much wider range which forms the watershed between the Arapis and the Sindekiniotikos and runs continuously south into Acarnania. The main routes follow the tops of these ridges. The sparsely populated villages are situated on or close to them. The ancient sites are similarly situated. The largest site is on the central ridge. It occupies the highest point of the ridge, a quarter of an hour to the north of the scattered village Ayia Trias, and it commands a fine view of Arta and Kastriotissa, of the path from the south to Tsaknochorion, and of the coastal plain by Agrilovouni. The acropolis is enclosed by a circuit-wall, some 550 paces long and 2.50 m. wide, and the outer circuit is some 1,250

¹ *Arch. Delt.* 1918, 116 f. Kirsten loc. cit. and in *RE* 17. 2 (1937) 2499, where full references are given. Heuzey 290 saw the remains of the temple but not of any fortifications.

² The Greek Staff Map places Palcokoula south-east of Mt. Makrinoros. This is a mistake. It is at the north end of Mt. Makrinoros. Heuzey 293 was apparently unaware of this route and thought the route along the coast was the usual one.

paces long with a wall of the same width (see Plan 19). Both walls are faced with masonry inside and out and filled with rubble. The outer circuit is faced with massive blocks, e.g. $1.90 \times 0.90 \times 1.00$ m. and $1.00 \times 0.80 \times 0.70$ m. In some places five courses are standing. The blocks are of coarse sandstone, roughly cut, and the wall is without towers. The wall of the acropolis is built of blocks which are generally less large and better cut; the tower at A projects 9 paces and is 12 paces wide, and that at B 4 paces and 7 paces, and the tower at B is standing to a height of 1.95 m. in six courses. The thickness of the masonry face is 0.50 m. At this point the corner-blocks at the angle are deeply drafted. At C I noted two tombs 1.80 m. long by 0.60 m. wide, the sides formed by four slabs, each 0.10 m. thick. The enclosed area is fairly flat and supports some trees. There are springs of water below a low cliff on the west side of the site. The valley below the site is fertile, and the ridge provides summer pasturage for flocks. I descended to the coastal plain in a little over an hour.

This site, known locally as Liapokhori, is 692 m. high and it occupies a central position in the mountain system of the northern Valtos. It lies on the only good route from west to east. This route passes from the Makrinoros ridge through Tsaknokhorion to Liapokhori and from there by a high saddle to the third ridge inland. On the north side of this saddle I visited the Mone Panayias (Aretha), which is fifty minutes from Liapokhori, but I found no ancient remains. From the monastery I looked down the long valley northwards towards Kastriotissa. I reached the third ridge inland, which is the highest, by an arduous cross-country walk from Langadha to Thiriakision (50 houses), which took me two and a half hours. In a district of Thiriakision which is called Solomos there is an area on the ridge-top, some 700 paces long by 350 paces wide, which is enclosed by a circuit-wall. Seven courses are standing at the north corner. The masonry is local flat schist, rough-hewn in rectangular blocks, measuring, for example, 1.50×0.45 m. in the foundation course and less in the higher courses. The wall appears to consist only of two thicknesses of masonry. To the north of the site, on the saddle of the main ridge, there are the foundations of an ancient shrine some 6 paces square. The blocks are well cut and there are square sockets for lead clamps. On the east side of the site there is an early church, Ayia Panayia, which measures 30 paces by 6 paces wide. To the south-east there is an excellent spring. The whole of the enclosed area is thick with sherds, among which I noted good black-glaze on a red ground. Heuzey noticed an oval cistern, lined with small stones.¹ To the east of the site there are tombs of which the sides are formed by four slabs.

¹ Heuzey 310.

Proceeding southwards from the site I reached a fine well on the ridge-top and near it, where the path has cut into the soil, I found a mass of coarse red sherds and some pieces of slag, which may mark the site of a *kerameion*. In the village I saw a small piece of gold leaf, which portrayed in relief a cluster of grapes, vine leaves, and circular ornamentation in excellent style, a bronze ring with a setting for a gem, and several coins; these had all been found on the site. Heuzey reported an inscription from here. The largest village on this range is Dounista¹ (100 houses). The village is at a distance of four hours from Loutro. A forest of small oak, reported to be useful for shipbuilding, stretches from it northwards for six hours and southwards for four hours. I did not visit Dounista, as I was told at the time that there was no site near it; later I was told that a site did exist half an hour to the north. Southwards on the ridge I visited Tserkounista (Ftelia). I walked from it to the monastery Aretha in two hours and fifty minutes. One hour out of Tserkounista and just before a crossing of two paths I noted several cist tombs on the ridge, their sides formed by four slabs. Southwards of Tserkounista there is a prehistoric site at Xirakia. Wild pig are common in this part of the Valtos.

One of the main routes through the Pindus range runs from the coastal plain of Loutro to Karpenisi, which is situated above the plain of Lamia. Walking from Loutro I crossed the third ridge at a point above Xirakia and descended to the Sindekiniotikos stream. I then climbed up to Khalkopouloi, high up on the limestone range which forms the watershed of the Achelous. This stage took me some five hours. There are two sites near Khalkopouloi. One on a small hill just south-east of the bridge over the Sindekiniotikos has a circuit-wall some 300 paces in circumference enclosing an area which is habitable, and the other (bearing 284° from the top of the village) encloses a high rocky spur with cliffs on three sides. To the south-east of the second site a terraced area may have foundations of ancient buildings. I did not visit these sites but was able later to confirm them from the air during a flight from Athens to Ioannina. From Khalkopouloi I climbed steeply over the pass and descended via Triklinos to the bridge at Tatarna over the Achelous in four hours. Just above the shop at Triklinos I saw black-glaze sherds at a point where the path has cut deep into the ground, and in the cemetery of the church I copied an inscription (no. 22).² In one and three-quarter hours I reached the high-arched Turkish bridge 'Manolis' over the Agraftiotikos river, and in a further two hours climbed to the first *mahalas* of Frangista. This

¹ Wrongly spelt Dounitsa on the Greek Staff Map; Stathas on the English version.

² R. M. Cook accompanied me on this trip and he discovered these sherds. For a picture of Tatarna bridge see Hammond *PE* pl. 32. 3.

mahalas is three-quarters of an hour from the main village. From Frangista to the bridge over the Megdovas below Viniani took us two and a half hours. At the southern entry into Viniani there are a few ancient blocks. We took four hours and a quarter to Karpenision, crossing a very high and arduous pass under snow at Easter 1933. Thus the route from Loutro to Karpenision takes some twenty hours of actual walking.¹

If we now return to the western watershed of the Achelous valley, we should note that the pass between Sivista and Embesos is much lower than that between Triklinos and Khalkopouloi. I crossed from Sivista to Embesos in two and three-quarter hours, and I forded the Achelous without difficulty in August. The pass follows a deep cleft through the limestone range. It is commanded at the western end by an ancient site of great natural strength, which is situated south-west of Embesos village on a hill beside the Sindekiniotikos stream. The hill is a limestone summit, which is joined by a narrow neck to the higher side of the valley, and from the summit a long spur of sandstone runs down to the stream-bed. The sides of the hill are very steep except on the east towards the neck. The summit is fortified with a circuit-wall, some 1,200 paces in length, which has no towers or recesses. The wall is 2.10 m. wide, faced with limestone and conglomerate blocks of massive size, e.g. 2.05×1.10 m., and of medium size. Most of the blocks are rectangular but some are polygonal, and the horizontal courses are irregular. Within the enclosed area the rock has been cut for building-foundations. There are signs of a cross-wall running north to south across the site; this cross-wall contains two-thirds of the enclosed area. At the highest point a small triangular fort with three round towers is built of small stones set with mortar and tile-fragments; parts of the circuit-wall have been repaired with the same materials. On the neck which joins the summit to the higher slopes there are a number of well cut blocks. One carries an inscription (no. 14); it is beside the church Ayios Yeoryios. At five minutes' distance to the south of the site the foundations of a building are visible; the wall was 0.70 m. thick and consisted of well cut blocks of black limestone and conglomerate, measuring, for example, $0.81 \times 0.53 \times 0.30$ m. On the sandstone spur running towards the stream-bed there are signs of house foundations and large pieces of tile. These measure, for example, $1.05 \times 0.30 \times 0.075$ m. thick. I noted on the surface of some tiles four protuberances in line, parallel to and close to the edge of a short side; in the thickness of the tile at that edge there was a

¹ In Hammond *PE* 143 I gave the time in all, which included rests. The correct time may be less, as we were benighted at the end of a long day to Frangista. For the view from the pass see Hammond *PE* pl. 32. 2.

shallow groove, 0·01 m. wide, running along the centre of the edge. It is clear that a considerable part of the ancient settlement lay outside the walled fortress. The modern village depends largely upon its herds of sheep and goats. The narrow valley of the Sindekiniotikos is very fertile. Maize is the main crop, and there is a small enclosed plain, watered by a large spring, to the south-east of the village.

The villagers of Embesos trade mainly with Karavassaras, which is reckoned ten hours distant. Although it takes only six hours to reach Loutro, the route is more arduous than that to Karavassaras; and Loutro commands little trade. I did not visit the upper part of the Sindekiniotikos valley. An ancient site was reported to exist at Patiopoulo, which trades with Arta rather than with Karavassaras. Heuzey also heard of this site.

When we consider the distribution of sites in this area, together with the nature of the terrain, we can see that the large site by Liapokhori is the centre of the Valtos area. It has outlying fortified sites at Paleokoula and Kastriotissa, Thiriakision, probably Patiopoulo, Embesos, and probably Dounista. The two sites at Khalkopouloi may belong to them or to a separate southern group; I have not explored the area to the south. The group of which Liapokhori is the centre is not fortified towards the plain of Loutro. In this plain the very large site north of the Botoko stream must have dominated the fertile land and some of the hinterland to the east; Agrilovouni and Palioavli are likely to have belonged to it. I have not described Karavassaras, which is a large site with magnificent walls extending down to the shore; I visited it twice and also walked along the coast from there to Vonitsa. The coast is well described by *The Mediterranean Pilot* (3. 111–12). Karavassaras Bay has deep water and is used regularly by coasting steamers. Caiques from there fish in the Gulf of Arta, but it is difficult to sail out of the bay when a strong wind is blowing into the Gulf from the open sea.¹ At Armiro there is a shallow salt-water lagoon with an opening to the south, and then to the north there is a bank extending half a mile offshore for 3 miles. *The Mediterranean Pilot* does not mention the mouth of the Arapis stream or the Kataforno Lagoon, which can be used by fishing boats, or the bay of Menidhi, which is used by caiques. The low-lying plain and the bank offshore at Armiro have been created by silt carried down and deposited by the three rivers, which have a considerable flow in the winter and spring, and it is impossible to determine the extent of the plain in ancient times. The best places for ancient warships to beach must have been at Armiro and at the mouth of the Arapis.

As I have written elsewhere about the campaigns of 430–426 B.C.

¹ This sentence expresses my own observation; for the wind see p. 62, above.

and of A.D. 1829 and about the ancient names for places in this area,¹ it is necessary to add only a few points. In 218 B.C. Philip V of Macedon sailed into the Gulf with a fleet, which was transporting a large army and its equipment and stores; he intended to invade Aetolia in company with his allies from Acarnania and Epirus. 'He then sailed up the so-called Ambracian Gulf . . . which extends a long way into the interior . . . and having completed the passage he anchored a little before daylight off Limnaea so-called; he ordered the troops to take breakfast, deposit most of the equipment and prepare themselves for a forced march.' The Acarnanian levy joined him during the day, but the Epirotes could not make the journey in time. 'That evening the king departed from Limnaea, where he left a sufficient force to guard the equipment, and advanced sixty stades before he encamped' (Plb. 5. 5. 12-5. 6. 5). It is certain that he anchored off Karavassaras, which is the nearest point to Aetolia, a fine marshalling point for the Acarnanians and the head of the easiest route to Aetolia. The actions of Philip that day are clear. His army offloaded the equipment and rested on the spot. The camp then was on the coast. Later he returned 'to the camp and the fleet' (πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ναῦς Plb. 5. 14. 7). Limnaea then is Karavassaras;² it cannot be 'near the northernmost of the two lakes', the tip of which is some 5 kilometres inland,³ and even less can it be Amphilochicum Argos.⁴ The latter city is the ruler of the plain.⁵ It is certainly the great site north of the Botoko stream, with its extensive fortifications and its theatre. The distance from Ambracia to Argos Amphilochicum is given as 180 stades by Polybius (21. 30. 12) and as 22 miles by Livy (38. 10. 1), who is copying Polybius, so that the numbers corroborate one another. If we reckon 8 stades to a Roman mile, the equivalent of 180 stades is 22½ Roman miles, which is 34½ kilometres. The site which we have identified with Argos is between 35 and 36 kilometres from Arta (Ambracia) on the motor-road, whereas the site at Karavassaras is 44 kilometres, i.e. 28½ Roman miles, from Arta.⁶

¹ Hammond *CA*; the criticisms advanced by A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* 2 (1956) 426-8, are theoretical and are not based upon knowledge of the terrain or analysis of the campaign.

² As it is in Thucydides, who described it as a κώμη ἀταίχιστος (2. 80. 8).

³ As has been suggested by Oberhummer and others, whom he cites in *RE* 13. 1 (1926) 707, and more recently by A. W. Gomme loc. cit.

⁴ As Gomme proposed loc. cit.

⁵ Th. 2. 68: ἡ πόλις αὕτη μεγίστη τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας καὶ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους εἶχεν οἰκήτορας.

⁶ Polybius 9. 39. 8 reckoned 8 stades to a Roman mile. The Roman mile is 1,665 yards and a kilometre is 1,083 yards (a metre being 39.37 inches), so that 10 Roman miles are almost 15½ kilometres. Gomme did not mention the evidence of Polybius and Livy, when he proposed to identify Karavassaras with Argos Amphilochicum. Heuzey 288 pointed out that this measurement alone ruled Karavassaras out from being identified with

In 429 B.C. the Spartan commander Cnemus concentrated his troops in Argive territory and set out for Acarnania; proceeding through 'the Argeia' he sacked Limnaea (Th. 2. 80. 8). In 426 B.C. the Spartan commander Eurylochus marching through Acarnania passed through Limnaea and then entered upon 'the territory of the Agraei' (3. 106. 2). As Cnemus was marching by the direct route into Acarnania, we may put the frontier between the Argeia and Acarnania at the low limestone spur of Velaora. As Eurylochus was deviating from the normal route in order to elude the enemy in the north, he turned eastwards from Limnaea into the territory of the Agraei, that is across the Xiropotamos valley and on to the spurs of Mt. Thyamus 'which is Agraeon', that is the mountain forming the watershed between the Xiropotamos and the Sindekiniotikos. From there he entered 'the Argeia' through its frontier with the Agrais or territory of the Agraei (Th. 3. 106. 2-3; cf. 3. 111. 4). Meanwhile the Ambraciotes had entered the Argeia from the north and occupied Olpae *τείχος ἐπὶ λόφου πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ* (3. 105. 1), which was about 25 stades from the city of Argos. This can only be Agrilovouni, some 4½ kilometres from Argos as the crow flies.¹ The Argeia probably ended in the north of the plain at the foothills of Mt. Makrinoros. This mountain, with its northern spurs at Palcokoula and Kastriotissa, and the hinterland were then the territory of 'the rest of Amphilochia', Argos itself being in Amphilochia (2. 68. 3), or what was called ἡ Ἀμφιλοχική (2. 68. 5), in which τὰ Ἀμφιλοχικὰ ὄρη lay (3. 112. 3). Amphilochia marched with the territory of Ambracia in 430 B.C. (2. 68. 5). Thucydides at 2. 68. 3 says that Argos was founded 'on the Ambraciote Gulf' and at 3. 105. 1 that the city was *ἐπιθαλασσία*. On the other hand, he uses the expression *πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ* in 3. 105. 1 to describe the situation of Olpae. Now Olpae is indeed 'on the sea', but Argos cannot have been in this sense 'on the sea', because the part of the plain into which its walls descend is still some 40 or 50 m. above sea-level. The term is used by Thucydides in connexion with seaborne troops raiding towns on the coast, that is towns which are readily accessible.² It is a matter of opinion whether the expressions that Argos was 'on the Ambraciote Gulf' and 'lying on the coast' (*ἐπιθαλασσία*; so L-S-J³) can be used of

Argos Amphilochicum; and he pointed out that with such an identification 'le récit de l'historien . . . devient tout à fait inexplicable'.

¹ So Leake 4. 251, Rhomacus, loc. cit., and Kirsten, loc. cit.; Heuzey 300 put Olpae high on Mt. Makrinoros at a distance from Argos greater than 25 stades, and Gomme, loc. cit., put it at Palioavli at a distance from Karavassaras (his Argos) greater than 25 stades.

² It is so used in 2. 56. 5, 2. 56. 6, 3. 7. 2, and 3. 91. 6. The only other case is of Eion, where the place of exchange at the mouth of the river Strymon is *ἐπιθαλάσσιον* (4. 102. 4). He uses *ἐπιθαλασσιῶν* of Siphac 'on the Crisaean Gulf' (4. 76. 3). It was a too precise interpretation of the word which led Gomme into his placing of Argos at Karavassaras.

a city 4 kilometres inland across a plain.¹ If we prefer 1 kilometre (and the level of the plain will not permit less), we must suppose that the Botoko flowed into a bay which ran north-east of Palioavli and south-east of Agrilovouni to a point within a kilometre of Argos. The city was certainly maritime in the sense that it engaged in seaborne trade; for its coins in the fourth century have a relatively wide distribution (see p. 551, below). The territory of the Amphilochians in the fifth century extended eastwards to include the upper valley of the Sindekiniotikos, which is to be identified with the ancient Inachus (Hecataeus and Sophocles in Str. 271; see p. 458, below), and also a part of the Achelous valley above the part held by the Agraci (Th. 2. 102. 2).²

2. THE UPPER AKHELOOS

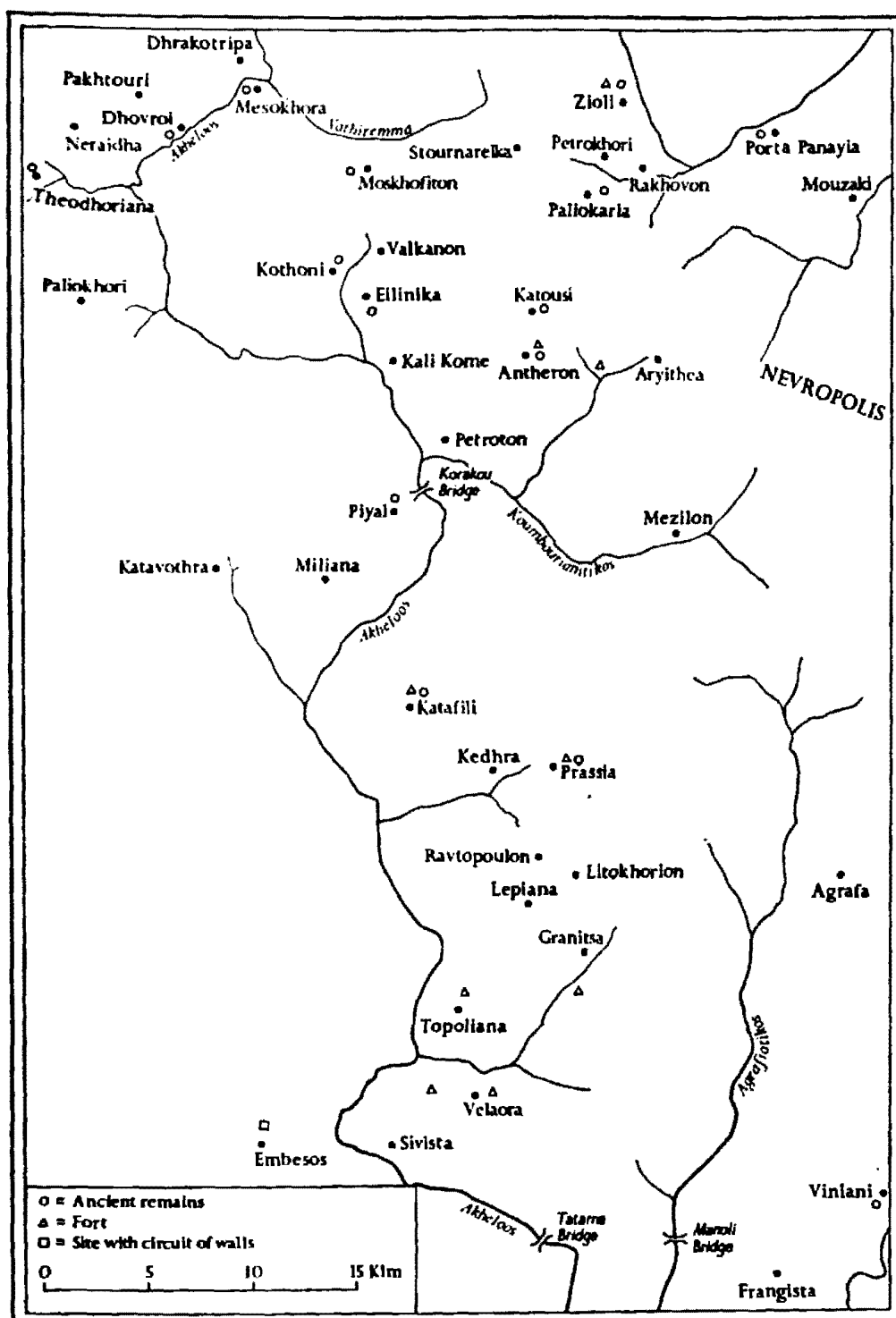
The upper Akheloos or Aspropotamos may be defined as extending from its source at Khaliki to its confluence with the Agrafiotikos below Tatarna. The valley is bounded on the west by the high ranges of Peristeri and Tsoumerka and by the lower range of the northern Valtos, and on the east by the mountain-wall of Thessaly and the watershed between the Akheloos and the upper Agrafiotikos (see Map 1). The river cuts its course in a series of impassable gorges through the flanks of the western ranges; its main tributaries flow in from the east. These tributaries are cut off one from another by a series of ranges, which are mostly at a transverse angle to the high ranges enclosing the main valley. In consequence movement from north to south is extremely arduous; for the gorges of the Akheloos can be circumvented only by climbing high over the transverse ranges. As Philippson put it, there are never any level bottoms which might serve the purposes of cultivation and traffic.³ On the other hand, movement from east to west is less difficult, although it involves considerable ascents.

The best routes through this area from Epirus to Thessaly are as follows. The first and most southerly climbs over the range of flysch to the south of the Tsoumerka range, at Katavothra or at Voulgarelion

¹ The reasons for placing the other ancient names—Olpae, Metropolis, Idomene, and Crenae—on the map will be found in Hammond *CA*. Kirsten's proposal in *Arch. Anz.* 1941, 103 n. 3 and P-K 2. 1. 246 to put fifth-century Argos at Palioavli and Hellenistic Argos at the site north of the Botoko stream has little to commend it; for Thucydides mentions the greatness of Argos for the fifth century and Palioavli is a site of secondary importance, as Leake 4. 237 and 243 pointed out, and indeed hardly that, if we note the words of Heuzey 291, 'une enceinte bâtie grossièrement et comme à l'hâte, qui paraît être celle de quelque antique bourgade fortifiée'. Nor is there either evidence or likelihood that Argos uprooted itself and moved to a new site between classical and Hellenistic times.

² Heuzey 312 f. shows that the Agraci also had fortified sites; he puts the boundary of the Agraci just north of Varetadhon.

³ In *RGJ* 3 (1894) 326. P-K 2. 1. 151 gives an account of the area of the upper Akheloos.



MAP 11. Part of the Upper Akheloos valley

(see p. 152 and Map 5) and crosses the Akheloos at Korakou bridge. From there one follows the eastern tributary either to Aryithea, whence one crosses to Porta Panayia, or to Mezilon and then to the Pedhias Nevropoleos and to Mouzaki on the edge of the Thessalian plain. The journey from Voulgarelion to Mouzaki takes some twenty hours; the route via Aryithea to Porta Panayia is more direct but more arduous. The next route to the north leaves the Tsoumerka range at Voulgarelion or above Theodhoriana, crosses the Akheloos at Mesokhora, and follows the eastern tributary to its source; from there one climbs over the ridge to Stournareika (Koutsaina) and descends to Porta Panayia on the edge of the Thessalian plain. The journey from Voulgarelion to Porta Panayia takes seventeen hours. The most northerly route of all crosses the Peristeri range between Kalarritai and Khaliki (see p. 179 and Map 12).¹ There are tracks, used mainly by shepherds, which lead from Khaliki into the Pinios valley at Malakasi and Kastania. I have taken all these routes, except the tracks from Khaliki to Malakasi and Kastania. There are also crossings from Matsouki to Gardhiki and from Melissouryio to Theodhoriana; these are arduous and of local use for the shepherds.²

The upper Akheloos valley (see Plate XVIII*d*) contains excellent summer pastures for large flocks of sheep, extensive forests of pine and fir—usually too remote for commercial exploitation—and a small amount of poor arable land, which grows maize and vegetables. The villages at the head of the valley are inhabited only in the summer. These are mainly Vlach villages (see p. 25, above), and they are well built. The villages to the south are inhabited throughout the year, and in them the standard of life and of housing is extremely low.

Proceeding from Voulgarelion to Mesokhora, I passed through heavily wooded country to reach Loupia (250 families) in one and a quarter hours. Twenty minutes down the valley below the village and at the fork of two small gorges an area called Paliomonastiri is covered with fragments of sherds and tiles and with the foundations of walls built of small stones without mortar; there are no worked blocks and the site is probably that of a Byzantine village. From Loupia I took two and a half hours to reach Theodhoriana (350 families), a well-built village on a western tributary of the Akheloos, which grows

¹ See Hammond *PE* pl. 32. 1 for Korakou bridge; pl. 33. 2 and pl. 34. 1 for the views north and south from above Mesokhora (= Vitsista); and pl. 34. 2 for the view from the Kalarritai-Khaliki pass.

² These passes have been excellently described by N. B. Kosmas in *EE* 1955, 3-9. He gives the height of the pass east of Kalarritai as 1,910 m. and that of the pass east of Matsouki as 2,030 m. He says the villagers of these villages send their sheep to Thessaly for their winter pastures; Heuzey said they went to the plain of Arta and Preveza, but that may have been due to the position of the frontier at that time.

wheat, maize, vines, plums, and walnuts. From here a track over Tsoumerka leads to Melissouryio in three and a half hours (see p. 178).¹ Theodhoriana lays claim to two sites, one called Selio, in the basin at the head of the valley, half an hour north of the village, and the other called Boziomoko twenty minutes south of the village. Selio consists of fields with terrace-walls and looks like a medieval site with widely dispersed buildings; coins have been found here, of which some as described by the villagers were of the ancient period. Remains of a paved track to Selio suggest that it was inhabited into Turkish times. Boziomoko lies on a heavily eroded ridge and is marked by fragments of tiles; this site too is probably medieval.

From Theodhoriana I reached Neraïdha (Greveno, 100 houses) in an hour and a quarter. I was told that the sites of two earlier villages were known, but from the description they were clearly not ancient. After a very steep climb I passed above Lafina (Skliveno, 40 houses) and dropped down to Dhovroï (40 houses) in two hours. The village is close to the Akheloos; on a ridge running towards the river there are a large number of sherds but no signs of fortifications. From this site coins of the ancient period have been found. To the north-west of Dhovroï the village of Pakhtouri has eighty houses. Leaving Dhovroï I crossed the Akheloos bridge and climbed up to Mesokhora, one and a half hours distant, on the east side of the river. Between Voulgarelion and here the mountain-sides are well forested up to within a thousand feet of the high summits, and at the lower levels near Dhovroï there are a few large oaks. At Mesokhora no fortified site is known, but I was shown a well shaped unpainted vase and I was told of ancient coins, which had been found below the village at a point eroded by the river. Clarke bought here eleven bronze coins and a bronze head of Silenus, wearing a wreath of ivy, and he saw a lion's head also of bronze.² These came from fields in the first valley to the west of Mesokhora; I visited it and saw some tile fragments.

From Mesokhora Clarke recrossed the Akheloos to walk via Dhrakotripa (70 houses) to Paliokhori (7 houses) in three hours and ten minutes. He passed through fairly well wooded uplands. Near Paliokhori a site called Yiatelyio consists of a saddle defended by a wall, which encloses a space 150 paces long by 50 paces wide to the south of the saddle; the axis of the ridge is 70° and it falls steeply to the narrow gorge of the river. There are many sherds and tile fragments on the site. Again from Mesokhora Clarke walked up the valley to the east; he passed high along the ridge above the village Vathirrevma, and crossed the watershed to Stournareika (170 houses) in seven hours.

¹ Kosmas puts the height of the pass at 1,720 m.

² References to Clarke's notes in this section are to A 83 f.

From here he visited Petrokhor (Vitsaina) in one hour twenty minutes, crossed to Zioli in one and a quarter hours and visited the church of Ayia Trias which is half an hour to the north; here he acquired more than twelve coins and copied an inscription on a funerary relief (no. 34). The funerary relief shows the man Echenikos wearing a heavy woollen *chlamys* over a *chiton*, carrying a spear and shield, and placing his hand on the head of a small girl with a dove in her right hand. The relief and the inscription have been published by Rhomaeus. He reported at second hand the site which Clarke visited.¹ This site is high on the cliff above the church. The ridge-top, 90 paces long by 10 paces wide, is fortified on the south and south-east sides by a wall 0.75 m. wide, and by a tower 12 m. long and 5 m. wide. The masonry is pretty rough; the blocks measure, for example, $1.30 \times 0.50 \times 0.70$ m. and $1.20 \times 0.50 \times 0.25$ m., and the wall stands to a maximum height of 1.90 m. There are some sherds on the top and many more on the screes to the north. At the church of Ayia Trias or near it Clarke noted a wall some 10 paces long and 1.90 m. high in three courses of well cut blocks of marl, for example, $0.75 \times 0.61 \times 0.50$ m., set in accurate ashlar courses but with the vertical joins not always perpendicular. Above the wall he saw three tombs which had been rifled; the coins were found here and the ground was littered with sherds. Returning via Rakhovon to Petrokhor, Clarke walked in thirty-five minutes to the lowest of the three hamlets of Paliokaria (30 houses) and visited two sites above the village, which are known as Epano Kataphyle and Kato Paleokastro. The former is deep in rubble but without worked blocks or sherds, and the latter is marked by a very rough low wall 1 m. thick, and by copious sherds.²

From Paliokaria Clarke turned south and following a high and heavily wooded route reached Katousi in five hours, where coins are reported to have been found on the site of the village, and thence in one hour ten minutes Antheron (Bokovitsa), where he acquired a coin found near the village. Twenty-five minutes from here he visited a fragment of wall some 12 paces long and 1.70 m. high in five courses, the blocks measuring, for example, $1.10 \times 0.35 \times 0.50$ m. and the style being a not very careful ashlar. There is another fragment 200 paces upstream; yet another fragment and the foundations of two ancient buildings were reported across the stream. This site is called Nir-trovyia, and coins have been found there. From Antheron he reached Aryithea (Knisovo) in three and a half hours. Forty minutes before reaching Aryithea and at a point near the confluence of the stream from Glogovitsa and that from Aryithea he noticed a number of

¹ K. A. Rhomaeus *Arch. Delt.* 1919, 123 f.

² Kirsten *RE* 21. 1 (1951) 1217 refers to this as an unexplored site.

Hellenistic black- and red-glaze sherds and the remains of a carefully built wall of hard stone, the blocks measuring, for example, $0.90 \times 0.25 \times 0.40$ m. The style is ashlar but the vertical joins are not perpendicular; a stretch of some 40 paces is preserved and the maximum height is 4.70 m. in eighteen courses. Some 10 paces higher up the slope another wall, of which two or three courses only are preserved, may have been a terrace retaining wall. The upper part of the site has been obliterated by falls of scree. There is water close by the site, which is called Ta Ellenika. The site lies on the shortest route from the Korakou bridge to Porta Panayia or to Mouzaki on the Thessalian plain. Clarke walked from Aryitheia to Porta Panayia (300 families) in five hours, entering the oak belt at Dhodheka Apostoloi, and thence to Trikkala in four hours.

At Porta Panayia the fine Byzantine church beside the river-bed contains a *stele* with an illegible inscription and a statue-base with sockets for clamps; west of the church there are four drums of pillars.¹

Let us return now to Mesokhora. I walked southwards from there to the Korakou bridge. The first village, one and three-quarter hours from Mesokhora, is Moskhofiton (Kornesi). It has two hamlets of some seventy houses in all; between the two hamlets I noticed an opened tomb, lined with schist slabs, and in the village I was shown a copper ring with a setting for a gem and pieces of copper wire. There are many fragments of tiles in the fields above the village; the houses now are roofed with flat stones. From Moskhofiton I passed opposite Valkanon (35 houses) to Kothoni (30 houses), to the north of which a ridge-top and the adjoining fields are covered with coarse red sherds; here bronze coins evidently of the ancient Greek period have been found, and some were in a vase. From Kothoni it is an hour and twenty minutes to Ellinika (Martinisko), a village of fifteen houses, where tombs and coins are reported to have been found, and from there one hour to Kali Kome (Molentsiko) (30 houses). From Kali Kome via Liaskovo (now Petroton) I took three and three-quarter hours to Korakou bridge, whence there is an hour's steep climb to the widely scattered village of Piyai (Vrestenitsa). There are signs of an ancient settlement to the north of the lower hamlet of Piyai. From here it is five hours via Miliana where small-oak scrub begins to Katavothra, whence an easy pass leads westwards to Voedros Han (see p. 151) in two and a quarter hours. Crossing the watershed from Katavothra to Voedros Han one passes through pine forest to oak woods and thence to planes and ferns near the Han; from the Han to Arta the countryside is of the Valtos type.

Continuing down the Akheloos valley and climbing over and round

¹ See Stählin 124-5 for an account of this site.

a high ridge, I reached Katafilì (Silepiana) from Miliana in five hours; on this cross-country route there are only a few scattered huts and hovels. The upper hamlet of Katafilì stands very high among fir forests and close to this hamlet there are two pieces of wall, built of large well cut blocks of conglomerate, for example 1.20×0.37 m. and 0.90×0.50 m.; the style is ashlar but the vertical joins are irregular, and the highest piece of wall stands at 1.70 m. in four courses. The site is defended by cliffs both below and above, except on the ENE. where the slope is steep; a stream flows through the middle of the site and the wall remains are on the slopes on either side of the stream. In the village I bought some coins and a small votive bronze hammer, and saw a bronze snake with a twisted body and flat head, incised with lines, and a triangular bronze plaque with a floral ornamentation incised on it and pierced with nail-holes. I was told that a bronze Aphrodite was found here in 1885 and was taken by Carapanos to the Athens Museum.¹ From Katafilì one crosses steep ridges, clad in pine forest, to reach Kedhra (Horingovo) in two hours; during this walk I saw some deer. From here I walked in one hour to Prassia (Zelenitsa). Just to the east of the village there are two rocky hillocks on the end of a ridge, which are protected on the north-east and south by stream-beds; the distance between them is not more than 200 paces, and this space contains the remains of an encircling wall of large blocks and of house foundations. It was reported that bronze statuettes of a girl, a calf, and a snake and also coins had been found on this site. Woodhouse (298-9) visited this site and saw three inscribed gravestones. Leaving Prassia I climbed through oak woods and then firs to a high ridge above Ravtopoulon and then descended to Litokhorion (Veltsista) in two hours; another hour's climb and forty minutes' descent brought me to Granitsa (200 houses), a district where there are no pine forests. Leaving Granitsa for Velaora I crossed the Granitsiotis stream and climbed a high peak with a church on the top in one hour. Here a circuit-wall is traceable, some 400 paces in length, with a tower, 8 paces square, at the south-east corner. The wall is roughly built of hard schist sandstone, the blocks measuring, for example, $1.00 \times 0.20 \times 0.50$ m. but some being both bigger and smaller; six courses are *in situ*, standing 2.15 m. high at the tower.² From here it is four hours to Velaora, where Woodhouse saw two fortified sites which are ancient, and thence one and a half hours to Sivista, a widely scattered village (see p. 244). Woodhouse visited a small fort at Topoliana.³

The only good route from the west into the headwaters of the Akheloos crosses from Kalarritai (see Map 12). I climbed in three hours

¹ Published in *BCH* 15. 461; see Woodhouse 299.

² Mentioned, but not visited, by Woodhouse 298. ³ Woodhouse 296 f.

to the top of the Peristeri ridge and looked down on Khaliki,¹ which I reached two hours later. This large and prosperous Vlach village is deserted in winter; the shepherds descend in October to the Thessalian plain. My host took his flocks to Dimini. The district near Khaliki called Paliomonastiri consists of fairly recent village ruins, and no remains were known at the headsprings of the river, which are an hour and a half to the north; I did not visit either area. In the report of his archaeological mission Heuzey reported 'a Hellenic small fort of rough construction in front of Haliki', but the account which was published later leaves one in doubt whether the site is an ancient one. He called it 'une étroite enceinte de pierres sèches', surrounding the remains of a small structure which may have been a cistern.² I have not included it on Map 12 as a walled site.

Following the bank of the Akheloos southwards through pine woods I reached the monastery Panayia in a little over an hour. Heuzey stayed at the small monastery of Ayios Elias, which is between Khaliki and the monastery Panayia. One of the monks told him of an inscription with the name 'Clearchos' which had been found in a dependency of the monastery called Merkotadhes. Proceeding high above the left bank of the river through woods of pine, oak, and beech for two hours and twenty minutes, I crossed to the right bank and in two and a half hours reached Gardhiki, a large Vlach village with some 5,000 souls, of whom few or none remain in the winter. The majority move with their flocks to the plains round Trikkala and Larissa. No ancient sites were reported in this area. From here I passed through oak woods to Paliokhori and then via Dhrakotripa to Mesokhora in four and three-quarter hours. Mesokhora owns 15,000 head of sheep which pasture in this area during the summer, and a few families remain in the village for the winter. From here I walked direct to Porta Panayia in eight hours, following the high ridge on the south side of the Vathiremma and passing below Stournareika.

Clarke walked across the area north of the Mesokhora latitude from east to west. Starting from Porta Panayia and following the northern tributary of the Portaikos, he passed through Ayios Yeoryios to Tirna (100 houses) in four hours. At Tirna one enters the pine-belt which covers the watershed into the Akheloos valley. An ancient site with large blocks was reported half an hour below Tirna in the district Katofli; but it was not visited.³ From Tirna one climbs up to cross the watershed and descend through the pines to Pertouli in three and a

¹ For the view see Hammond *PE* pl. 34. 2.

² Heuzey-Daumet 413, and Heuzey *Excursion* 113.

³ Stählin 125 n. 7 gives a site here, but he has misunderstood Rhomaeus who talked of a site above Kaloyeroi, not above Tirna.

half hours. Pertouli is the first of a number of Vlach villages which extend to Gardhiki. Timber is sent from Pertouli to Thessaly. Following the high path above the valley of the Kamnaïtikos Clarke passed through Veternik, now Neraidhokhori (80 houses), to Pirra (65 houses) in two hours and forty minutes, and from Pirra via Dhesi to Kamnaï. Heuzey reported the presence of a 'small Hellenic fort of rough construction' at Founiska near Pirra, but it is not clear whether he visited it.¹ The summer population of Dhesi varies from forty to ninety families, and some ten families remain there in the winter, while the flocks go to Trikkala and Kardhitsa; the population is entirely Vlach in speech. At Tifloselion opposite Pirra there are some fifty houses. Proceeding from Pirra Clarke forded the Akheloos (in July) and climbed up to Gardhiki (see p. 250) in not less than three hours. Although the villages from Pertouli to Gardhiki are Vlach, the neighbour of Gardhiki, Moutsara, is not Vlach but Greek in speech. The inhabitants of both villages migrate annually to Thessaly.

From Gardhiki Clarke struck across the Tsoumerka range to Matsouki, which is south-west of Kalarritai. He reached Mandri, high above the Akheloos valley, in two and a half hours, and then crossed the watershed of Tsoumerka and descended to Matsouki in four and a quarter hours. Leaving Matsouki he dropped through fir forest to Khristoi and Mikhalitsi, and thence via Kedhros and the Arakhthos bridge to Ioannina in nine and three-quarter hours.

The distribution of ancient sites and of places where ancient coins have been found suggests that two main routes through the upper Akheloos valley were used in antiquity. The first from Voedros Han via Miliana reaches the Akheloos below Piyai and follows the northern branch of the eastern tributary via Aryitheia to Porta Panayia. This is in fact the most direct route from South Epirus to South-west Thessaly.² The time from Arta to Porta Panayia or to Mouzaki is some thirty-one hours. Dionysius, son of Calliphon, referred to this route in his poem: *Ἀπ' Ἀμβρακίας εἰς Θετταλίαν τριῶν ὁδὸς ἐστ' ἡμερῶν.*³ The other main route runs from Voulgarelion via Loupia and Dhovroï to Mesokhora on the Akheloos, and from there it crosses the ridge between Stournareïka and Paliokaria and descends to Porta Panayia; it takes some twenty hours. The most northerly site beside the Akheloos is at Paliokhori, north of Mesokhora, and the possible forts at Pirra and Tirna show that the Kamnaïtikos valley was in use. It seems likely that there were no regular settlements in antiquity further up the Akheloos or in the valley of its tributary, the Kamnaïtikos, areas which are still densely covered with virgin forest. To the south of this there are a large number

¹ Heuzey-Daumet 413 and Heuzey *Excursion* 106.

² See Hammond *PE* 143 no. 8.

³ *GGM* 1. 239, lines 40-41.

of ancient settlements—at Paliokhori, Mesokhora, Dhovroï, Moskhofiton, Kothoni, Ellinika, Katousi, and Antheron—and these must have corresponded in their way of life to the modern village settlements of today; that is to say, they were occupied in the summer months and only a few members stayed there through the winter to safeguard their property. In this area the only site of which the defences suggest that it was occupied throughout the year is Aryithea. Apart from it the permanent and fortified sites, which adjoin the upper reaches of the Akheloos valley, are concentrated on the Thessalian side in the upper valley of the Portaikos river, at Paliokaria, Ayia Trias, and Tirna. On the Epirote side they are west of the watershed, at Chuka (see p. 152), Pramanda (p. 177), and Kalarritai (p. 178). As these permanent sites on the Epirote side of the Akheloos valley are more distant than those on the Thessalian side, it is probable that then, as now, the main connexions of all the side-valleys east of the Akheloos were with Thessaly rather than with Epirus.

In the area south of Piyai, of Korakou bridge, and of the long valley leading eastwards towards the Pedhias Nevropoleos, the villages today are occupied throughout the year and the standard of life is lower than in the summer villages further north. Ancient sites at Katafili, Prassia, and Granitsa were fortified, and it is probable that they represent the northern outliers of the permanent settlements in antiquity. Thus the route commencing from Embesos or Khalkopouloi in the west via Tatarna and Frangista to Karpenisi probably passed through an area which was permanently settled in ancient times.¹

The valley of the upper Akheloos has a surprisingly large number of villages. These are often small and the distances between them are considerable; and the standard of life in most of them is hardly above the level of subsistence on maize-bread, beans, and milk. The whole area has been greatly impoverished by oppression and brigandage, which preceded and followed the Greek War of Independence, when the frontier was drawn in 1832 from Komboti on the edge of the Valtos to Volos in Thessaly.² Philippson described the ruthless felling of the trees at the end of last century, when logs were floated down the Akheloos to the Gulf of Corinth.³ In consequence much of the valley has been impoverished by deforestation and erosion, and many landslides have occurred; for instance, early in 1963 the villages of Neraidha

¹ The description of this canton is derived from the notes of Clarke and myself, made during travels before the war. I got to know the area much better during the war, as I had occasion to be for some time at Pertouli, Nevropolis, Mezilon, and Viniani and to travel throughout the area on foot.

² Lt.-Col. Baker, who carried out a survey of the frontier, described the depopulation of the area in *JRGS* 7 (1837) 89.

³ In *RGJ* 3 (1894) 326.

and Mirofillon were swept away. The civil war in the winter of 1943-4 added to the destruction and impoverishment. But the valley has known more prosperous times, as one can judge from the beautiful bridges¹ which span the Akheloos and its tributaries and from the history of the Athamanes, who were a powerful people in the Hellenistic period. On the Epirote side the fortifications at Kalarritai and Pramanda show that there was reason to fear attacks from the inhabitants of the highest part of the Akheloos valley.

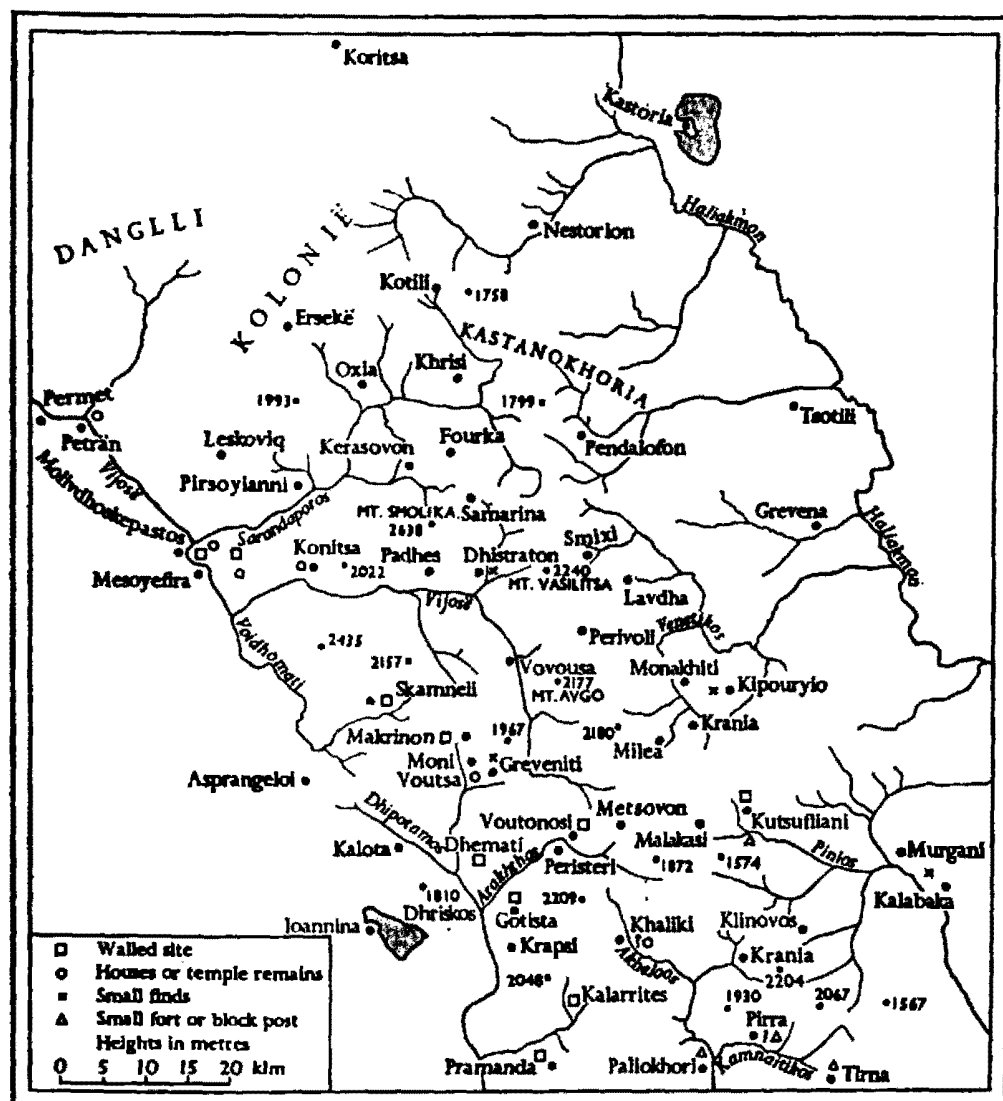
3. ZAGORI AND WEST PINDUS

Zagori is the high basin of flysch between the Mitsikeli range on the west and the main Pindus range on the east.² It is drained by a number of streams. These flow mainly into the Dhipotamos, which joins the Arakhthos at Khani Baldouma, and into the Voïdhomati, which breaks through the mountains to the north-west in a tremendous gorge and joins the Vijosë below Konitsa. The two great rivers which rise in the central knot of Pindus, the Arakhthos and the Vijosë, are cut off from the flysch basin by outlying ridges of the Pindus range. For the purpose of this narrative it is simplest to take the description of Zagori and West Pindus together. There is, however, a considerable difference between the two areas; for while Zagori is inhabited throughout the year, the high villages of West Pindus, like those of the headwaters of the Akheloos, are in general occupied only in the summer by a Vlach population. Zagori is an exceptionally healthy highland area, which is rich in fruit and in pasture but suffers from a dearth of arable land; at the present day it maintains only a small population, and the surplus seeks employment in Ioannina, Athens, and America. Their stone-built and stone-roofed villages are clean and attractive, and the subsidies sent by their surplus population maintain a higher standard of living than obtains, for instance, in the richer plains of the Acheron valley. The capital of the Vlach villages is Metsovon, perched high above the stream of the Arakhthos. Built with large stone houses and squares and washed clean by abundant rainfall, it is a worthy capital of Vlach culture, which has its own distinctive schools, dances, embroideries, and dresses. More typical examples of Vlach villages are

¹ For these bridges see my photographs of Korakou bridge and Tatarna bridge in Hammond *PE* pl. 32. The span of the former is 132 ft. according to Baker in *JRGS* 7 (1837) 89. Kirsten in *P-K* 2. 1. 153 n. 4 suggests that the routes through the Akheloos valley are governed by the need to find suitable places for constructing such bridges. I think he puts the bridge before the horse. These routes were no doubt used before bridges were built, because one can ford the river in summer without much difficulty; there are plenty of places where the river passes between rocks suitable for constructing this type of bridge, and there are bridges, e.g. Yefira Teblos, where there are no through-routes.

² This area is described in *P-K* 2. 1. 76-78.

Vovoussa and Samarina, situated at the headwaters of the Vijosë and its tributaries; they are built mainly of timber, and Vovoussa is proud of its village clock, made of wood. They stand high among the Alpine pastures, on which the wealth of the Vlachs depends.



MAP 12. Zagori, the Middle Vijosë, and the Pindus range.

The best route from Epirus to Thessaly, and also the best route from the west to the east in Greece north of the Gulf of Corinth, follows the north side of the Arakthos valley to Metsovon, climbs the central knot of Pindus and follows the valley of the Pinios to Kalabaka. As I walked more often from east to west, my description starts from Kalabaka, lying at the foot of the towering cliffs and isolated pinnacle-rocks of the Meteora, which guard the entry from the Thessalian plain into

the upper valley of the Pinios. Two hours upstream from Kalabaka the Khani Murgani marks the side-valley of the Murganis stream; from here a winding but easy route leads to Grevena in some twelve hours, and a shorter and equally easy route leads via Ayiofillos to Karperon on the bend of the Haliakmon river. Both routes pass through country which is thickly covered with oak scrub. Between Kalabaka and the Khani Murgani the valley of the Pinios is up to a mile wide and grows excellent vines and fruit-trees, wheat, maize, lucerne, and melons. At about an hour from Kalabaka, and at a place where the railway was being cut, a number of tombs were unearched and Greek coins were found; I saw some of the coins but could not find the spot. Above the Khani Murgani the valley narrows and the path follows the left bank to reach Libohovo, now Nea Kutsuffiani (190 houses), in four and three-quarter hours. There is a site called Elliniko Stathmo on the ridge to the east, just above the motor-road; I judged it to be of the Turkish period, but the villagers say that there were worked blocks on the site which had been removed for building. The site is suitable for a small ancient fortress and it commands the route north-west towards Palaia Kutsuffiani. To the north of Nea Kutsuffiani a high outcrop of rock is called the Rock of the Goat. It has cliffs on all sides and the top is some 100 paces square; it is covered with sherds of a coarse granulated clay, red and grey-brown. The remains of a double wall and of a tower can just be detected, the wall being probably faced on both sides with masonry and filled with rubble; a few large rough-hewn blocks of rectangular shape are on the site. The rock contains a quantity of fossils of marine fauna. To the east of the rock there is a spring. The new motor-road passes on this side of the rock, and pithos-burials and tombs formed with slabs are reported to have been uncovered during the making of the road; I was told that an iron spearhead and an iron razor were found in them. I noticed the slabs of another tomb showing in the bank of the road-cutting. It seems that there was a settlement higher up than the rock which formed the acropolis.

This site occupies a strategic position of importance. It controls the route westwards up the valley towards Epirus, and it also lies at the crossing of a route from the upper Akheloos towards the upper Haliakmon. This latter route is used normally by the shepherds who move their flocks to and from the summer pastures. There are said to be remains of an old bridge over the Pinios where the stream of Libohovo joins it and a fort nearby, called Katatheke, where bronze axes were found. During the war I walked on this route, coming from Pertouli via Klinovos, Kastania, and Ambelokhori to Nea Kutsuffiani and continuing from there to Krania and Monakhiti on the upper Venetikos

river. The pass between Nea Kutsuffiani and the upper Venetikos is an easy one; it is on the watershed between the Pinios and the Haliakmon. The walk from Nea Kutsuffiani to Malakasi (180 houses), the highest village on the Pinios, takes one and a half hours. Below the motor-road and on the top of a long spur running down towards the river, about half an hour out of Nea Kutsuffiani, I visited a site known as Moushitsa. The area is about 400 paces by 100 paces and there are the remains of a wide wall of poorly cut stones. I was unable to define the period when it was occupied, and in all probability it is not an ancient site.

At Malakasi, which is eight and a quarter hours from Kalabaka, there are no reports of any ancient remains. Much timber is sent down from here to Kalabaka; I counted 200 mules, laden with wood, in one day. From the village one drops down, crosses the Pinios, and climbs up a long ridge, which leads to the summit of the pass in two and a half hours. One enters the pine-belt forty minutes above Malakasi and at the higher altitudes passes through fine forests of beech. The head of the pass is 5,090 ft. high according to Clarke's altimeter. While the eastern side of the pass is grassy and thickly wooded, the west face is heavily eroded—a phenomenon which occurs on all the west faces of the Pindus range—and a fine serpentine cliff of green rock fades into scree. On the west side of the pass the view is extensive, showing the mountainous masses of Peristeri and the peaks of central Epirus. The descent is abrupt to the valley below and one climbs up again to Metsovon (which is considerably higher than Malakasi) in one and a half hours.

The first stage of the descent from Metsovon crosses and recrosses the upper Arakhthos valley to reach the Tria Khania in two and a half hours, on the right bank of the river and below the Vlach village of Voutonosi. Whereas the upper Pinios valley is fertile and supports a number of large villages, the upper Arakhthos runs in gorges and its sides grow little but scrub. At Anthokhori, on the south side of the river, vines and wheat are grown; but I found no sign of an ancient site. I visited a site on the west side of Voutonosi on a ridge of which the axis is 310° . The site stands some 350 ft. above the Arakhthos; the top, some 350 paces long by 120 paces wide, consists of fields and a few outcrops of schist sandstone, the sides being very steep except on the east side. Here about 100 ft. below the top a stretch of wall is laid on rock. Four courses are standing to a height of 1.20 m.; the width of the wall is not clear, but it is at least two layers thick. Elsewhere there are indications of a wall-circuit. The blocks are rectangular, long and narrow, for example, $0.80 \times 0.30 \times 0.35$ m. Larger blocks occur, for example, $1.60 \times 1.30 \times 0.35$ m., and rabbeting is

used. On the top and on the slopes there are many sherds of coarse red pottery, and I picked up one piece of black glaze. The path from the village to the river crosses a low neck south of the site. In a field just south-west of the site I copied some inscriptions (no. 43), which were later brought to the Museum at Ioannina; some of them have been published.¹ A find of bronzes was made here. They have been published by N. M. Verdelis.² Voutonosi has a more sheltered position than Metsovon and faces south. It is therefore much warmer and has little snow in winter. It grows a wide variety of fruit.

Continuing from the Tria Khania I passed between the two sites of Dhemati and Gradetsi (see p. 181), and reached the Dhipotamos in four and a quarter hours. From the river it is a quarter of an hour to the Khani Baldouma. During this stretch I followed either the river-bed or the right bank. The villages on the left bank stand back between the spurs of Peristeri; and here I visited Yerakarion, Mikros Peristeri, Paliokhori, and Mega Peristeri, but I did not hear of any ancient remains. These villages depend mainly on their pastures, but the last two grow vines, maize, and some wheat. The most picturesque is Yerakarion, set in a narrow gorge with a towering limestone cliff on its west side. From Khani Baldouma I climbed the steep flysch saddle Dhriskos in one and a half hours, and descended in three hours to Ioannina. The ferry across the lake saves two hours.

This account puts the distance from Kalabaka to Ioannina at some twenty-four hours of walking, or twenty-two hours if one uses the ferry. I did this under good conditions in the summer, when the normal estimate is twenty-six hours. Good conditions, however, are rare, even in summer, when one often meets with heavy rain or mist on the pass. During the winter the route may be impassable for laden pack-animals for some three or four months at a time.³

Zagori is dependent on Ioannina as its centre of trade. The best outlet from the basin is by way of the Dhipotamos valley and over the Dhriskos ridge. The usual route into it passes along the side of the valley formed by the slopes of Mt. Mitsikeli. On leaving the Dhriskos ridge I descended in two hours to Khani Kaber Aga, and from there I took four hours through scrub and occasional vineyards to reach Moni Voutsa. The monastery is a central point in Zagori, at which a number of tracks from the higher villages meet and then descend towards Khani Kaber Aga. On a bearing of 65° from the monastery, there are traces of a rough wall 1.50 m. wide, faced on both sides with large

¹ Ph. M. Petsas in *Eph. Arch.* 1950-1, 44 f.

² *BCH* 73 (1949) 19 f., and Ph. M. Petsas in *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 7 f.

³ See p. 17 n. 2, above for Clarke's experience when crossing the pass in winter, and Leake 4. 258 f.

thin slabs of stone and filled with rubble; the wall enclosed an area some 200 paces long by an average of 60 paces wide, and a stream-bed runs through its centre. On a bearing of 50° from the monastery there are many sherds in a field called Megadhendro, and also a very weathered drum about 0.95 m. in diameter. In this field some inscribed reliefs were found. The monastery stands on a spur, which ends in the point where two streams fork; this point is fortified with a rough wall set in mortar and circular in shape. Continuing upstream from Moni Voutsia I reached Makrinon in two hours, a village of thirty-five families. Half an hour south of the village the church of Ayia Trias stands on a steep-sided hill, of which the flat top is 300 paces long by 30 paces wide. On this top, which is partly defended by cliffs, there are traces of a rough wall of small stones, semicircular in shape and some 2 m. wide, which resembles that on the spur of Moni Voutsia. Some 200 ft. below the top and facing the narrow neck which joins the hill to the main ridge, there is a fragment of wall 1.50 m. wide, which marks the line of an ancient circuit-wall. The wall stands to a height of 1.25 m. in three courses. It is built of large blocks, measuring, for example, $2.50 \times 2.10 \times 0.45$ m., and 1.48 long by 0.45 m. high in the top course; smaller blocks are also used. The stone is a hard sandstone. The style is ashlar, but the vertical joins are irregular. The face of the blocks lying across the thickness of the wall is not at right angles to the outer face. The site, known locally as the Rock of Ares, commands a fine view down the valley of the Dhipotamos. I was told that the neighbouring villages of Kastanon and Elatokhori had no antiquities. A celt from Greveniti was shown to me at Ioannina (see p. 314). From Makrinon I climbed via Elatokhori to the top of the ridge which forms the watershed between Zagori and the headwaters of the Vijosë; this took me two hours, and from there I walked in another two hours to Vovoussa.

The other entry from the plateau of Ioannina into Zagori crosses the Mitsikeli range at Asprangeloi (see p. 185). From this village I crossed the Voïdhomati at Baja (120 houses) and reached Skamneli in four hours. The craggy limestone ridge just west of Skamneli is fortified with a wall 3.30 m. wide (see Plate XVI*b*). The blocks are both large and small, and the style is mainly polygonal; the outer face of a specimen block measures 1.00×0.70 m., and its thickness 0.40 m., while the inner side is rough. The wall is faced on both sides with this masonry and is filled with rubble; there are occasional cross-walls through the thickness of the main wall at intervals of 2.50 m. Rabbeting is employed. The fortifications do not enclose a ridge-top but a sloping piece of ground on the ridge, which is defended on two sides by cliffs. I picked up some fragments of good black-glaze pottery. There are

springs of excellent water in Skamneli, and timber is felled in the forests of fir and pine; the timber of Vovoussa, some six hours distant, is better in quality. Skamneli, which is at the head of a tributary of the Voidhomati river, lies below the peaks of Mt. Gamila (2,483 m.) and is on the borders of Zagori. The shortest route from this western part of Zagori to Ioannina is through Kalota, a village which I have not visited; the villagers of Skamneli reckon to reach Ioannina in eleven hours.

West Pindus comprises the wide area of Alpine pastures on the broad plateau of the central serpentine range and also the high limestone ranges which buttress the central range on the west and form the watershed towards Zagori.¹ The central range is rich in water, which drains into the numerous tributaries of the Vijosë. It has the best summer pastures in North Greece. The highest parts of the range resemble rolling parkland, wide meadows being interspersed with forests of beech, chestnut, oak, and hazel; the contours are gradual and walking is easy as compared, for instance, with the country of the upper Akheloos valley. The Vijosë breaks through the massive limestone range on its west flank at a point between the high summits of Smolikas (2,637 m.) and Gamila (2,483 m.); then flowing through impenetrable gorges it emerges at Konitsa (see Pl. XVIa). It is then joined by the Voidhomati river, which drains west Zagori; it too has broken through the limestone mass of Gamila. The valleys and sides of these limestone ranges are densely forested in fir and pine, and they harbour bears and wolves. The whole of West Pindus is inhabited only in summer. The population is Vlach in speech, and lives either in large villages at wide distances from one another or in hutted camps with raised platforms of leafy branches, under which the sheep find shade in the heat of mid-day. The flocks are guarded against wolves and sheep-lifters by large and ferocious sheep-dogs, which are no respecters of persons.² In the autumn the flocks move down to the lowlands of Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus, and the villages lie deserted in deep drifts of snow.

On the headwaters of the Vijosë, which rises north-west of Metsovon, the largest Vlach village is Vovoussa, set among fine forests of fir and pine. From here a lively trade is plied with Ioannina in hay and in planks which are carried by mules via Dhriskos or Kalota; eighty-eight mules, for example, passed me on a July day during four hours when I was walking from Vovoussa to Makrinon. The pastures above Vovoussa rank among the best of West Pindus; the flocks of sheep winter mainly

¹ Described in P-K 2. 1. 69 f.

² Aristotle *HA* 9. 1. 2 describes the breed of Molossian hounds in similar terms: τὸ δ' ἀκόλουθον τοῖς προβάτοις τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ ἀνδρίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὰ θηρία.

in the area of Preveza. From Vovoussa I crossed over the central range to Milea, which lies on the headwaters of the Venetikos river, a tributary of the Haliakmon. On leaving Vovoussa I ascended the valley of the Vijosë for five hours through continuous forest of fir and pine, and I then reached an open area in the fork between two streams and their confluence with the Vijosë. The area is backed by a hill-side and ends in steep slopes beside the Vijosë. It is covered with dry walls of rough stone, varying in width from 2.20 to 2.70 m. The lines of the walls suggest that they are the remains of a Vlach settlement adapted for defence, unlike those of today. The enclosed area is some 170 paces by 70 paces; a similar and larger area lies close to it. In all probability the ancient remains reported in the Valia Kalda, east of Vovoussa, are of the same type. I walked for one and a half hours from here, and I then passed out of the pine forest and emerged onto the broad plateau of the summit with its wooded hillocks. The head of the pass to Milea is reached in another two hours. Part of the high plateau is called Beratoria, that is Imperatoria, which is more likely to refer to Vlachic history than Roman campaigns.¹ Leake said that 'wrought stones, coins and similar remains of antiquity are found there' and also 'appearances indicative of some process of metallurgy' (no doubt some slag such as I saw at Perivoli).² Here a gendarme post, Straton Khorofilakon on the Staff Map, marks the crossing of the route from Vovoussa to Milea with that leading from Metsovon to Perivoli. One looks from it into Epirus and Macedonia. From the gendarme post it takes one hour to reach Milea, and from there via Krania (300 families) and Kipouryio nine hours to Grevena (600 families), below which the Venetikos enters the Haliakmon. At Kipouryio a small *aryballos* of greenish clay, decorated with black paint, was shown to me; the handle was pierced for a cord. This *aryballos* had been found in a nearby field. From Milea to Krania I passed through pine forest and then moved down into the oak-scrub of the Khasia region, the scrub thinning as I approached Grevena.

The villages lower down the Vijosë than Vovoussa are reached from Konitsa in Epirus. Climbing up from Konitsa I circumvented the Vijosë gorge by crossing the north-west shoulder of the mountain in one and a half hours; I then descended into a long valley, thickly forested with fir and pine, and reached the head of the valley in an hour. From here I descended in another hour to Elevtheron (Gribjan); here there are vines, fruit-trees, maize, and some small oaks. Passing

¹ Leake 1. 399 and 4. 278 is too ready, I think, to see an ancient name here; the Vlachs, whose names for parts of the mountainous area are on modern maps, are not at all interested in preserving any traditions of Greek antiquity.

² Leake 1. 296 f; he describes the approach from Metsovon to the Straton Khorofilakon and the view to Epirus and to Macedonia.

through Palaioselion and Padhes, both high villages of some 140 houses, and then through Armata above the Vijosë valley I reached Dhistraton in five and a half hours from Elevtheron. All the villages in this remote part of the Vijosë valley are Vlach in speech. The people follow their flocks, as they migrate from summer to winter pastures. The only sign of ancient occupation was a rough jug (see Fig. 10j), one of several which were found together with bones, rings, and a spear-head on the ridge east of Dhistraton. This is the largest village (210 houses) in the valley; it trades as easily with Grevena as with Konitsa.

From Dhistraton I crossed the central range to Perivoli, climbing through pine forest and then beech forest to the top of the range in three and a quarter hours, and descending again through beech forest in one hour to Perivoli. One hour due south of the village, in a district called Ta Kalivia, a flat-topped spur of Mt. Avgo overhangs a stream on its east side. The top, measuring some 400 paces by 150 paces, has outcrops of red and black rock, of which detached boulders are very heavy for their size and are covered with a light fawn to brown coating. On the east end of the ridge and just above the stream a space, some 20 paces square, is covered with slag. The villagers had no knowledge of any mining operations there. They told me that similar slag was found at Agia Ora, and that slag and 'silver' were found in the Valia Kalda, three hours south of Perivoli and east of Vovoussa. I thought at the time that the slag was evidence of ancient mining;¹ it was only in 1954 when the Greek Geological Map was published that the presence of copper by Perivoli and by Avdhella was reported. From Perivoli to Avdhella I took one hour. Then I crossed over a high ridge with a serpentine outcrop and in three and a quarter hours through pine forest came to Smixi. From Smixi I climbed in an hour and a half to the pass of Vasilitsa, with beech wood on the left and pine forest on the right, and wound round and down to Samarina in another two hours. Samarina stands at the head of a tributary of the Vijosë. It is the highest of the Vlach villages and maintains 40,000 head of sheep on its excellent summer pastures. Perivoli is equally wealthy in sheep; the inhabitants recall the time under Turkish rule when it had 800 and more houses. Proceeding north-west from Samarina I went to Kerasovon, which stands on a side-stream of the Sarandaporos, a tributary of the Vijosë. Kerasovon speaks Greek and is on the edge of the Vlach-speaking group. Here the wheat was still standing in the fields in mid-July. I walked from Kerasovon via Khani Krionero to Konitsa in seven and a half hours through thick woods along the lower slopes of Mt. Smolikias.

¹ I gave some pieces of slag to O. Davies; he was not sure what metal had been extracted.

This area has few fortified sites. Those at Nea Kutsuffiani, Voutonosi, Dhemati, and Gradetsi are situated on the route from Kalabaka to Ioannina, and they guard the entries into Thessaly and Epirus. The site at Makrinon, near the watershed between the Dhipotamos and the Vijosë, is on the flank of the direct route over Pindus from Epirus to South-west Macedonia. This route from Ioannina via Greveniti and Milea to Grevena is sometimes done in two days. The route via Metsovon takes three days.¹ The site at Skamneli looks more like a refuge than a threat to the entry up the Voïdhomati valley to Zagori. The area is entirely undefended and open towards the plain of Ioannina, and we may conclude that friendship existed between the two areas. Zagori seems to have had its own centre near Moni Voutsa. In West Pindus and on the Thessalian and Macedonian faces of this part of the range we are dealing with country which cannot be inhabited in the winter. The Vlachs have been a powerful people for many centuries, but it is only in the last two centuries that they have built houses there. Before that time, and in many cases even today, they did not build with stone or have need of pottery, except for cooking, but they lived in their booths with wooden platters and skin containers; metal was used mainly for weapons, tools, and trinkets. The small finds at the Vlach villages of Dhistraton, Kipouryio, Greveniti, and Flambourarion and the sites in the upper Akheloos valley are an indication that some people in antiquity lived at as great a height as some of the Vlachs do today in the summer. It is, of course, most likely on other grounds that this was so, because the keeping of sheep on any large scale, such as we know was practised at Apollonia and in the plain of Ioannina, is possible only if the sheep can feed on the summer pastures of the high mountains of the Pindus range and return to the lowlands for the winter. The Athamanes are a case in point. They lived high up in the Akheloos valley in the summer, but neither they nor any flocks they had could have survived in the severe frost and deep snows of the Pindus winter. By a fortunate chance we know that they were a pastoral people; for Heraclides Ponticus mentions that in the territory of the Athamanes the women till the ground and the men herd the flocks, a division of labour which is still the practice in Vlach villages, as Leake (1. 275) noted at Kalarritai.²

Conditions in the highest parts of the Pindus range have probably

¹ For these routes see Hammond *PE* 141 f.

² Kirsten in *P-K* 2. 1. 172 doubts whether herds of sheep were moved from the plains to the mountains in ancient times. He has failed to note two passages: Sophocles, *O.T.* 1193 ff., describes this practice precisely with summer pastures on Mt. Cithaeron and winter pastures respectively in Corinthia and in Bocotia, and Justin 8. 5, drawing probably on Theopompus, employs the simile 'ut pecora pastores nunc in hibernos, nunc in aestivos saltus traiciunt'.

changed very little since neolithic times. The Alpine pastures have not been created by deforestation but are natural to the terrain, which is above the level of the virgin forests. There has been much felling of timber, but this has been at the more accessible levels and not generally in the high zones. Xenophon mentions few places in his *Cynegeticus*, but he names Pindus and two mountains of Macedonia as areas in which 'lions, leopards, lynxes, panthers, bears and other beasts of the kind are captured' (xi. i). Lions, leopards, and panthers have disappeared from Europe, but bears and possibly lynxes are still caught occasionally in the Pindus. I have seen a small bear in South Albania, which had been caught in Pindus and trained. Deer and wild pig are becoming less common, as firearms improve. The number of people who live in the area of Zagori and West Pindus varies with the political conditions and with the facilities for emigration. The figures which Aravantinos gives for populations in the middle of the eighteenth century are not reliable in any absolute sense and are incomplete for many districts; but those which he gives for Zagori (including much of West Pindus) show that it was one of the most heavily populated areas in Epirus, not least because it maintained some freedom from the rule of the Turks.¹

4. THE AREA BETWEEN THE UPPER KALAMAS AND THE MIDDLE VIJOSË

This area contains most of Pogoniani and a part of Zagori, but it has its own unity and strategic value and therefore is treated here as an individual district.² It is a high plateau of limestone formation. It supplies the headwaters of the Drin and of the Kalamas and of some of the tributaries of the Vjosë. It therefore occupies a central position in the hinterland of Epirus (see Map 2). The long range of Nemerçkë and Mitsikeli, which is cut in the north by the Aoi Stena and sinks in the south to the Dhriskos saddle, drops to a slightly lower level in Pogoniani. In consequence the routes from the valleys of the Drin and the Kalamas and from the plateau of Ioannina lead through Pogoniani towards the valley of the middle Vjosë. There Konitsa is a centre from which other routes radiate—namely those to Permet on the Vjosë, towards Leskoviç, Koritsa, and Florina, towards Kastoria up the valley of the Sarandaporos river, towards West Pindus via Dhistraton, and into Zagori via Asprangeloi. Pogoniani resembles the plateau of Ioannina in climate and in terrain. A

¹ Aravantinos 2. 320 f.; used rather uncritically by H. Kiepert in *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde* (Berlin, 1878) with Map 4.

² Described in P-K 2. 1. 91 f. The border between Pogoniani and the district of Konitsa is formed by the Dhema ridge, and Zagori abuts on it to the south-east.

number of small lacustrine basins and strong sources of water provide pockets of fertile alluvial soil, where maize is grown and there is good pasture for cattle, while the lower slopes of the hills support vines and fruit-trees and the higher slopes provide pasture. The central and northern parts of the plateau are clad in oaks and fern. The area is dominated by the high range of Nemerçkë in the north. The outline of the range, as seen from Visani, bears a close resemblance to the profile of a woman lying on her back with her hair streaming behind her. It is very striking and makes a strong imprint on the memory (see Pl. XVa). She is often visible from the mountains round the Ioannina plateau.¹ Greek scholars at Visani claim that the goddess of the mountain in ancient times was Dione.

I entered Pogoniani from the south-east at Asprangeloi (see p. 185), a village of 120 houses, which belongs to Zagori. A peak above the village is fortified with a dry wall of rough stone, 2.60 m. wide, which encloses an area some 150 paces in circumference (the west side being defended by a precipice); the site is medieval and commands a fine view. Following a dry valley between limestone ridges I passed under the two hamlets of Pedhina, of which the higher claims an early Byzantine monastery; good wheat is grown in the valley, and there are a large number of wells. Climbing out over a low pass I descended through some oaks to Artsista (110 houses), which is three and a quarter hours from Asprangeloi; east of the pass the village Elafotopos claims an ancient fort which I did not visit but believed from the description to be medieval, like that at Asprangeloi. Descending from Artsista through Ayios Minas towards the Voïdhomati river I reached in an hour an ancient site which occupies the end of the ridge running down from Megali Ekklesia to the river. The north side of the ridge falls in sheer cliffs to the river far below. It is the long side of an area some 1,100 paces in circumference. The other sides are defended by a wall which has been built with small stones, but which includes large blocks, mainly rectangular in shape, measuring, for example, 1.15 × 0.50 m. This wall follows the line of an ancient circuit-wall, which appears to have been without towers. On the south side, which faces the main ridge, a gateway, 1.65 m. wide, is built in a right-angled recess of the wall and faces east; the ramp leading to the gate and the threshold block are visible. Beside the gate the ancient wall stands in five courses to a height of 2.20 m. Rabbeting is employed.

Within the enclosed area there are foundations of an ancient wall, 90 paces long, which probably retained a terrace, and outside there is a well filled with rubble. Ph. M. Petsas cleared some of the foundations

¹ She is visible from a different angle in Pl. XIVb. A similar range in the eastern Argolid is said to represent Zeus.

inside the circuit and revealed two sides of a building, 15.70 m. and 21.80 m. long, with a single layer of masonry set in regular horizontal courses but with irregular vertical joins.¹ It was evidently a house like those at Ammotopos. He saw a Corinthian coin and a seal of Sigismund III of Poland (c. 1550) from this site. The churches here date from the sixteenth century. The enclosed area and the adjacent slopes are covered with sherds, among which black glaze is common, and also with holly-scrub. The site commands a fine view of the plain below Konitsa and controls the exit of the route from Ioannina. At the head of the ridge, where it joins the mountain-side, there are the foundations of a rectangular building, the sides being 20 paces and 30 paces; the foundation wall stands to a height of 2.30 m. in six courses and is one course thick. The blocks are well cut, e.g. $1.20 \times 0.45 \times 0.60$ m., and the style is ashlar. Inset within these foundations and at an interval of 2.95 m. from the outer wall there are the foundations of a smaller rectangular building. Here three courses are showing, the blocks are, for example, $1.40 \times 0.45 \times 0.50$ m., and the wall is two courses thick. On top of these foundations there are the remains of a Byzantine building, either a church or a large bath or a cistern.

The site at Artsista lies below the motor-road from Ioannina to Konitsa. This road branches off from the main Ioannina-Argyrokastro road at Elaia, and then climbs past the fertile lacustrine basin of Ravenia to the top of the ridge at Dhema (580 m.), where the snow often lies 3 ft. deep in winter; from this ridge it descends towards Konitsa. Another road leaves the main road near Khani Tseravinas and leads up to Visani (310 houses), which stands on the edge of the plateau of Pogoniani. Here I saw the sword and some pottery which I mentioned above (p. 196). One hour north of Visani the village of Lakhanokastron stands near a tributary of the Kalamas. It occupies a central position on the plateau. The wall of the site beside the stream is of Byzantine and medieval workmanship, but it includes ancient blocks. These are *in situ*, and they show that the two later circuits are both built on the line of earlier circuit-walls. The inner circuit is some 550 paces in circumference, with low cliffs facing south-east and with a church on the highest point; on the west side the remains of a tower stand 10 ft. high. An outer wall extends the enclosed area on all sides except on the west, and the total circumference is some 750 paces. At the north-east corner of the circuit-wall an ancient gateway, facing north-east, is defended on either side by a projecting tower. One is square and the other is semicircular (the latter contains ancient blocks, but its

¹ In *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 4 f. with several photographs; there is a similar account by him in *Ch. S.* 81 f. with illustrations.

shape may be later). The gateway is 3.20 m. wide, and the main wall 1.90 m. wide, being faced with masonry on both sides and filled with rubble. The blocks measure, for example, $1.20 \times 0.35 \times 0.65$ m. Towards the south-west end of the circuit-wall there are remains of an arched gateway. I was shown eight coins from this site, all Byzantine and Venetian, and I was told of a deep cave in the vicinity.

Continuing north from Lakhanokastron, I reached in ten minutes the source of the Kalamas, called Kefalovrison, where there are remains of an early monastery with one or more buildings inside its enclosure. In an hour and a quarter I reached Vasilikon (400 houses). After a climb of three-quarters of an hour above Vasilikon I came upon the local kastron, which consists of a circular area 150 paces in diameter; it is surrounded by a collapsed wall, some 2 m. wide, built of small stone without any mortar or any tile fragments. It is not likely to be ancient. The view from the kastron includes the Kalamas valley and the mountains enclosing it, the Mitsikeli range, Smolikas and Gamila above Konitsa, and the long slopes of Grammos above Leskoviq. The hill-sides round Vasilikon grow vines and fruit-trees. I took thirty-five minutes to walk from the village to Dhema on the road for Konitsa.

The next branch road northwards from the Ioannina–Argyrokastron road turns off at the Khani Delvinakiou, which is on the summit of the pass above Lake Tseravina. Delvinakion village, the capital of Pogoniani, stands at the head of a tributary of the Drin. In a fork between two rivulets of this stream and south-west of Delvinakion, the church Ayios Ioannis stands on the peaked end of a narrow ridge. This natural site shows traces of an ancient circuit-wall, enclosing an area some 250 paces wide and less in length. From Delvinakion it is two hours' walk to Visani.

Entering Pogoniani from the north at the confluence of the Vijosë and the Sarandaporos I climbed up in one hour to Molivdhoskepastos, which is famous for its Byzantine churches.¹ I then ascended a deep gorge, which was dry in July, and passed through oakwood to reach the village of Kefalovrison in one hour and forty minutes. This fine Vlach village is inhabited in the summer by some 300 families. It lies on one of the routes used by the Vlach shepherds who pasture their flocks near Filiates and Igoumenitsa in the winter and bring them to the uplands of the Sarandaporos valley for the summer. From here I climbed along a high ridge north-westwards and reached Paliokhori in some two hours. Some ruins here mark the site of a fairly recent Vlach village, which stands at a great height and is uninhabitable in winter. Ali Pasha had a summer residence here and water was brought down

¹ Described by D. Nicol in *BSA* 48 (1953) 141 f.

for him from the mountain in an aqueduct, of which there are remains. To the west of Kefalovrison ancient tombs, formed of stone slabs, were reported at Palaiopirgos (Medrizda), but I did not visit them. From Kefalovrison I walked in an hour to Lakhanokastron.

The ridge between Lakhanokastron and the valley of the Vijosë is known locally as the Dhema. Whereas the high slopes of Mt. Nemerçkë are bare, the Dhema is clad in oak scrub which runs continuously through the valley of the upper Kalamas. It commands a wonderful view down the Kalamas valley to the mountains of Tsamanda and Paramythia; southwards to Mt. Olytsika above Dodona, to Mt. Mitsikeli and the high ends of Mt. Tsoumerka and Mt. Peristeri; eastwards to the continuous masses of the great ranges of Pindus and Grammos; and close at hand on the north the nymph-like silhouette of Mt. Nemerçkë. This wide vista and the central position of the Dhema on the natural routes of the area make this part of Pogoniani a miniature of Epirus or rather of inland mountainous Epirus. In summer it is most beautiful; but in the winter of 1934-5 the snow lay more than a metre deep, cutting all communications for fifteen days, and the wolves came down to the villages, where two of them were killed on the horns of the cattle.

5. THE MIDDLE VALLEY OF THE VIJOSË

When the Vijosë has broken through the limestone ranges of Smolikas and Gamila,¹ it is joined by the Voïdhomati and the Sarandaporos. It then turns north-west and cuts its bed deep in the flank of the Nemerçkë range, until it breaks through to the west at the Aoi Stena between Këlcyre and Tepelenë. The small area in which the Vijosë is joined by the Voïdhomati and the Sarandaporos is controlled by the attractive town of Konitsa (some 800 houses, of which 200 were Albanian or Turkish in 1924), set high among cypresses and plane-trees and backed by the forests and immense cliffs of Mt. Smolikas. Just by Konitsa the Vijosë is spanned by a high-arched Turkish bridge, built at the point where the river issues from its great gorge. Below Konitsa the triangular plain is strewn with boulders, deposited by the floods of early summer. The plain and its foothills produce wheat, maize, fruit, and pasture, but the prosperity of Konitsa derives mainly from its trade in timber and from its bazaars. It is the market town for the villages of West Pindus, and the Vlach shepherds pass through

¹ Clarke walked up the gorge for an hour towards the monastery of Panayia Sto Stomion. He walked between cliffs 2,000 ft. high, even bolder than those of the Acheron gorge, and saw snow-covered peaks above them and on his return Mt. Nemerçkë under snow in late May. The Konitsa end of the gorge is shown in Pl. XVIa.

the small plain of Konitsa on the way from the winter pastures by Filiates and Igoumenitsa to the summer pastures of north-west Pindus, e.g. above Pirsoyianni and Dentsiko.

The small fortress on a high crag above Konitsa is of the period of Justinian or later. Hughes visited it and felt rewarded by the view.¹ On the outskirts of Konitsa and just west of the School of Agriculture some gentle slopes are covered with sherds of rough pottery, fragments of tiles, and large rectangular blocks of limestone and conglomerate, the latter being very well cut; some blocks measured $0.80 \times 0.60 \times 0.65$ m. Clarke was given eight coins, all Roman, from a hoard which was found here, and he saw two fragments of a column, 0.38 m. in diameter. These mark the site of an open settlement and perhaps of a temple; a *heroön* (teke) of the Bektashi sect was here in Turkish times. Further to the west Clarke visited a site called Palia Goritsa. It is situated on some low hills, north of the main road and forty minutes out of Konitsa. On the first hill, which is 400 paces distant from the road, the line of a circuit-wall can be traced and there are a number of blocks, measuring, for example, $0.75 \times 0.50 \times 0.40$ m., both worked and unworked. Immediately on the line of the circuit-wall there is a rock, about 7 m. long by 4.50 m. wide, of which the top is worked to different levels. It contains two coffin-like rectangular chambers parallel to one another; these are well preserved and measure $2.20 \times 0.70 \times 0.55$ m. and $2.15 \times 0.80 \times 0.55$ m., and on the rock surface between them there is a raised rib, 0.15 m. wide, which stands 0.03 m. high above the general level of the rock. The circuit-wall was probably built over one at least of these chambers. At 100 paces to the south-west is another huge rock with signs of levelling and a partially ruined chamber of the same type; it measures $1.80 \times 0.80 \times$ about 0.60 m. He noticed three small mounds also, which may have covered graves or grave-enclosures. These chambers resemble the rock-cut tomb at Spela Placu near Ploçë (p. 227, above). By the top of the site there are traces of ancient buildings, one of which is 3 m. square. To the north of this hill and across a small valley another hill is covered with large blocks; Clarke considered that these marked an ancient wall. In recent times there was a Greek village on this site, from which the inhabitants were expelled during the Turkish régime. I was shown a celt (p. 315, below) and an unusual T-shaped bronze pin (p. 180, below), when I was at Konitsa in 1935.

Descending from Konitsa into the plain, I passed through fields of wheat and maize and through rich pastures, on which some herds of good-sized cattle were grazing, and reached the isolated and wooded hill called Liatovouni in two hours. On the west side of the hill a

¹ Hughes 2. 280; this is the fort to which P-K 2. 1. 76 n. 5 refers.

limestone outcrop is covered with plain red sherds of good quality and with the remains of a small fort, which is traceable through the mounds of debris and appears to have been built of small stones without mortar. It was evidently occupied in antiquity, but the fort is later.

On leaving the small plain below Konitsa, the Vjosë flows through a narrow passage and then joins the Sarandaporos river below Molivdhoskepastos (previously Ostanitsa). Shortly before the confluence of the rivers the main road crosses the Vjosë at Mesoyefira, from which it is one hour to Molivdhoskepastos. Here the river makes a deep loop. Within this loop, on the right bank and just opposite Mesoyefira, an isolated hill with cliffs on the east side and with steep slopes on the west carries the scanty remains of a circuit-wall, 1.50 m. wide. The blocks are of local hard brown sandstone, rectangular and well fitting, and measure, for example, 0.70 × 0.45 × 0.40 m. At the south end of the site three courses are *in situ*. The probable length of the circuit which encloses the hill is some 1,050 paces. To the north of this site and on the right bank of the Vjosë, opposite the monastery of Molivdhoskepastos, a large mound under cultivation has a number of sherds on its slopes. I was unable to determine the date of the site; it is, however, of a type more suitable for occupation in the prehistoric period than in the classical period. The swords of Mycenacan type from Mesoyefira are described below (p. 318). The Sarandaporos, which even in August has a good flow of water, is crossed at Mertzani. Here the rocky banks approach one another and offer a good emplacement for a bridge. On the Albanian side of the river, which forms the border, the main road forks: one branch follows the Vjosë bank towards Permet and Këlcyrë, and the other climbs to Lesković and follows the slopes of Mt. Grammos to Koritsa and Florina.

The area between the two branches of the road is thickly wooded and low-lying. It is sparsely inhabited; it has more in common with the hinterland of Central Albania between the Vjosë and Berat than with the limestone plateaux and valleys of Greek Epirus or the Drin valley. The western side of this area, which is called the Danglli, drains into the Vjosë. The main centre of trade is Permet, where there is a bridge over the Vjosë. The town had about 1,000 houses in 1930, and 300 of these were shops. A crag in the town is said to be an ancient site. I climbed up onto it. There are ruins of some medieval houses and the remains of a church on the top, but the rock is not cut or levelled at all.¹ The fort of Ali Pasha at Permet has no sign of ancient foundations. While Permet is Mohammedan, the villages to the west on the slopes of Mt. Nemerçkë are Christian. I visited Lipa and found

¹ Hughes 2. 275 did not manage to climb the rock, but his friend Mr. Jones succeeded with the help of a ladder and some guides.

that all the inhabitants spoke Albanian as their native tongue. The valley between Permet and Mertzani is narrow and wooded; there is hardly any arable land. I walked to Khani Peträn in one and a half hours from Permet. Here the main tributary from the north-east enters the Vijosë. I found some Hellenistic red sherds behind the gendarmerie post and also on the site of the monastery. In the whole length of the valley from Mertzani to Kelcyrë Clarke did not hear of any ancient walled sites. He walked in three hours and twenty minutes from Kelcyrë to Permet, and in eight hours from Permet to the bridge at Mertzani.¹ In July he noted the 'almost unbearable heat' at Permet, and I noted the cold wind during an August night at Peträn. Clarke had ridden from Berat to Kelcyrë in 11 hours via Khani Bubesit.

On the road leading to Koritsa and Florina, Clarke and I visited Leskoviq on separate occasions, but neither of us heard of any remains except those of a Turkish fort. Long bronze pins, similar to those in the tumuli at Vajzë, have recently been found there. The road northwards from Leskoviq winds round spurs and crosses ravines, and it then enters the small but fertile basin of Ersekë, where cereals are grown and there is good pasture. Here too no ancient remains were reported. I went on to the fertile basin of Koritsa, with its mixed Albanian and Greek population, but I did not explore it. Its high position and its climate make it more akin to Western Macedonia than to Central Albania. D. E. Evangelides did not know of any ancient remains in the area of Leskoviq, Ersekë, and Kolonië, but he reported some Macedonian and Roman sites in the basin of Koritsa and an interesting relief, dedicated by a citizen of 'Kellion' to Artemis, who was accompanied by a dog and a deer, from a site in the upper valley of the Devol.² Some Bronze Age remains have been reported recently from the area of Koritsa.

The route from Konitsa via Koritsa to Macedonia is long and fairly arduous. A shorter route leads from Konitsa to Kastoria through the mountains between Grammos and Pindus; this takes two days in summer or in winter and is usually practicable throughout the winter. Striking northwards from Konitsa I passed through foothills, wooded with oak scrub and a few large oaks, to Khani Koklious in two hours. From the Khani, where vines and fruit-trees flourish, I dropped to the bed of the Sarandaporos and followed the bed or the banks of the river for three hours to a point below Pirsoyianni. Here it was reported that there are ruins of a church or monastery but no ancient remains. Iron slag, similar to that near Perivoli, was reported at Amarandos,

¹ Hughes 2. 274 f. took five hours from Kelcyrë to Permet and seven hours from Permet to Molivdhoskepastos.

² In *BE* 40-41; he emphasizes the affinity of Koritsa with Western Macedonia on p. 22.

but I did not visit the place. Continuing up the streambed I climbed out to the village of Zerma (80 families) after four hours. The southern slopes of the valley support some extensive vineyards and oak scrub between Khani Koklious and Zerma. I climbed up from Zerma on to a ridge which cuts across a loop of the Sarandaporos, and then descended to Khrisi (some 100 families); this took an hour and a half. The ridge constitutes the border between modern Epirus and Macedonia. Both Zerma and Khrisi are occupied throughout the winter, when the snow is often some 3 ft. deep. While the cobbler at Zerma was a native of Filiates in Epirus, the people of Khrisi look to Kastoria as their market town. The wide valley and the hillsides by Khrisi produce wheat and fodder for sheep and pigs, and wheat is grown on the ridge between Zerma and Khrisi. Pigs are kept in large numbers by the villages in this area. The woods are mostly of fir. From Khrisi I crossed the Sarandaporos and climbed up through oak, fir, and finally pine forest to the ridge above Kotili in four hours. The view from here embraces the summit of Smolikas, which is seen through the gap above Zerma, the basin of Kastoria, the Grammos range, and the heights above Florina and Lake Ochrid, and to the east the mountain of Kozani. Descending from the ridge through beech forest I reached a long ridge of schist limestone, which falls gradually north-eastwards to the valley of the Haliakmon. After four and a half hours the ridge changed to reddish soil, and another hour and a half brought me into Kastoria. On the route from the ridge above Kotili there was considerable traffic, mainly in pine lumber, and the track is well worn. The whole journey from Konitsa to Kastoria took me twenty and a half hours in fine July weather in 1935. The remarkable feature of the pass is that the villages on either side are inhabited during the winter and the route is usually open. In this respect it is superior to the Koritsa-Florina pass and to the Metsovon-Malakasi route. When I crossed the watershed between the Sarandaporos and the Haliakmon, I noticed that there is little change in the terrain and that the Kastanokhoria or 'chestnut villages,'¹ of which Pendalofon is the largest, have many features in common with the canton of Zagori.

During the war I spent many months in the Kastanokhoria and in the villages to the east of them as far as Grevena. The impression that I had formed in 1935 was fully confirmed. There is some intermarriage between these Macedonian villages and those in the vicinity of Konitsa and in Zagori, and there are similarities in customs and in dress. The hill villages on both sides of the Pindus range tend to become overpopulated, because the natural resources of their territories are limited.

¹ So-called from the sweet chestnuts which are used for making a stodgy substitute for bread.

Many of their men go as stonemasons to the cities of Greece or settle overseas; they used to go in large numbers to the United States of America at the time when entry was less difficult than it has been in the last decades. K. D. Stergiopoulos has emphasized the close affinities between these areas and he has expressed the opinion that the inhabitants of them belong to the same racial group; and A. Keramopoulos pointed out that the dresses of the village women are the same at Konitsa and at the weekly market of Tsotili.¹

6. THE MORE IMPORTANT ROUTES THROUGH EPIRUS

Now that we have completed the detailed survey of the cantons of Epirus and their ancient remains, it may be difficult to see the wood for the trees. It is advisable, therefore, to describe a number of campaigns which illustrate the course of important routes and lines of communication. The campaign of 1940 forms a good introduction, because it illustrates the importance of the Konitsa plain and the ridge of Pogoniani, which we have just been surveying (see Map 2). In 1940 the Italians had the advantage of holding prepared positions along the frontier which gave them access to the Mertzani crossing over the Sarandaporos river, to the upper Drin valley and to the lower Kalamas valley. Their seizure of the Konitsa plain on their left flank did not give them an entry into Central Epirus, because the gorges of the Vjosë and the Voïdhomati are impassable and the ridge of Pogoniani between Mesoyefira and Kalbaki (Elaia) is a steep barrier. Instead of attacking this ridge in strength, the Italians of the left flank turned eastwards up the Sarandaporos valley, advanced to Samarina and then pushed on along the north side of the Vjosë as far as Vovoussa. Meanwhile the Italians on the right flank pushed ahead in the coastal sector and reached the plain of Margariti. But the Italian centre was held up; for the Greeks concentrated their defence on a line running from the Pogoniani ridge via Kalbaki to the south bank of the upper Kalamas. The Italian forces were now dangerously splayed. The Greek counter-offensive drove the Italian centre back into the upper Drin valley. The Italians of the two flanks were now in vulnerable positions, and they both withdrew under Greek pressure into Albania. The Greek forces were not able to cross the swollen waters of the Vjosë at Mesoyefira. If they had done so, they would have cut off the retreating Italians at Konitsa; in this sector the Italians were fortunate to make good their retreat to Permet.²

¹ Quoted in K. D. Stergiopoulos, *Aphieroma K. Amantos* 295 n. 1.

² A. Papagos, *Ο Πόλεμος τῶν Ἑλλήνων 1940-1941* (Athens, 1945) 217 f.; see also p. 237, above. As the Italian advance and withdrawal are not described in detail by

The vital zone of defence in 1940 was the area between the Pogoniani ridge and the south bank of the upper Kalamas. In 385 B.C. it was part of the territory of the Molossians. The Illyrians, prompted and supported by Dionysius I of Syracuse, invaded North Epirus, ravaged the countryside and fought a major battle against the Molossians, who were heavily defeated. But Sparta sent help, and the combined forces of Sparta and the Molossians 'put an end to the audacity of the barbarians' (D.S. 15. 13. 3). If the Illyrians hoped to pillage Dodona, they failed to reach it.¹ In 360 or 359 B.C. Bardylis, the founder of a powerful Illyrian dynasty, reached the same zone with a large army and then hastened on to plunder the possessions of the Molossians; but in their disarray they were set upon by the Molossians and defeated. For a time the power of Bardylis extended to the borders of Molossis and of Macedonia proper, as we learn from a fragment of Callisthenes, preserved in Tertullian: 'Bardylidem Illyricum a Molossis usque Macedoniam ex somnio dominatum de Callisthene disco.'² In both cases it is likely that this same zone of defence was held successfully by the Molossians.

In other campaigns we hear more of the first line of defence for Epirus, namely the northern end of the Drin valley, which is flanked by the mountainous masses of the Kurvelesh on the west and of Mt. Dhembel on the east. This position has great natural strength. It was reinforced by the founding of a fortified city, called Antigonea. Now that we have surveyed the ancient remains in this area, the only possible identification for Antigonea is the site at Lekel; for the nearest ancient cities otherwise are at Klos, Ploçë, and Saraginishtë.³ The fact that Antigonea was at Lekel establishes two points. It was founded to defend the entry through the Drin valley into Epirus and not the entry through the Vjosë valley into Danglli and so towards Macedonia,

Papagos, I quote from a letter written by A. J. B. Wace to me on 17 Nov. 1940, when he was at Athens. 'The Italians advanced north of Smolika up the Sarandaporos and turned south through Samarina. They went to Briaza (Dhistraton) and Vovoussa, intending to get to Metsovon or the Ioannina-Metsovon road. The Greeks got mountain guns up the Morminde ridge and Gomara and even for a time got a post on Smolika itself and trapped the Italians in the pocket at Briaza. When the Italians found they could not advance along the spine of Pindus and their communications north of Samarina were cut, they broke out over the shoulder of Samarina via Armata, Padhes and Palaioselion to Konitsa.'

¹ Such an intention may lie behind the confused passage in D.S. 15. 13. 1, where Dionysius allied himself with the Illyrians in order to 'attack the regions of Epirus and sack the shrine at Delphi'; there is clearly a confusion here between Delphi and Dodona.

² Front. *Strat.* 2. 5. 19 and *FGrH* 124 F 27, where Balalirem is to be emended to Bardylidem as Westermann suggested; the Arybbas whom Frontinus mentions as being attacked by Bardylis was on the Molossian throne in 360 B.C., the year before Bardylis defeated the Macedonians so decisively.

³ See a good summary of recent views on the position of Antigonea in F. W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon* (Cambridge, 1940) 149 n. 1.

and therefore its founder was Pyrrhus the Molossian and not Antigonus of Macedonia. Secondly 'the narrows by Antigonea' are not the same as 'the narrows of the Aous'. This is made clear by the actions of Philip V in 198 B.C. The Roman army had its base at Apollonia, and a Roman fleet was at Corcyra. Philip, being concerned to prevent the passage of the Roman army through Epirus, sent his light-armed troops ahead 'into Chaonia through Epirus to seize the pass which is at Antigonea' (Livy 32. 5. 9: 'in Chaoniam per Epirum ad occupandas quae ad Antigoneam fauces sunt—Stena vocant Graeci—misit'). His object was to deny this pass to the Roman army, which might well have taken the field first.¹ Philip arrived a few days later with his heavy-armed troops and reconnoitred the whole area. He then decided that the best position for a fortified post was by the river Aous (that is not by the river Drin, where Antigonea lies). He then occupied the Aoi Stena, holding both sides of the valley. The way was now open for those Romans who had crossed from Corcyra to the coast near Buthrotum to come over the Skarficë pass or through the narrows by Antigonea and encamp in the valley of the Aous 'in conspectu hostium' (Livy 32. 10. 1), that is somewhere in the area of Tepelenë.²

The importance of Antigonea for the entry into Epirus is shown by the events of 230 B.C. A force of Illyrians, which had been landed from their fleet on the coast north of Buthrotum, succeeded in capturing Phoenice; and another force under the command of Scerdilaïdas was marching south towards Epirus. The Epirotes divided their forces. One group faced the Illyrians at Phoenice. The other hastened to protect Antigonea, knowing that Scerdilaïdas would come *διὰ τῶν παρ' Ἀντιγόνης στενῶν* (Plb. 2. 5. 6). The Epirote force outside Phoenice was defeated. The force at Antigonea evidently withdrew, because Scerdilaïdas was able to join the Illyrians at Phoenice. Later, when a truce was concluded, Scerdilaïdas returned by the same route (*διὰ τῶν παρὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνης στενῶν* Plb. 2. 6. 7). Another indication of its importance is in 169 B.C. The Romans and their allies had moved south, and all the northern part of Epirus lay open to Macedonian enterprise. Cleuas, a Macedonian officer in Epirus, moved immediately against Antigonea (Livy 43. 23. 3).

¹ Philip had no intention of holding the pass at Antigonea permanently, because his rear would be open to attack by the Roman force operating from Apollonia which was a Roman base. If Philip had indeed placed his army at Tepelenë, where De Sanctis, Tarn, and others supposed, Flamininus could have cut him off from communication with Macedonia through the Aoi Stena, and the Romans at Apollonia could have cut off all supplies from that side and then have taken him in the rear. The matter of supply is a most important consideration. See my forthcoming article in *JRS* 56 (1966).

² As both passes are in the territory of Epirus, they are mentioned in general terms as 'fauces Epiri' in Livy 32. 21. 14 and 20, and 32. 14. 5, as *τὰς ἐν Ἠπείρῳ δυσχωρίας* in Polybius 18. 23. 4 and as *τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἠπείρον στενά* in Polybius 27. 15. 2.

The next gap in the mountains after Antigonea is that formed by the Pogoniani ridge above the Konitsa plain. This is strongly defended by nature first with the Aous river and then with the steep ridge of Pogoniani and the gorge of the Voïdhomati. The approach to it from Macedonia was either by way of Koritsa and Leskoviq or over the mountains from Kastoria. Early in the year 170 B.C., when a Roman consul was on his way through Epirus to Thessaly, Perseus was invited by some Epirotes to enter Epirus from Macedonia and capture him. Haste was essential, but he was held up by the fact that the Molossians had seized the bridge over the Aous and he had to engage them in battle. The quickest and the least difficult route in the early months of the year was over the mountains from Kastoria (see p. 275, above), and Perseus wanted to intercept the consul and his troops in Epirus; therefore it is most likely that Perseus used the direct route from Kastoria and that the bridge over the Aous was at Mesoyefira (Plb. 27. 16. 3).¹

A route on the flank of Epirus followed the line of the Aous. This was used by Philip V, when he had to abandon the Aoi Stena. He and his army set out for Thessaly ('frequenti agmine Thessaliam petunt', Livy 32. 12. 10). On the first day he reached 'castra Pyrrhi; . . . locus est in Triphylia terrae Molottidos'. As he was eager to keep well ahead of the Romans, in case they were in pursuit, he presumably made a forced march from Këlcyre at the end of the Aoi Stena to the plain of Konitsa, which would take some twelve hours.² He was then in Triphylia. On the next day he proceeded into the Lynkes mountains, a huge march—'ingens iter agmini sed metus urgebat', as Livy smugly remarks. Livy describes these mountains—the 'montes Lyncon'—as belonging to Epirus but lying between Macedonia and Thessaly, to which their northern and eastern faces incline, and as clad in thick forests but carrying wide plains and perennial springs on the highest ridges (Livy 32. 13. 3). Philip evidently followed the route which was taken by the retreating Italians in 1940, that is via Eleutheron and Dhistraton to Vovoussa or in his case to Perivoli. The stage from Konitsa to Dhistraton took me nine hours, and the Vlachs reckon the journey from Konitsa to Vovoussa for laden mules at twelve hours and for unladen mules at ten hours. The going is much harder than that

¹ The only alternative might be that he came over Pindus to Vovoussa; but the river is not a serious obstacle there.

² Here he was defended by the Sarandaporos and Aous rivers from any encirclement, and he could choose to go to Kastoria, Vovoussa, or Kalbaki as he wished; any position short of this would have lacked such advantages. So Leake 1. 398 and Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder* 2. 50. f., but G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* (Firenze, 1956) 4. 1. 65, n. 123, favours a position near Permet. A suitable place for his camp would be on Liatovouni, where good pasture is available.

from Këlcyrë to Konitsa; even so the huge march may have carried Philip beyond Vovousa. The mountains into which he proceeded on that day are those of which Vasilitsa is the highest peak (2, 249 m.); they lie on the Epirote side of Pindus and form the watershed.¹ They are the *montes Lyncon*, 'the mountains of lynxes'. Livy's description fits the highest zone of the range and especially the area of the Straton Khorofilakon (see p. 265, above), from which one can descend in a matter of ten hours in each case to Grevena in Macedonia, to Kalabaka via Kutsuffiani in Thessaly and to Baldouma below the plain of Ioannina. It was in this area that Philip camped for several days and pondered whether to proceed to Macedonia or to Thessaly.

The difficulty of crossing this high country in the winter is shown by the daring campaign which Perseus undertook in 169 B.C. during the war with Rome. The position in Epirus was that one of his officers held Phanote and was besieged by Appius Claudius, that the Molossians were divided in their attitude but his supporter Cephalus was in the ascendant, and that a Roman garrison held Ambracia. Perseus intended to march through Epirus to Stratus, a city on the Achelous, which was held by the Aetolians; the latter were on the side of Rome but discontented, and one of their leaders, Archidamus, offered to betray Stratus to him. The pro-Macedonian party in Epirus, that is in Molossia, invited him to undertake the campaign. He set off from the district of Elimea with an army of some 10,000 men, and his chances of success lay in speed of movement, because the Aetolians or the Romans might tighten their grip on Stratus. He therefore chose with characteristic daring the direct route over Pindus, that is from Grevena by Monakhiti and Greveniti to the plain of Ioannina. On the third day he reached Mt. Citius and had difficulty in crossing it because of the depth of the snow (Livy 43. 21. 7). As the snow lies deeper on the west side of the range, he was crossing the watershed between Mt. Avgo (2,177 m.) and Mt. Mavrovouni (2,034 m.), of which the former can be identified with Mt. Citius. That evening it was difficult to find a suitable place for his camp; therefore he was still on high ground. Next day the weather and the going were hardly endurable, but he pressed on with great suffering especially for the pack-animals and reached the temple of Zeus Nikaios, where he pitched camp. His object must have been to enter the plain of Ioannina, where he could obtain some supplies, and he may have pitched camp

¹ Livy 32. 13. 2: 'in montes Lyncon perrexit', probably for *Λυνκῶν ὄρη* in his source, Polybius. Vasilitsa is east of Dhistraton and its ridge extends south-eastwards to between Vovousa and Perivoli. There are two articles on them in *RE* 13. 2 (1927) 2473 by Bürchner and Stählin.

somewhere in the southern part of the plain.¹ Next day, that is the fifth day, he made an 'ingens iter' to the river Arachthus, which he had to cross somewhere north of Ambracia. The river is inaccessible for the greater part of its course along the flank of Mt. Xerovouni, and one cannot march along the mountain itself. Perseus therefore had to march west of Mt. Xerovouni via Pende Pigadhia to Ammotopos. From here he probably turned east through the Kiafa pass and descended to the Arachthus.² But the river was too high to cross. It took him some days to construct a bridge.³

When his army was across the river, he completed a day's march and met Archidamus, an Aetolian leader, who proposed to hand Stratus over to him. The Aetolians in general were hostile. It is probable that Perseus marched well to the east of Ambracia in order to escape the attention of the Roman force there, and also to the east of the main route southwards from Limnaea (Keravassaras), in case he was opposed by Aetolian troops. Therefore his best route was via Skoulikaria and down the valley of the Sindekiniotikos river—the ancient Inachus—until its confluence with the Achelous some miles upstream from Stratus. Livy (43. 22. 1) tells us the point which he reached at the end of the first day; but the text, which is from a single manuscript, is unfortunately corrupt: 'Eo die ad finem agricolis castra posita.' The Teubner text gives 'agri Aetolici'. This reading is not very close to 'agricolis' and fails to account for the final '-s'; it raises also the question whether the territory of Aetolia extended far enough north for Perseus to have reached it in a day's march, a question to which the answer is almost certainly in the negative. I suggest reading 'ad finem Agraïdis' or 'Agraeidis', that is to the frontier of Agraïs or Agraëis,⁴ the territory of the Agraëoi, a people who may have been well disposed to the plans of Archidamus. Perseus then reached the latitude of Khalkopouloi on this first day. He reached the vicinity

¹ Clarke B 24, crossing by the Zygos, found the snow 6 ft. deep on the east side of the pass and 'much deeper' on the west side. Perseus probably started with supplies for several days, as on his previous campaign (Livy 43. 18. 5). Leake 1. 298 f. placed the temple of Zeus Nikaïos on the Dhriskos ridge. This would have been an unnecessarily high and exposed camp, distant from an inhabited centre such as Kastritsa; and the journey from there to the Arachthus would have been excessively great.

² Another point for crossing the river is at Plakas; but the descent would have been impossible for the army, because one has to cross a dangerous sloping face of limestone with foothold for only one or two persons at a time (see p. 153, above). Leake 1. 298 f. did not know the valley of the middle Arachthus and proposed the impossible in suggesting that Perseus 'pursued the course of the river . . . seeking for a passage'.

³ He had presumably brought floats, ropes, saws, etc., and cut timber on the spot. A lacuna in the text deprives us of the chance of knowing how many days it took his engineers to solve the problem.

⁴ Livy 32. 34. 4 uses Agraëi for Polybius 18. 5. 8 Ἀγραιῶν, and I imagine Agraïs or Agraëis would be his form of Ἀγραιῖς which is used by Thucydides 3. 111. 4.

of Stratus next day. He was in fact about half-way at Khalkopouloi; each day's march was well over 40 kilometres, but the Inachus valley affords easy going. He reached the vicinity of Stratus only to learn that the Roman commander Popilius had been admitted into the city with his troops 'on the very night on which he had come'.¹ Livy does not tell us how Popilius achieved this surprise, but we can imagine what happened. Popilius could not leave Ambracia until he was sure that Perseus was not about to attack Ambracia. Perseus therefore had a slight start, but Popilius could embark his troops, sail to Limnaea (Keravassaras) and march through friendly territory to Stratus. Philip V had made this march during one night and a few hours (Plb. 5. 6. 5-6). Perseus evidently arrived near Stratus during the night ('ea ipsa nocte qua venerat'). Popilius had just beaten him by a matter of a few hours, and Perseus, being far inland, had been unaware of Popilius's movements. So ended the last campaign of a Macedonian army outside Macedonia.

The Romans approached the problem of communications in Epirus from a different angle. Their system of supply was usually based upon their control of the sea. They therefore chose Apollonia, Corcyra, and Ambracia as their chief ports, and they preferred to use routes which were no further inland or no more distant from these ports than necessary.² For instance, when Flaminius drove Philip V from the Aoi Stena, he may have pursued him as far as Konitsa with part of his army, but he had no intention of following him into the mountains.³

¹ The text of Livy 43. 22. 2 is again corrupt at this point. The Teubner text supplies *positis* and reads as follows: 'Inde altero die ad Stratum perventum; ubi prope Inachum amnem castris (positis), cum expectaret effusos omnibus portis Aetolos in fidem suam venturos, clausas portas atque ipsa ea nocte qua venerat receptum Romanum praesidium cum C. Popilio legato invenit.' But the confluence of the Inachus with the Achelous is 13 kilometres from Stratus, as the crow flies, and it is not sensible to say that Perseus reached Stratus and camped 13 kilometres before he got there. I propose to supply a different word. I read as follows: 'Inde altero die ad Stratum perventum, ubi prope Inachum amnem alteris castris, cum expectaret etc.' 'From there on the next day he reached Stratus, where he learnt during that second day's march near the river Inachus that the gates of Stratus had been locked and a Roman garrison under the command of Popilius had been admitted that very night of his coming, whereas he was expecting the Aetolians to pour forth from every gate and give their allegiance to him.' For this use and the inverted clause see Livy 38. 13. 2: 'hinc alteris castris ad Harpasum flumen ventum est, quo legati ab Alabandis venerunt etc.' In any case the mention here of the river Inachus supports the suggestion that Perseus marched along that river. Polybius often gives topographical details, such as the confluence of the Petitarus being less than 5 miles from Stratus (Livy 43. 22. 8); but the tendency of Livy to compress the account of Polybius often produces some confusion in his narrative. Woodhouse 79 f. and 176 discusses this campaign from the point of view of Aetolian topography.

² Plut. *Flam.* 5 makes the point admirably that the troops found themselves far from the merchant ships and their monthly issue of grain.

³ Livy 32. 13. 1 seems to me to mean that Flaminius did pursue Philip beyond the Aoi Stena: 'ea nocte in suis castris manserunt. postero die consul per ipsas angustias quas

If he did reach Konitsa, he crossed the Pogoniani ridge to Kalbaki; for he would rejoin there his baggage train, which would have followed the Drin valley, and then enter the plain of Ioannina. Whereas Apollonia and perhaps Corcyra had been his bases of supply for the operations at the Aoi Stena, he now ordered the fleet to proceed to Ambracia, as he intended to campaign in Thessaly (Livy 32. 14. 7). He crossed from Epirus to Thessaly, no doubt using the Zygos pass, and met Amynder, King of Athamania, near Mt. Cercetius (now Mt. Koziakas), that is in the foothills south of the Pinios river and south-west of Aeginium (by Nea Kutsufliani), which was in enemy hands. He did this easily in four days ('progressus modicis itineribus quarto die in monte Cercetio posuit castra', Livy 32. 14. 7). Later he brought his army closer to Gomphi (near Mouzaki),¹ so that he could send cohorts through to collect supplies from Ambracia. 'The road from Gomphi to Ambracia is very short, though difficult and troublesome to traverse' ('est iter a Gomphis Ambraciam sicut impeditum ac difficile, ita spatio perbreui', Livy, 32. 15. 6). It was used by cavalry units (Cic. *ad Brut.* 1. 6. 1).

In the campaign of 171 B.C. the Roman army was based at Nymphaeum (near Selenicë) in the territory of Apollonia. When Perseus invaded Thessaly, the consul Licinius Crassus marched in haste through Epirus, that is through the Drin valley into the plain of Ioannina, and crossed from there to Gomphi with much difficulty. Livy's description shows that he did not use the Zygos pass: 'consul Romanus, per eosdem dies Thessaliam cum exercitu petens, iter expeditum primo per Epirum habuit; deinde, postquam in Athamaniam est transgressus, asperi ac prope invii soli, cum ingenti difficultate parvis itineribus acgre Gomphos pervenit' (Livy 42. 55. 1). He probably used the pass from Melissouryio to Theodhoriana and proceeded by Mesokhora to Mouzaki; for he did not know the position of Perseus and was very afraid of being engaged in the mountain passes (Livy 42. 55. 4: 'postquam Gomphos sine certamine ventum est, praeter gaudium periculosi saltus superati').

The main routes from the coast are not in doubt. One was from Nymphaeum up the Aous valley to Antigonea (see Map 18). Another was from the vicinity of Buthrotum to Goricë in the Drin valley. A third was from the mouth of the Kalamas to the plain of Ioannina.

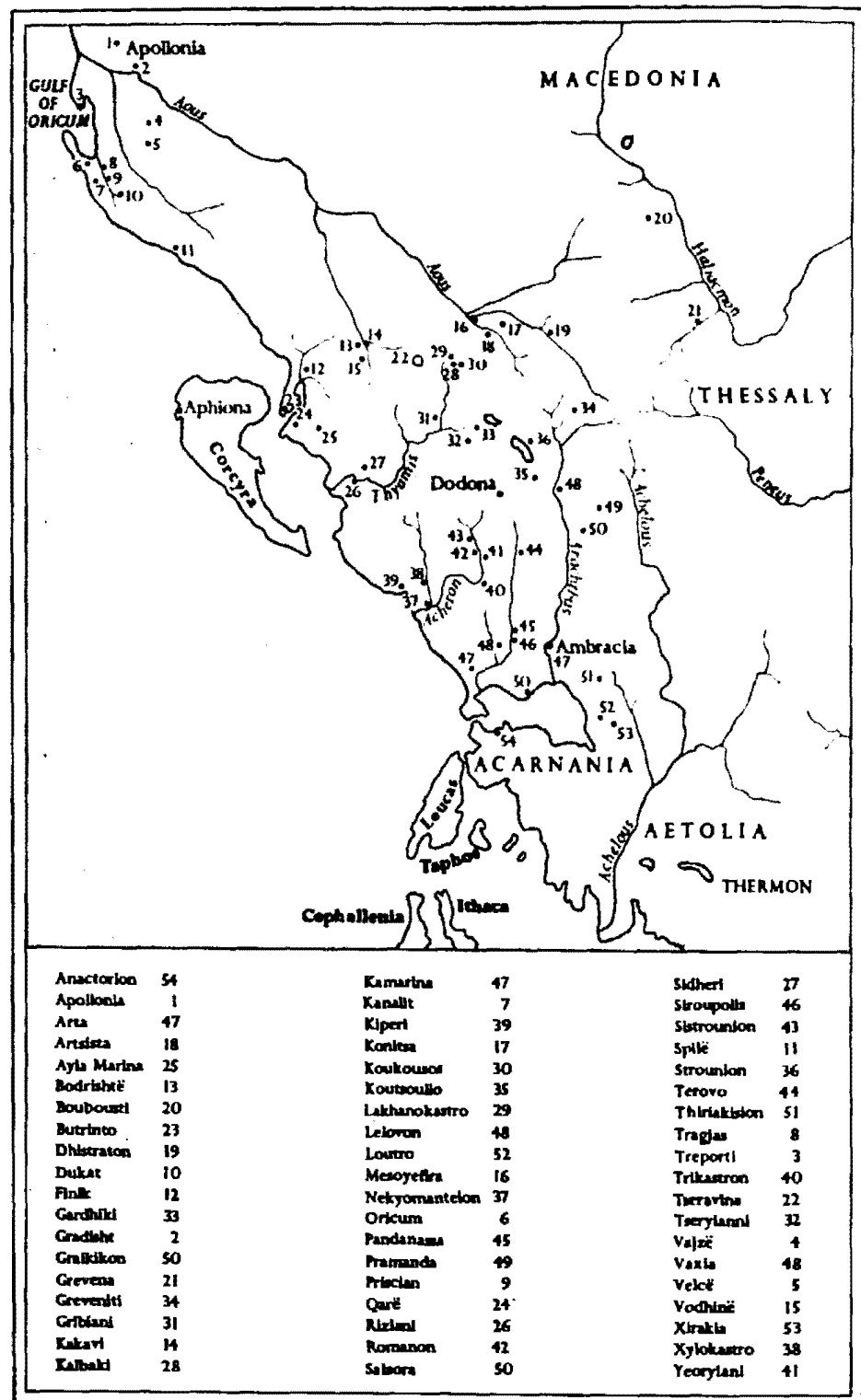
inter valle se flumen insinuat hostem sequitur.' It would be very odd if Flamininus did not follow up his retreating enemy, if only to discover where Philip was going and to demonstrate the Roman victory to the people of the middle Aous valley. For the opposite view see F. W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon*, note on p. 150.

¹ Stählin 123 for Cercetius, 121 for Aeginium (named in *IG* ix. 2. 329) and 125 for Gomphi. Pliny *HN* 4. 8. 30 has the form Cercetii for the peaks from near Gomphi to south of Aeginium.

As Dodona was a centre of importance, the main routes in inland Epirus led to Dodona, sometimes by the Sacred Way. The chief ports of the Gulf of Arta were Rogous and Ambracia, and the routes inland started from them. The route from the Acheron mouth to Dodona was of no possible use for trade; it served as a route for pilgrims who visited the Nekyomanteion on the way to Dodona.

PART TWO

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD



MAP 13. Prehistoric Sites in Epirus

VII

THE PREHISTORIC REMAINS

I. FLINTS AND POTTERY

EPIRUS is one of the growing number of areas in Greece and the Balkans where palaeolithic remains have been found.¹ A large deposit was discovered by the Italian Archaeological Mission at Qarë on the south side of the Butrinto channel in the plain, and a few objects were found in the cave of Ayia Marina by the river Pavla between Murzië and Vagalat. The artefacts at Qarë were found on the surface. They were attributed to the Mousterian class, of which there were more specimens, and to the Upper Palaeolithic class, of which there were scrapers, blades, and flakes of flint and jasper. The cave of Ayia Marina is 6 m. deep, 3.50 m. wide, and 7 m. high inside. When the deposit in the cave was excavated, the lower layer was hard set and so sealed off. It contained two palaeolithic objects, one being of flint and one of jasper, and many fossilized bones, some of which came from a large chamois (*Capra ibex*); it was an animal of this species which Heuzey was invited to hunt on Mt. Kakarditsa. Some flints from Finik may be of palaeolithic workmanship. The west side of Greece, being so much wetter and more heavily forested than the rest of Greece, may have been attractive to the hunters of the palaeolithic period, and the area round Butrinto is still remarkable for a wide variety of game. Some worked flints and one pointed flint of the Mousterian class were found at Gradisht (the ancient Byllis), and some worked flints were noted at Apollonia, both places being in the Aous valley.² Another group of flints was found by the Albanian excavator Frano Prendi in the soil of two tumuli at Vajzë, situated between the Aous valley and the Shushicë valley (see p. 229, above); this group includes some of the Mousterian class, while others are of Neolithic or even Bronze Age date, such as an untanged arrow-head and a narrow two-faced blade.³ The most recent find of Palaeolithic flints was made in 1962 by an expedition from Cambridge, which

¹ These finds are published by D. Mustilli in *Rendiconti Accad. d'Italia, Classe di Scienze Morali e Storiche* 2 (1941) 678 f., figs. 1 and 2. Shorter accounts are in *RdA* 1 (1940) 287 f., *Enciclopedia Italiana* 1938-48, 108 with some of the same objects illustrated as in the fuller publication in *Rendiconti* and *Bulletino di Paletnologia Italiana* n.s. 4 (1954-5) 401 f. See A. Benac, *Studien zur Stein- und Kupferzeit im nordwestlichen Balkan* (Berlin, 1962) pls. 1-3, for similar finds in Bosnia and Montenegro.

² *RdA* 4. 1943. 49.

³ *BUSS* 1957, 2 fig. 17.

discovered several Middle Palaeolithic sites in the Louros valley north of Filippias near Pandanassa; this industry is defined as basically Mousterian in the preliminary report. A small hand-axe was found in the same deposit, 'the most southerly so far found in Europe'.¹

The Italian Mission found a considerable amount of material which it ascribed to the Neolithic period. At the cave of Ayia Marina the lower stratum of the upper part of the deposit contained some fragments of hand-made, hand-polished pottery, yellow-brown in colour and made of rather unpurified clay, and the bones of sheep, pigs, birds, and small mammals. The upper stratum had been much disturbed and contained a piece of iron and recent sherds. A cave at Spilë below Himarë facing the sea was excavated and produced two strata of recent date; then one containing Roman and Hellenistic sherds; then one containing sherds of Corinthian and other potteries and in the lowest level of it some sherds of rough, unpurified clay with a thin slip of clay on the outer surface; and at the bottom some pottery of a 'sub-neolithic type', numerous flakes of flint and jasper and the bones of sheep, pig, goat, and cattle. The area south-east of the Bay of Valona produced a large amount of material. Blades, flakes, and other artefacts of neolithic type were found in the vicinity of Priscian in the district called Ravena, on the slopes of the Acroceraunian mountains facing the Bay, in a stream-bed near Dukat, in the village of Dukat and on a hill above Tragjas. An excavation was carried out in a rock shelter at Kanalit, where a landslide had sealed a deposit. The upper part was of recent times, and below it a clay layer contained a blade of whitish flint, 5 cm. long and 2 cm. wide. Underneath the clay layer there was a layer, some 30 cm. deep, which had signs of hearths, sherds of hand-made, hand-polished pottery and bones of domestic animals; these were attributed to the Sub-Neolithic period.

A wider variety of tools and pottery was found at Velcë in the valley of the Shushicë river. The rich collection of stone tools and weapons consisted of blades, a long thin bodkin with a long hole for the eye, two tanged pieces (one probably an arrow-head), a fragment of an axe, a pierced disk, a pierced amulet, and small rings (Fig. 4). The shape of some of these tools and weapons may show a knowledge of objects in metal. Together with these there were both unpainted and painted classes of pottery, which I am numbering here for convenience of reference. The unpainted class has the following types (see Fig. 5): Velcë 1a, a rough ware of blackish coarse clay, decorated with bands

¹ *Archaeological Reports for 1962-63* 22-23 and *M&M* 63 (1963) 2. Mr. E. S. Higgs, who published the flints, tells me his Palaeolithic material resembles that found by Milojević in the Peneus valley. For a recent survey of Palaeolithic material in Greece see S. S. Weinberg in *CAH*² i. 10 (1965). See also *PPS* 30 (1964) 199 f. which appeared after my text was written.

marked with the impression of finger-tip or nail (the band is just below the rim on the only sherd which is illustrated); Velcë 1b, a ware of black, slightly purified clay of the kind commonly called bucchero or carboniferous, sometimes decorated with incised designs, which include grooves running round the body of the vase under the rim and lower down, a herring-bone pattern below the rim (with a pierced hole for suspension), spiralling grooves, punched holes in parallel lines and two hatched bands meeting at an acute angle; Velcë 1c, a ware of purified clay with a grey biscuit and an outer surface of red colour. The painted pottery is divided by D. Mustilli into three classes also (see Fig. 6). Velcë 2a, a ware of slightly purified clay, not hand-polished, and decorated in brown-maroon paint with rectilinear geometric patterns, which include panels of cross-hatching, close zigzags running parallel to one another, and series of horizontal and vertical lines on the same sherd; Velcë 2b, the same but in black paint, sometimes verging on violet; and Velcë 2c, a ware of purified red clay with hand-polished surface, a thin slip of clay, and decorated with rectilinear patterns in red paint or in black paint. There is one sherd of what we may call Velcë 2d, a polychrome ware decorated with two rows of triangles, each triangle being filled with black paint, and a zigzag band in red paint between the two rows of triangles.¹ Some of the painted pottery with rectilinear patterns was found together with the unpainted pottery. It was not possible to decide whether these classes of pottery were in any chronological sequence.

Flint blades and flint arrow-heads are reported from the Nekymanteion at Likouresi. They were not in a stratified deposit (*Ergon* 1963, 57).

A part of the low-lying plain east of Kastritsa in the plain of Ioannina was excavated by S. I. Dakaris, where a drainage channel revealed the presence of prehistoric pottery. The results were published in 1953 and 1954.² Generally the deposit was shallow and the stratification was confused, but at one place the top soil, 1.25 m. thick, was undisturbed and beneath it lay a deposit, about 1 m. thick, of which the upper half had remains of the classical and Hellenistic periods and the lower half, going down to virgin soil, had some remains of the same periods on top and then pottery of prehistoric type. There were no signs of durable building materials, except some curved tile fragments in the deposit of the classical and Hellenistic periods. We may therefore picture the prehistoric settlement as an open settlement of huts, similar to shepherd encampments today, and set in pastureland.

¹ This sherd is shown in the lower left-hand corner of fig. 5 in *Rendiconti cit.*, reproduced in my Fig. 6, and it is described in *Bulletino cit.* p. 405.

² *PAE* 1951, 173 f. and 1952, 362 f.

The pottery was divided by S. I. Dakaris into four classes, which I shall call K (for Kastritsa) 1-4. All this pottery was handmade. K 1 is named as 'an incised ware'. Very few sherds were found (see Fig. 7). Of the three sherds which are illustrated one is dark-grey corded ware, in which the decoration is made by pressing cord on the damp clay. Another has holes punched in the surface like jaggy pockmarks. The third has rows of gashes with lumpy sides.¹ These sherds of K 1 are not like those of Velcë 1b.² The most common class of pottery was K 2, which is characterized by a liberal use of plastic ornamentation of many kinds. I shall describe this pottery in detail when I come to Dodona.³ But it is clear that K 2 and Velcë 1 are the same type of pottery.⁴ K 3 is a dark-brown or black monochrome ware, hand-polished, better made than K 2 and covered with a slip of purer clay; the biscuit is terracotta-coloured, ashy-grey or black. The walls of the pots are fairly thin and regular, and most of the rims are everted almost at a right angle to the wall. The pots are mostly small spherical cups with ribbon handles and occasionally larger wide-mouthed vessels. One bowl is biconical in shape with triangular lugs. Three varieties of lug occur. This shape and other shapes seem to be inspired by a knowledge of metal work. This class sometimes has the same plastic decoration and technique as the pottery of K 2.⁵

The painted ware at Kastritsa is divided by S. I. Dakaris into two classes. Both are matt-painted (see Fig. 8). K 4a is made of purified and well baked clay, with a reddish biscuit, and the walls are thinner than those of 4b. Some pots are lightly hand-polished. They are mostly small, deep mugs with round bodies, ribbon handles, and slightly everted rims. There are also jugs with cut-away necks and jars with tall cylindrical necks. The most common designs are acute triangles hanging downwards from the shoulder of the pot and filled with paint, zigzagging lines and plait-like bands set horizontally; cross-hatched triangles and lozenges; chess-board designs and S-shapes. One matt-painted fragment is from a high-footed Mycenaean type of goblet with clear traces of a geometric design.⁶ A complete pot from Vodhinë is of K 4a ware (see p. 310, below), and Evangelides found some sherds at Koutsoulia which seem to be of this ware.⁷ K 4b is a coarse ware of unpurified clay, containing pebbles, flakes of tile and carbon,

¹ *PAE* 1951, 177 fig. 2, 1-3.

² Mustilli and Dakaris have not made any reference to one another's discoveries.

³ *PAE* 1951, 177 fig. 2, 4; 178 fig. 3, 1-7.

⁴ *Rendiconti cit.* 682 fig. 4 top left-hand side, reproduced in my Fig. 5.

⁵ *PAE* 1951, 179 fig. 4 (8 and 9 are pierced lugs); 180 fig. 5, 1-9; *PAE* 1952, 369 fig. 6; 370 fig. 7 and 372.

⁶ *PAE* 1951, 181 fig. 6; 182 fig. 7, 3; *PAE* 1952, 373 fig. 10; 374 fig. 11.

⁷ *PAE* 1952, 279; found in 1939 and not published.

with a dark-grey biscuit and on the outside a thin slip of cleaner clay, which is ashy-grey, silvery, reddish-yellow, or terracotta in colour. The slip is not always smooth, and the surface is usually cracked by the heat of the firing. At the neck of the bowls there is a thickening of the wall and the lip usually turns inwards; but examples of flattened out-turned lips are also illustrated. The commonest shapes are wide-mouthed water jars and *pithoi*. The handles are horizontal or vertical, round or ribbon shaped, and some are inside the jar; the handle sometimes projects into the wall of the jar. The designs in a matt paint of reddish-brown or less often brownish-black are in zigzags; groups of parallel lines, set almost at right angles; triangles filled with lines; and parallel perpendicular lines, which are sometimes placed also inside the pot.¹ Semicircular bowls without a foot and with one or two handles set inside and parallel to the wall occur in this class. There is also a ringed handle of a distinctive kind.² While the colours of the paint and the scheme of designs resemble those of K 4a, there are differences in the technique of clay and firing, the form of the jars and the shape and the positioning of the handles which show a new development. S. I. Dakaris believes that this pottery is related to the Lausitz pottery of the burnt layer at Vardaroftsa in Central Macedonia c. 1150 B.C. in the matter of these new developments.³

So far no other site in Epirus has yielded any painted pottery of prehistoric type, apart from Mycenaean pottery which I shall discuss separately. We may therefore pause to consider the affinities of the painted pottery from Velcë and Kastritsa. The pottery from Velcë is radically different from and technically superior to that of Kastritsa, and this may well reflect the difference between a site near the important maritime station of the Bay of Valona and the inland plateau of Ioannina. The closest parallels to the painted pottery of Velcë are at Hagios Nikolaos near Astakos on the coast of Acarnania (Fig. 9). The paint and the designs of Velcë 2 a, b, and c are very similar to those on the Light-Ground Ware at H. Nikolaos, which are strongly geometric with cross-hatchings, rows of triangles, systems of parallel lines, and close zigzags.⁴ The sherd of Velcë 2d with two rows of triangles, filled with black paint and separated from one another by a zigzag band in red paint, is paralleled by one in brown and purple

¹ *PAE* 1951, 180 fig. 5, 10-11; *PAE* 1952, 375 figs. 12 and 13; 376 figs. 14-15; 378 fig. 17.

² *PAE* 1952, 375 fig. 13, 1 and 377 fig. 16 for handles; 375 fig. 12. 2 for the round handle.

³ *PAE* 1952, 378.

⁴ *BSA* 42 (1947) 175 f. and pl. 24, 31; pl. 25, 24; pl. 26, 43; pl. 27, 26 with a hole for suspension. Velcë 2c of red clay polished and with a slip probably corresponds with the Red-Ground Ware of H. Nikolaos on p. 175.

paint at H. Nikolaos.¹ The unpainted pottery of Velcë 1c of unpurified clay with a grey biscuit and an outer surface of red colour has a resemblance to the Black Polished Ware of H. Nikolaos, in which 'the black sometimes shades to a brilliant orange',² and the type of inscribed grooves in Velcë 1b occurs on the Black Polished Ware.³ The rough ware of Velcë 1a with impressions of finger-tip or nail resembles the coarse ware at H. Nikolaos, on which 'finger marking and plastic ornament are common'.⁴ Stone instruments were found also at H. Nikolaos, including a long knife-flint, a scraper, and an axe-head; these were typical of the flint and stone pieces at Velcë.⁵ Although the report of the material from Velcë is only a short preliminary report, the resemblances to H. Nikolaos cover so many points that it seems reasonable to conclude that the cultures of the two sites are closely akin. The wider setting of the site at H. Nikolaos near Astakos is defined by Miss S. Benton. 'Neolithic "grey ware" . . . connects Neolithic Astakos closely with Corinth' and 'the connexions with Corinth are so close that I should like to suggest that a Corinthian contingent joined the East-West trade route.'⁶ The Bay of Valona was undoubtedly a port of call on any such trade route, and we have evidence in the pottery of Velcë that Neolithic traders used the Bay. A continuation of this trade route has been seen in the Neolithic or Sub-Neolithic ware of Molfetta near Bari on the opposite shore of the Adriatic Sea.⁷

The fact that Velcë is some hours inland from the coast is of some significance. We are not dealing with a small trading post on the coast, as at H. Nikolaos, but probably with a settlement of Neolithic people who possessed this culture. One reason for their penetration inland may be the asphalt mine at Selenicë lower down the Shushicë valley; for this material may well have been valuable in Neolithic times, as it was later. Flints were also an article of trade; and it is interesting that Tsountas mentioned Albania and Epirus as the source of the flints which were still being imported by the Thessalians in recent times.⁸ The rich armament of stone weapons and tools which D. Mustilli

¹ Ibid. pl. 24, 50 in brown and purple paint with a design similar to *Rendiconti cit.* 683 fig. 5 in lower left-hand corner.

² Ibid. p. 179.

³ Ibid. p. 182 fig. 13, 73-76.

⁴ Ibid. p. 181.

⁵ Ibid. p. 182 fig. 14 and *Rendiconti cit.* 681 fig. 3.

⁶ *BSA* 42, 170 and 173.

⁷ Mustilli in *Rendiconti cit.* compared the Velcë pottery with the earlier excavation by Miss Benton at Astakos, published in *BSA* 32 (1931-2) 243 f. but not with the much closer parallels from her second excavation. The connexion which he sees with the Neolithic pottery of Thessaly is much looser and is due to the Thessalian ancestry of this type of Neolithic culture. I do not find close connexions with the pottery from Aphiona in Corcyra (in *AM* 59, 182 f.) nor from Leucas (W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* 335 f.). He makes the connexion between Velcë and Molfetta (M. Mayer, *Molphetta und Malera*).

⁸ Quoted by Miss Benton in *BSA* 42, 172.

reports at Velcë may not have been for local use only. There is an interesting analogy for Neolithic occupation in the later Euboean settlements at Oricum and inland at Thronium, of which the latter may be identified with Kanina between Velcë and the sea. Greek legend, as we shall mention later, knew of prehistoric contacts with the Bay of Valona not only at the time of the return from Troy but also in the still earlier times of Medea, the Colchians, and the Phaeacians.

We are left with no parallels at H. Nikolaos for some features of Velcë 1b, the incised ware with spiralling grooves, punched holes in parallel lines and two hatched bands meeting at an acute angle. The closest examples that I have found are from Servia in West Macedonia in the Late Neolithic period.¹ The unusual spiralling groove there is exactly the same except that there are traces at Servia of a white filling, which is lacking at Velcë. In later times the influence of Macedonia was strong at Ploçë, and it may well be that the local population of this area, as distinct from the settlers who came by sea, was derived from West Macedonia.

The matt-painted pottery from Kastritsa has suffered from the dampness of the ground in which it has lain, but the designs and the shapes have been excellently described by S. I. Dakaris. He has established the point that there is 'undoubtedly a direct relationship' between the pottery of K 4a and that of Boubousti.² The similarity is most striking in shapes, namely the deep round-bodied mugs with two vertical handles springing from shoulder to rim (see Fig. 10 *k* and *l*), the jugs with cut-away necks and the jars with tall cylindrical necks; in designs of geometric type over the whole range of triangles, lozenges, parallel lines, wavy lines, zigzags, cross-hatching, chess-board, and even the odd pot-hook spiral; and in the technique of the clay and the paint, such as the absence of a slip.³ The only object which is

¹ *PM* 146 fig. 13 (i) c (spiral), no. 62 (punctured dots), 144 nos. 40 and 41 (hatching lines, but less like Velcë hatching), and *Rendiconti cit.* 682 fig. 4 the lowest three sherds. I have no close parallel for the incision in herring-bone style; the nearest at Servia is on p. 140 figs. 8 b and 9 h. Suspension holes occur there. The pendant at Velcë, 681 fig. 3 lower left side, is exactly like the pendant at Servia in *PM* 139 fig. 7 c of the Early Neolithic period. A report in *Studia Albanica I* (1964) pl. iv 7, 8, 11, shows the same features in pottery, dated by Selim Islami and Hasan Ceka to the Sub-Neolithic period, from Libonik in the Malik area of Koritsa; the report reached me when my text was in the press. The site has a much wider variety of shapes and decorations in the pottery than Velcë has, but these features support my suggestion.

² *PAE* 1952, 378; Evangelides published on p. 279 fig. 1 three sherds of the same matt-painted ware from Koutsoullo.

³ *BSA* 28 (1926-7) 175 fig. 23 b and c, *PM* 227 nos. 461 and 462 for the mugs at Boubousti; *PAE* 1952, 374 fig. 11 at Kastritsa. *BSA* 28. 170 figs. 9-11 and 19 and *PM* 228 no. 465 for jugs with cut-away necks at Boubousti; *PAE* 1951, 182 top of page and an intact jug at Dodona in *Ergon* 1959, 76. *BSA* 28. 169-70 fig. 18 for jars with tall cylindrical necks; *PAE* 1951, 181 fig. 6, 2-3.

included by Dakaris in K 4a but does not occur at Boubousti is a piece of a high-footed Mycenaean type of goblet with a geometric design in matt paint, and this should probably be treated apart from this category.¹ Two incised sherds are illustrated from Boubousti in which the incised pattern on an unpainted pot imitates the normal style of painted design; one of the incised sherds from Kastritsa is similar.² A peculiar feature of the site at Boubousti was the rarity of unpainted pottery and of coarse ware, and we may therefore dissociate K 4a from the coarse pottery at Kastritsa with some confidence. When we turn to consider what features of the Boubousti pottery do not occur at Kastritsa in 4a, the only absentee in shapes of pot is the open bowl (Boubousti Type 2); but there is a bowl of just the right shape at Kastritsa, attributed to 4b, of which some shapes are common to 4a.³ Lugs and a few 'wish-bone' handles occurred on such bowls at Boubousti, but only on them.⁴ The one specimen at Kastritsa has an internal handle. Lugs were found also on some of the high jars with cylindrical neck at Boubousti; none is mentioned by Dakaris at Kastritsa. But these last points are insignificant in relation to the manifold and close resemblances, and we may conclude with confidence that the people of Boubousti and Kastritsa had the same culture.

We cannot tell from the pottery alone whether the settlements were contemporaneous or whether the people of Boubousti moved from there to Kastritsa or vice versa. But there are other indications. It should be noted that Boubousti, which lies just north of Tsotili and west of the Haliacmon, is on the edge of those Kastanokhoria which have had so much in common both in blood and in culture with the villages of Konitsa and Kastoria in recent times;⁵ that the deposit at Boubousti was about a metre deep, including a small amount of fifth-century and Hellenistic pottery; and that the settlement at Boubousti was defined by Heurtley as 'a shepherd encampment' of 'hardly more than four or five huts' (only one piece of stone foundation-wall was found), 'occupied over a fairly long period but not necessarily continuously'.⁶ With this description in mind, we may conclude that Boubousti and Kastritsa were both shepherd encampments, occupied probably contemporaneously by people with the same culture. The geographical gap between them may well be filled by the discovery of similar encampments from Boubousti to Kastritsa along the western slopes of the Pindus range. The pot of Kastritsa 4a ware from Vodhinë

¹ *BSA* 28. 176 fig. 24 and *PAE* 1951, 180-1 and 1952, 374.

² *PAE* 1951, 182 and fig. 7 no. 3 only, and *PAE* 1952, 365 fig. 3 with text on p. 374.

³ *PAE* 1952, 377 fig. 16 and *BSA* 28. 167 type 2 and 172 fig. 20, 2.

⁴ *BSA* 28. 169 type 2 (c).

⁶ *BSA* 28. 165.

⁵ See p. 276, above.

and the report of others from Koritsa (see p. 310, below) help to bridge the gap.

Heurtley was able to date the settlement of the bearers of this culture at Boubousti from 1300 to 900 B.C. by a Mycenaean sherd, a pommel, a pin, a Proto-Geometric and a Geometric sherd.¹ We may say then that this culture came to Kastritsa at any time between 1300 and 900 B.C. As regards the more immediate origin of this culture it is enough in this context to mention Heurtley's belief that it was evolved by groups of nomadic or semi-nomadic shepherds, with a tribal system and common meeting-places in parts of the mountains in summer and of the plains in winter, who came originally from Macedonia but spread over the Pindus area and evolved their style of pottery through contact with the higher civilization of Thessaly. He saw evidence of similar cultures at Lianokladhi near Lamia, at Choirospilia in Leucas, and at Thermum in Aetolia.² The excavation by S. I. Dakaris had added a very important piece to the jigsaw.

Category 4b at Kastritsa has the same repertoire of matt-painted designs as category 4a, but it is differentiated from it by the nature of the clay, the use of a slip and the fact that there are only large *pithoi* and water-jars with these characteristics. The darkish-grey clay is impure and gritty, and it has a thin slip of purer clay which is grey, silvery, buff, or reddish in colour. A very similar hand-made Matt-Painted Ware with similar designs is found at Vardaroftsa in Central Macedonia in the period C 2, both in a coarse and in a fine class. 'The clay is usually grey (sometimes yellow all through), the surface yellow or buff, or almost white, with a slip of the same colour, slightly polished, and shows marks of the smoothing tool.'³ The handles, however, are different at Vardaroftsa and at Kastritsa and only some of the rims at Kastritsa are splayed as they generally are at Vardaroftsa.⁴ The people of Vardaroftsa were pastoral as well as agricultural, and the appearance of a pottery at Kastritsa similar to that at Vardaroftsa is doubtless due to the same factors as the appearance of category 4a at Boubousti and Kastritsa, especially as it is only the coarse ware which occurs at Kastritsa, where life was pastoral. The date which Heurtley gave to period C 2 at Vardaroftsa is from early in L.H. III

¹ Heurtley modified the upper date in *PM* 100, as he was less confident about the one Mycenaean sherd, but he was sure the upper date lay within the Late Bronze Age; since Heurtley's book was published, Petsas has found Mycenaean pottery at Kozani, *Eph. Arch.* 1953-4, 120.

² The pottery at Lianokladhi was dated to the Middle Bronze Age by Wace and Thompson in *PTH*, but this date has been called in question. The Boubousti-Kastritsa pottery is closer in patterns and style to it than to the pottery at Choirospilia and Thermum. Lianokladhi, for example, has the pot-hook spiral (*PTH* 181 and 182 c, g, and h).

³ *PAE* 1952, 374 f., and *BSA* 27 (1925-6) 20.

⁴ *PAE* 1952, 376 and figs. 14 and 15, and *BSA* *ibid.*

down to 1050 B.C., a period split by a burnt layer about 1150 B.C., which was caused by the invasion of people from Central Europe with the so-called Lausitz culture.¹ Dakaris expresses the opinion that category 4b has a relationship with the Lausitz pottery which was found in the burnt layer, but it seems to me that the relationship may be rather with the pottery of the period C 2. There is one handle at Kastritsa and one at Terovo (Fig. 11 b 1) which are probably inspired by Lausitz handles, namely a large-ringed handle and a fluted handle, but these are only a slight indication.² In this case too we are left with a long period, namely L.H. III and on to 1050 B.C., within which the painted pottery of category 4b may have arrived at Kastritsa.

The painted pottery was not the earliest pottery at Kastritsa. In the lowest stratum the pottery was 'exclusively of categories 2 and 3', that is the unpainted pottery with a wide variety of plastic decoration.³ The most abundant of all the pottery at Kastritsa was that of category 2, and it is found on all sites in Epirus which have yielded prehistoric pottery, so far as one can judge;⁴ and on occasions it is the only pottery which is found. As category 3, which is a better ware, is found with category 2 and sometimes uses the same forms of decoration, I am taking them together in the matter of decoration. This pottery was found by me at Koutsoulío near the southern end of the hill of Kastritsa, at Terovo in the upper valley of the Louros river and at some other places, and I published it in *BSA* 32 (1931-2) 131 f. Meanwhile Evangelides was finding the same pottery at Dodona, and he published it in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 192 f. Since then more of this pottery has been collected by me. It has been unearthed in the excavations at Dodona both inside and outside the sacred area,⁵ and a large amount has been found at Kastritsa by S. I. Dakaris, who also assisted in the excavations at Dodona. It is not only as early as any pottery yet found in Central and South Epirus, but it is also the most continuous, since it persists as the normal pottery down to the fifth and fourth centuries. There can be little doubt now that it was brought by the first settlers of Central and South Epirus, and it is therefore important to ascertain the area from which they may have come. Its continuity is indicative rather of a humble standard of life and of cultural isolation than of continuity in the people who used it; for any

¹ *BSA* 27. 63 f.

² *PAE* 1952, 378; for the handle fig. 12, 2 on p. 375; *BSA* 27. 24 fig. 12 a and d. There are also handles inside the rim, as in some baskets, for lifting a heavy weight; these occur only in this class at Kastritsa, and Dakaris quotes the nearest analogy at Lianokladhi (*PAE* 1952, 377).

³ *PAE* 1952, 365.

⁴ The report of the Italian excavations and finds is too brief for one to judge with any confidence.

⁵ Mentioned in *PAE* 1953, 161; 1956, 157; *Ergon* 1957, 92; and *Ergon* 1959, 75 f.

other primitive people who were pastoral might well be content to adopt this style of pottery. The intrusion of the bearers of the two painted potteries which we have been considering did not cause an adoption of their superior style of pottery among the bulk of the inhabitants. Indeed their painted pottery is conspicuously lacking at Dodona. In the following account of the unpainted pottery I begin with Dodona.

The prehistoric stratum at Dodona, resting on virgin soil, covers the greater part of the excavated area and varies in depth from 0.40 to 0.60 m., while the upper strata are Archaic and Hellenic 0.50 m. deep, and Hellenistic and Roman 1.30 m. deep. The prehistoric stratum contains no stone building remains; to judge from the sherds, which are of coarse ware, from the stone tools and from the signs of clay-walled dwellings and a clay hearth,¹ the prehistoric settlement must have been occupied by a primitive shepherd community. As the three strata follow directly one upon another, and as there is no sign of a considerable break in the habitation of the site, it is probable that the prehistoric settlement was, broadly speaking, continuous; in other words, if the settlers were 'squatters',² they squatted consecutively. It is not, however, legitimate to make any inference from the small depth of the deposit as to the temporal duration of the prehistoric settlement; for a poor community of shepherds, living in crude huts and using only coarse pottery, leave the scantiest of remains. The earliest intruders in pottery in the prehistoric stratum are a few fragments of Proto-Corinthian pottery,³ dating at the earliest to the seventh century B.C., and the prehistoric type of sherds continues to be found with classical sherds even of the fourth century B.C.⁴

As there is no stratification within the prehistoric layer, the classification must be made only by shape and by decoration. The pottery is hand-made, unpainted, and unpolished. The clay is generally black, sometimes dark grey or red, and is often heavily granulated with white particles. The ware is coarse and roughly made with the exception of a few smaller pots (Fig. 10a), which may be dedications.⁵ The decoration is plastic. It is applied either on raised bands or directly upon the surface of the pot. The raised bands are indented with round pock-marks, sometimes spaced apart and sometimes linked so as to form the appearance of a chain; or incised with vertical slits; or moulded with the fingertip into a row of semicircular linked impressions or into the semblance of a rope. These raised bands of ornamentation run horizontally either just below the rim or round the shoulder,

¹ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 194; *PAE* 1953, 161 the hearth was under the later 'sacred house'. Earlier reports in *PAE* 1930, 68 and 1931, 85.

² This suggestion was made to me by Miss Benton.

³ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 194 pl. 25 b 5-6.

⁴ *Ergon* 1958, 92 and 94; 1959, 75.

⁵ *Ergon* 1959, 75.

often attaching to the ligature of the handles. At least one sherd shows the use of the raised band both below the lip and on the shoulder; and vertical bands are occasionally added to meet the horizontal bands at right angles, so that the surface of the pot is divided into panels (see Fig. 12).¹ The plastic decoration, which is applied directly to the surface of the pot, takes the form of impressed pock-marks or raised protuberances, the latter either shaped into mammiform warts or round disks (like the head of a rivet) or left as ungainly blobs. Such ornamentation is applied to the rim itself, just below the rim, on the lower half of the vessel, or round the base in one example; and the protuberances are arranged in a horizontal line or parallel lines, or are thrown asymmetrically over the surface of the pot.² Both types of ornamentation, i.e. on raised bands or directly applied, are found together on the same sherd. Some raised bands are plain; both straight and undulating bands occur.³

In respect of shape the rims are generally everted.⁴ The most common type of handle is a large semicircular pierced handle applied horizontally to the shoulder.⁵ The vertical handles are of two types, those rising from the shoulder to the rim and those rising from the shoulder to the hollow of the neck, the former generally shaped like the upper part of the ear and the latter generally semicircular; of those rising to the rim many are wide ribbon-handles.⁶ Among the illustrated fragments of handles there are some ten examples of the wish-bone type.⁷ In addition to the shaped handles there are a number of lugs. These include the tubular horizontal lug, the tubular lug with elongated corners (approximating to the wish-bone type of handle), the scalloped tubular lug, the semicircular and the ear-shaped lug often slightly upturned or hollowed on its under side, and an interesting example of two large lugs joined by an arching handle.⁸ Some of the less coarse sherds carry a moulded semicircular grip, which is intermediate between lug and handle,⁹ and one complete pot has no handles but is bored with two suspension holes below the rim.¹⁰ The

¹ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 7 b and 8 a for raised bands with ornament, and pl. 9 a for the arrangement in panels.

² *Ibid.* pl. 4 a 10 for pockmarking (on a handle); pl. 2 a 3 and 7 b 7 for mammiform protuberances; pl. 6 a 10 for disks; and pl. 8 b 24-25 for blobs.

³ *Ibid.* pl. 6 a 7 and 7 b 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* 202 and figs. 1-3.

⁵ *Ibid.* pl. 2 b 1-4, pl. 3 a, and pl. 4 a 1 and 3.

⁶ *Ibid.* pl. 3 b 12-21; and pl. 4 a 2, 6, and 7 for ribbon handles.

⁷ *Ibid.* pl. 2 b 5-12 and pl. 5 a 13-14. There is no indication of their position on the pots.

⁸ *Ibid.* Tubular pl. 4 b 6-9, cf. p. 202 fig. 1, 9 and fig. 2, 15; elongated pl. 4 b 2; scalloped pl. 4 b 5; semicircular and ear-shaped pl. 4 b 14-15 and pl. 5 a 1 and 5 b 6; two lugs linked by a handle pl. 5 b 2.

⁹ *Ibid.* pl. 6 a 1-6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pl. 2 a 2.

bases are generally set flat to the walls of the pot (as in Fig. 13 *a* 11 and *b* 14) or thickened to form a long and almost upright foot (as in Fig. 13 *a* 6 and *b* 1); examples also occur of rounded and pointed bases.¹ Apart from some diminutive vessels, only three complete pots were found; these three do not appear to be typical when compared with the numerous fragments.² Finally, pot-lids, both perforated and unperforated, occur; some of these culminate in a button-shaped knob.³

The whorls are of four types. (1) The most common is small, circular, oval, or pear-shaped, with the hole pierced through the heavy end in the last shape. (2) The biconical, the upper part of one cone being flattened and pierced; the majority of examples are impressed with a cross spreading from the top of the cone. (3) A large single cone, pierced vertically from top to base. (4) The biconical type but pierced vertically from top to foot.⁴ There are also three examples of clay reels with splayed ends.

The pottery from Dodona is similar to that already published from Koutsoulio and from Terovo, which lies some 10 miles south of Dodona on the route to the Ambraciote Gulf (see Map 13).⁵ Since then I have obtained further sherds from these sites.

The pottery at Koutsoulio is unpainted, hand-made, and unpolished. The clay varies from reddish-brown to deep black, and it is sometimes heavily granulated with white particles. Plastic ornamentation, generally applied below the rim or on the shoulder but sometimes covering the walls of the pots, includes raised bands, which carry vertical incisions or impressed pock-marks (Fig. 15, 3), mammiform protuberances (Fig. 14 *a* 3 f.), rough blobs, or pock-marks. The rims are everted or upright (Fig. 13 *a* 5, 7, 8, 9). Bases are either of the simple variety, set flat to the walls of the pot (Fig. 13 *a* 10, 11), or prolonged into an almost upright foot (Fig. 13 *a* 6). Handles include the vertical handle from shoulder to rim, usually of the wide ribbon type, or from shoulder to neck (Fig. 13 *a* 1, 2 and 4), and the tall handle set on the rim; the lug handle also occurs.⁶ The majority of the sherds come from coarse pots; a few, which are less thick and are smoothly finished, belong to a better ware.

The pottery at Terovo is unpainted, hand-made and unpolished, of a clay varying from red to black and sometimes granulated with white

¹ Ibid. pl. 7 *a* 1-11; rounded pl. 9 *b* 3; pointed pl. 2 *a* 3.

² Ibid. pl. 2 *a* 1-3, 3 *b* 10-11, 9 *b* 11 and 16.

³ Ibid. pl. 3 *b* 22, 6 *b* 13, and 9 *b* 13 and 22.

⁴ Ibid. p. 206: (1) = pl. 3 *b*; (2) = pl. 9 *b* 23 and 25; (4) = pl. 9 *b* 27 and 28.

⁵ BSA 32. 133-4.

⁶ Ibid. figs. 2, 3, and 6 where sherds from this site are illustrated. Of these sherds some are in the Ioannina Museum and others are in the Museum of the British School at Athens.

particles. Plastic ornamentation (Figs. 15 and 16) includes pock-marking both on and under the rim (Fig. 15 *b* 16), blobs, impressed pock-marks on a raised band, circular hollows, band with finger-tip impressions (beside the handle Fig. 11 *b* 4), and mammiform knobs on the rim.¹ Of the rims most are everted, some are upright (Fig. 13 *b* 17–19; cf. *BSA* 32 137 *b* 1, 6, 7, 8). A heavy base of the prolonged type (Fig. 11 *b* 1 and 13 *b* 1) and examples of the simple type (Fig. 13 *b* 3, 7, 8, 11, 14) come from this site. Of the handles the majority are vertical ribbon handles (Figs. 15 *b* 13 and 13 *b* 13; cf. *BSA* 32 figs. 4 and 6 *c* 2), or vertical rounded handles, of which one fits through the wall of the pot (Figs. 11 and 13 *b* 6) and another is moulded in imitation of a rope (Fig. 11). Horizontal semicircular handles include some of small size, more or less flattened, and two very large handles, 20 cm. wide, which belong to heavy water-jars (Figs. 11 and 13 *b* 2), the latter being set below the rim; there are also small and large lugs (Figs. 16 and 11), and one fragment of a tall handle set on the rim (Figs. 15 and 13 *b* 15).²

Three types of whorl were found at this site (Figs. 11 and 13 *b* 9, 10, and 20). There are two varieties of the single cone with vertical piercing and one pyramidal whorl with horizontal piercing near the tip.³

The pottery at Kastritsa of categories 2 and 3 is of the same kind as the pottery which we have described from Dodona, Koutsoulío, and Terovo. Sherds of better quality resemble the better variety at Koutsoulío. It is enough to mention the sherds which have been illustrated by S. I. Dakaris. They include the use of vertical incisions (*PAE* 1951, 177 f.), plastic chain, pock-marking, and blobs. The rims are generally everted (*ibid.* 178–9). There are ribbon handles and close-set round handles rather upturned (*ibid.*). Similar pottery with plastic chain ornament and blobs was found by S. I. Dakaris outside the acropolis at Gardhiki, and in association with prehistoric tombs at Kalbaki. He has reported its presence also at Xylokastro and probably at Kiperi, both near the mouth of the Acheron river,⁴ and at Romanon and Sistrunion in Lakkasouli.⁵

This pottery is widespread throughout Epirus. At Visani, near the source of the Kalamas river, I saw in the library of the village school three fragments of coarse handles of hand-made pottery; two were

¹ The last is illustrated in *BSA* 32. 135 figs. 4 *c* 1 and 6.

² Of the sherds from this site some are at the British School Museum and others I asked at the time to be taken to the Ioannina museum.

³ At Koutsoulío the greatest depth of deposit, which varies with the fissures of the limestone rock, was 1 m.; Hellenistic sherds occurred only near the surface. At Terovo the deposit is too scanty for any stratification to appear; Hellenistic tombs are found in the adjoining field and some of the sherds described above come from that field.

⁴ In *Ch. S.* 52; in *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 130; *Ergon* 1959, 96 and 1960, 110.

⁵ *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 200 and 201.

small flattened horizontal roll handles and one was a large horizontal handle (Figs. 13 c 1-3 and Pl. XX1c). The clay was black. They were found at the same place as the bronze sword from Tseravina (sword c, p. 319, below). At Velcë near the Gulf of Valona the category 1a, a rough ware of blackish coarse clay, is decorated with bands which are marked with finger impressions, and the sherd which is illustrated as an example belongs exactly to the pottery we are now describing.¹ Some of the pottery found at Kanalit and Spilë by the Italian Mission may be of the better class of this kind. I found sherds of this pottery at Gourana, now Trikastron; on the saddle of Mt. Zalongo on the site of a temple near the monastery; and at Xirakia an hour inland from Loutro.² A perforated pot-lid with a button-shaped knob comes from Vaxia. I was told that sherds of this kind had been found at Sikies near Arta, but I did not find any myself. At Thiriakision in the Valtos, some three hours inland from the shore of the Gulf of Arta, I found some coarse hand-made pottery of local red clay, which was decorated with plastic ornament on raised bands. The rims were upright or slightly inverted. There were examples of the semicircular lug handle, a lug with elongated ends, and a lug with a thumb-grip on the under side. There were some small pieces of iron slag at this spot.³ The only other places in Epirus where I found pottery which seemed to be prehistoric were Dhistraton, a Vlach village in West Pindus, and Riziani on the lower Kalamas. The villagers of Dhistraton had found some pottery on the most easterly ridge of the village and I was shown a small jug, which is hand-made in local brown clay, uniformly fired and unpolished. It has a small circular handle, slightly turned up above the horizontal, and a large handle, now lost, which was perhaps horizontal. The shape and the suspension holes suggest that it probably is of a prehistoric type (Fig. 10j). The site near Riziani is below the village on a low mound, on the north side of the road beside a small bridge. Here I found a sherd with a chocolate-coloured slip on a buff biscuit, which was a fragment of an inverted rim and had a mammi-form knob on the rim itself, and also a rippled rim fragment similar to Minyan ware. Evangelides found hand-made prehistoric pottery on the hill of Filiates, but he did not give any description of it.⁴ Although it is outside my area, I should add that at Anactorium I found sherds of the same type as at Dodona. It was on the cliffside of the south-west promontory. The earliest classical pottery which I found there was of the late eighth or early seventh century.⁵

¹ *Rendiconti cit.* 682 fig. 4 in top left corner, my Fig. 5.

² Published in *BSA* 32. 135-6; the sherds are in the Museum of the British School at Athens.

³ For its position see p. 243, above.

⁴ In *BE* 24.

⁵ These were dated by H. G. G. Payne, who asked me to visit the site; see now S. I. Dakaris in *Eph. Arch.* 1953-4, 3. 77 f.

When I published the pottery from Koutsoulío, Terovo, and Xirakia in *BSA* 32 (1931-2), I suggested that the affinities of this culture were to be found mainly in Macedonia. That was before the discovery of the two categories of painted pottery, which have their source of origin, as we have seen, in Macedonia. The large amount of unpainted pottery which has accumulated since my article in *BSA* has strengthened my belief, and I now set out the reasons for this belief and attempt to date the first arrival of this pottery in Epirus.

One characteristic feature of Macedonian culture in the Bronze Age is the wish-bone handle, as Heurtley called it. He saw the prototype of this handle in a rounded handle with the rim of the handle protracted to a point and set almost upright on the rim or the shoulder. He described the developed wish-bone handle as 'a tall raking handle of roughly triangular shape but often with the end squared, set almost upright on the rim or the shoulder'.¹ Evangelides began his section on handles at Dodona in *Ep. Chr.* 1935 with the statement that 'the most frequent handles in the prehistoric pottery at Dodona are those . . . which correspond with the wish-bone handle as it is called by the English', and he referred to Heurtley's report on the excavations at Boubousti, from which my quotation about the handle comes.² In his remarks and in his illustrations Evangelides includes some handles which are hardly at the prototype stage; but he does include a number of prototypes and ten examples of the fully developed wish-bone handle in his illustrations, which are only representative of the total amount of material. These add substance to his opening statement.³ The origin and the development of the wish-bone handle in Greek lands are in Central Macedonia. It first makes an appearance at Vardaroftsa in the middle of period A (c. 3000-2000 B.C.), continues throughout periods B (c. 2000-1700 B.C.) and C (c. 1700-1050 B.C.), in which latter period it is most common, and then survives commonly in period D (c. 1050-350 B.C.). The diaspora of the handle from Central Macedonia has been traced as follows:⁴ to Thessaly in the Early Bronze Age, to Lianokladhi in the Middle Bronze Age, to Thermum in Aetolia c. 1600-1400 B.C., perhaps to Pelikata in Ithaca in the Middle Bronze Age⁵ and to Choirospilia in Leucas at an unknown date. Except in the case of Thessaly the appearance of the wish-bone handle falls within the Macedonian period C, when the handle was most common

¹ *BSA* 28. 180 f.

² 198 f. and the plates to which he refers; also *PAE* 1930, 68.

³ Cf. Heurtley in *PM* 111 n. 1: 'these finds at Dodona establish the connexion between Macedonia and Epirus, especially the wish-bone handles'.

⁴ *BSA* 28. 180 f.; cf. *PM* 130 f. I have omitted Orchomenus, as the context of the three wish-bone handles is uncertain (cf. *PM* 130 n. 1).

⁵ Two examples of the wish-bone handle in coarse ware (*BSA* 35. 22 n. 1 and *PM* 131).

there. It is a reasonable conjecture, then, that the wish-bone handle reached Epirus in the same period, that is after 1700 B.C.¹

When we consider the coarse unpainted ware which is used in Macedonia throughout the Bronze Age and is conservative in its shape, it offers very close parallels to the Epirote pottery. Of the handle types the upright rim-handle, of which I found fragmentary examples at Visani, Koutsoulío, Terovo, Trikastron, and Xirakia and of which one example is illustrated from Dodona,² occurs at Vardaroftsa in period A and is common through all periods.³ Of the vertical handles the rounded type, whether set from shoulder to rim or from shoulder to neck, occurs frequently in all periods in Macedonia;⁴ the flattened ribbon-handle, when set from shoulder to rim and rising above the rim, is paralleled at Vardaroftsa,⁵ and when set from shoulder to neck, at Hagios Mamas;⁶ in each case the type occurs in period A and continues to occur in subsequent periods. The large horizontal handles, of pierced semi-circular shape and set just below the rim, are found on water-pots in Chalcidice, a type which persists through all periods.⁷ The popularity of the lug handle and the number of forms which it takes in Epirus is also an outstanding characteristic of the Macedonian Bronze Age; for, with the exception of the handle joining two parallel lugs (from Dodona), all types—semicircular, tubular, with elongated tips, upstanding, horizontal and scalloped—are found in central Macedonia.⁸ Suspension holes, bored beneath the rim, are again found sporadically in Macedonia;⁹ and an example of the handle which is set inside the wall of the pot is found at Boubousti in South-west Macedonia, a site dated 1300–900 B.C..¹⁰ The flat base is common

¹ Evangelides in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 210 put the appearance of the wish-bone handle in Epirus in period I, that is in the third millennium, but this was partly because he included some handles as prototypes, which are not in fact at the prototype stage.

² *Evang. ibid.* pl. 9 b 9; an example from Koutsoulío *BSA* 32 p. 133 figs. 2 and 6 b 9, cf. d 1 and e 1; and here Fig. 13 b 15 and c 1.

³ *BSA* 27 p. 15 and pl. iii b 12–17; for the examples in Epirus cf. *BSA* 32 p. 133 fig. 2 b 9 and fig. 6 b 9 d 1 and e 1, and here, Fig. 13 b 15 and c 1. The upright stance of this handle upon the rim is closely akin to that of the wish-bone handle.

⁴ Cf. *Evang. loc. cit.* pl. 3 b 12–20 and esp. 18 (Dodona) with *BSA* 29 p. 167 fig. 44, 1–4 (Molyvopyrgo period B) and p. 136 fig. 15, 2 (Hagios Mamas period A).

⁵ Here, Fig. 13 a 1 (Koutsoulío), and *Evang. loc. cit.* pl. 2 a 6; *BSA* 27 pl. iv, 12 (Vardaroftsa).

⁶ Fig. 14 and 13 a 4 (Koutsoulío), *BSA* 32 p. 135 fig. 4 c 2, cf. fig. 13 c 2 (Terovo), *Evang. loc. cit.* pl. 4 a 2, 6, 7, and 15 (Dodona); cf. *BSA* 29, p. 136 fig. 15, 1 and 3 (Hagios Mamas period A).

⁷ Here, Figs. 11 and 13, b 2 (Terovo); *BSA* 29 p. 165 fig. 40, 7 (Molyvopyrgo period B).

⁸ Examples of such lugs are abundant in the reports of excavations at Vardaroftsa and in Chalcidice (*BSA* 27 and 29).

⁹ Here, Fig. 10 j (Dhistraton) and *Evang. loc. cit.* pl. 2 a 2 (Dodona); cf. *BSA* 29, p. 137 fig. 16, 3 (Hagios Mamas period B).

¹⁰ Here, Fig. 13 b 6 (Terovo); *BSA* 28, p. 180 fig. 27, 12. Dakaris *PAE* 1952, 375 fig. 13, 3 shows such a handle in the painted ware 4 b.

everywhere; the base which is thickened to form a long and almost upright foot (Fig. 13 *a* 6 and *b* 1) occurs in Macedonia as the base of a cooking-pot, which persists from the neolithic into later periods.¹

The extensive use of plastic ornamentation, the position of the ornament on the pot, and the forms of ornamentation are all found in the coarse domestic ware of the Macedonian Bronze Age,² the only exception being the use of blobs or warts which is a cruder form of the mammiform decoration. Although plastic decoration is by no means limited to North Greece in the Bronze Age, the closest parallel for the popularity and for the types of this ornamentation is to be found in Macedonia. The evidence at Vardaroftsa and Hagios Mamas shows that such plastic ornamentation of coarse ware was most frequent in period C, the period in which we have seen reason to derive the wish-bone handle from Macedonia. In particular the use of impressed strips running at right angles to one another makes its first appearance at Vardaroftsa in the middle of period C, i.e. about 1400 B.C.³

From the excavations at Dodona and Kastritsa a few whole pots have come to light. They are so few in number that they supply less valid evidence than the numerous fragments, from which predominant characteristics can be deduced. Two miniature pots from Dodona are certainly of a Macedonian type: a tall pot with four plastic lugs is exactly similar, save in size, to a coarse cooking-pot from Hagios Mamas (period A but also in later periods), while a miniature pot of the same type comes from Vardaroftsa (period A);⁴ the second miniature pot (Fig. 10*a*) is a small cup with loop handle, which is closely paralleled by two examples from Hagios Mamas (period A but recurring in period C).⁵ There are also three examples from Dodona of a small open cup with flattened rim, on which are placed two small handles (whether upright or horizontal, is not clear from the illustrations); a close parallel to these is found in Central Macedonia about 1150 B.C.,⁶ the handles there being horizontal. Three larger pots from Dodona include a pot with four irregularly spaced knobs on the shoulder and a sharply ovoid base (Fig. 10*b*); the same ornament is

¹ *BSA* 29, p. 129 fig. 9 (Hagios Mamas).

² Cf. *BCH* 41-43 pl. x and pl. xii (Gona and Dourmouchlon); *BSA* 27 pl. x a (Vardaroftsa) and 29 fig. 13 (Hagios Mamas). The similarity extends to such details as the placing of pock-marks on a handle (Evang. *Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 4 a 10, cf. *BSA* 29 p. 133 fig. 12, 9) and plastic rivet-heads on the point of juncture between handle and rim (Evang. loc. cit. pl. 3 b 12; cf. *BSA* 29 p. 164 fig. 39, 4).

³ Evang. loc. cit. pl. 9 a (Dodona): *BSA* 27 pl. x a 7 and p. 24 (Vardaroftsa).

⁴ Evang. loc. cit. pl. 3 b 10 (Dodona): *BSA* 29 p. 136 fig. 15, 4 and fig. 17 d (Hagios Mamas), and 27 pl. iv 15 and p. 17 (Vardaroftsa).

⁵ Evang. loc. cit. pl. 3 b 11: *BSA* 29 p. 130 fig. 10, 2 and 3 (Hagios Mamas). Evang. reports more small bowls from Dodona in *Ergon* 1959, 75.

⁶ Evang. *Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 9 b 15-17; *BSA* 28 pls. xiv, viii 3.

found at Hagios Mamas (period A but in later periods also) in a pot of the same shape apart from the pointed foot, which, however, occurs in the same period at Hagios Mamas.¹ Of the other two larger pots (Fig. 10 *c* and *d*) the open pot with two handles is akin to one from Vardaroftsa (period B), though the latter as restored is without handles;² and the tall long-necked pot is unparalleled. The jug with cut-away neck from Dodona is a common Macedonian form, for instance at Boubousti.³

The miscellaneous objects in pottery also find close parallels in Macedonia. From Dodona come pot-lids, both perforated and unperforated, the latter often mounting into a button-shaped knob; at Vardaroftsa the perforated lid is found in all periods, being most frequent in periods C and D, the unperforated in periods A to C, and the unperforated culminating in a raised knob in period C only.⁴ Of the whorl-types from Dodona the pear-shaped variety is without parallel; of the others the two varieties of biconical whorl are typical of periods C and D at Vardaroftsa. The two conoid varieties from Terovo are found at Vardaroftsa in periods A and B, and the pyramidal in period D.⁵ The reels with splayed ends from Dodona occur also at Vardaroftsa mainly in period D.⁶

The cumulative effect of this comparison between the Macedonian and Epirote potteries suggests that they are very closely related. Further, the fact that the analogies occur mainly in period C indicates that the Macedonian influence probably began in Epirus about the time when the wish-bone handle was derived from Macedonia, i.e. about 1700 B.C. The same relationship seems to have continued throughout period C, and perhaps in period D (from about 1050 B.C. until the appearance of Greek pottery). The Epirote pottery shows only a little originality; namely in the lavish use or over-use of plastic decoration, the addition of many blobs or warts as decoration, the double lug bridged with an arching handle, the semicircular moulded grip, and a pot-lid shaped as an inverted cone with an internal handle⁷—these are, so far as I have been able to discover, not paralleled in Macedonia. The conclusion, then, may be drawn that from c. 1700 B.C. Epirus was inhabited by a shepherd people, whose culture was derived from Macedonia.

¹ Evang. loc. cit. pl. 2 a 3: *BSA* 29 pp. 136–7 fig. 16, 1 and fig. 15, 2.

² Evang. loc. cit. pl. 2 a 1: *BSA* 27 pl. viii b 1.

³ *Ergon* 1959, 76 fig. 80; *BSA* 28. 171.

⁴ Evang. loc. cit. pl. 3 b 22, 6 b 13, and 9 b 13 and 22: cf. *BSA* 27 p. 37 figs. 22 and 23, 11–13 with p. 38 and n. 3.

⁵ *BSA* 27 pp. 34–36.

⁶ Evang. loc. cit. pl. 9 b 2, 4, 10: cf. *BSA* 27 p. 36 fig. 21, 17–18.

⁷ For the three last cf. Evang. loc. cit. pl. 5 b 2, pl. 6 a 1–6, and p. 207; for the pot-lid Evangelides suggests a parallel from Lesbos of the Troy II (= Macedonian A) period, but the remoteness both of time and of place preclude any direct derivation.

This movement of a pastoral people from Macedonia into Epirus, bringing with them the wish-bone handle and the coarse ware of Macedonia, coincides in time with the appearance of a similar, though generally less crude, culture in Leucas, Ithaca, and Actolia on the western side of Greece. A similar culture appears near Lamia in Malis probably at a somewhat earlier period. As this culture is clearly an intruder, it has been suggested by Heurtley that it reflects the diaspora of a nomadic pastoral people, originating from Macedonia. The addition of Epirus to this sequence bridges the gap between the western side of Greece and Macedonia, and supports the suggestion made by Heurtley.¹

The last pottery which we have mentioned so far is K 3. This has also been found at Koutsoulío and at Dodona by Dakaris. This ware is as early as K 2; indeed the fragments of two pots from it lay on virgin soil in the stratified part of Kastritsa, and a third pot has been restored (Fig. 10 *e*, *f*, and *g*). This ware is generally black or blackish-brown, hand-made, usually polished, relatively well made and thin-walled. The biscuit is dark grey, black, or terracotta, and it has a slip of cleaner clay. The shapes are mostly small spherical cups and occasionally larger wide-mouthed jars. The handles are ribbon handles, sometimes with a central depression running along the length of the handle; sometimes there are lugs instead of handles, these lugs being triangular or circular, pierced or unpierced, and some unpierced lugs having a hollow on the under side. The rims are splayed out and flattened, sometimes at a right angle to the wall of the pot.² Of the pots which have been restored pot *e* is a top-heavy affair in clay and more natural in metal. The closest parallel to it is a specimen of the 'one-handled cups of Middle Helladic Minyan ware' from Messenia, which had a thin slip of grey clay over a biscuit of greenish clay; Valmin saw parallels to it, and I have noted one, at Ithaca.³ The closest parallel to pot *f* is provided by a group of three small bowls (or large cups) from the Early Helladic Grey Ware of Ithaca; this ware has a carefully polished surface, a slip over an unrefined clay and a colour varying from grey to grey-brown or red. Heurtley pointed out that this shape provides a link between E.H. and M.H. pottery, and it continues into the M.H. period.⁴ Pot *g* is biconical, with a shiny surface and probable traces

¹ *PM* 111; he spoke of the spread of this Macedonian culture from Central Macedonia to West Macedonia, 'and, it seems likely, crossed Pindus and settled in the plain of Ioannina and at Dodona'. He placed this movement in the Early Bronze Age. He wrote before the excavation of Kastritsa. For the spread of this culture to the other areas see, for instance, W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* 2. Beilage 83 b, 84, 85, and 89 (all from Choïrospilia).

² Described in *PAE* 1951, 178 with figs. 4 and 5, 1-9; 1952, 369 with figs. 6 and 7.

³ *PAE* 1952, 370 with fig. 6; M. N. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition* (Lund, 1938) 291, no. 44, pl. xvii; *BSA* 35 (1934-5) 28 fig. 23 no. 97.

⁴ *PAE* 1952, 369 with fig. 7, 1; *BSA* 35, 26 and fig. 20 nos. 82-84; Dakaris points out this and other analogies.

of a yellowish slip, and its colour varies from dark grey to red as a result of the firing; it has two triangular lugs instead of handles, and the rim is strongly everted. Dakaris points out that it is imitative of metal and Minyan in form, and he cites examples of this rare shape from Rachmani in Thessaly and Thermum in Aetolia.¹ It so happens that Grave S 8 at Nidhri in Leucas, that is one of the stone-lined cist graves in the grave circle, contained five pots. Two of these (Fig. 10 *h* and *i*) correspond fairly closely with pot *f* and pot *g*.² This bears out the first impression of Dakaris, who said that he had seen similar pottery to that of Kastritsa 3 in the Museum at Nidhri.³ The date of the graves is within the Middle Helladic period.⁴

It appears then that the pottery of category K 3 belongs to the Middle Helladic group which is found at Leucas and at Ithaca and which has shapes both of Early Helladic origin and of Minyan associations. It is generally supposed that the spread of Early Helladic pottery to Ithaca and Leucas reflects the spread of Early Helladic peoples from the Peloponnese, particularly from Corinth, and perhaps also from Central Greece into these areas, and that this movement reached a settled stage at Ithaca in the latest phase, that is in E.H. III.⁵ It seems probable that we have at Kastritsa a further extension of this movement probably in E.H. III and certainly in the Middle Helladic period. In the latter period the bearers of this culture had a knowledge of Minyan pottery, gained in Central Greece rather than in the Peloponnese. They came into contact at Leucas and at Ithaca with a culture of Macedonian origin.⁶ The same thing seems to have happened at Kastritsa. For the pottery of category 3 soon adopted some of the plastic decoration of category 2, and the latter adopted some of the technique of category 3 at Kastritsa, Koutsoulio, and Dodona.⁷ It tended indeed to become absorbed into the much commoner and cruder category 2 as time went on.

The only sherd which I have not discussed is the piece of corded ware at Kastritsa. This ware was found at Aphiona in Corcyra and was dated there to the late third and early second millennia. The sherd at Kastritsa is an indication of some contact with Corcyra, probably about the beginning of the Middle Helladic period.⁸

¹ *PAE* 1952, 369-71 with figs. 7, 2 and 8.

² W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* (Munich, 1937) 1. 210 and 2. Beilage 72 nos. 3 and 5.

³ *PAE* 1951, 179.

⁴ C. W. Blegen, and A. J. B. Wace, 'Middle Helladic tombs' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 9 (1930) 30; A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae* (Princeton, 1949) 63.

⁵ W. A. Heurtley, in *BSA* 35 (1934-5) 39 f.

⁶ *Ibid.* 41-42 and *PM* 131.

⁷ Dakaris in *PAE* 1951, 179-80.

⁸ *PAE* 1951, 177 fig. 2, 1; *AM* 59 (1934) 174 fig. 7 and 188, where Kunze's dating of this ware is given.

The pottery found at Vodhinë in the upper Drin valley and at Vajzë in the Aous valley was not fully described in the excavator's report, but several whole pots were illustrated. At Vodhinë from Grave 12, in the company of a long bronze pin and a spectacle-fibula, comes a spherical pot with two flattened handles rising from the shoulder to some height above the rim, which is everted; the pot is 16 cm. high, 6.5 cm. wide at the base, 18.5 cm. wide at the widest point, and 14.5 cm. wide at the mouth. The decoration is in a dark 'café' brown paint on a light ground. The decoration consists of two fine wavy lines running round the top and bottom of the neck and between these lines there are six diamonds filled with geometric designs in paint. The body of the pot below the lower wavy line is decorated with painted rays (acute triangles) pendent from the shoulder at the top and pointed at the foot (Fig. 10 *m*). The shades of brown paint vary. This pot in shape, paint, and decoration is very similar to one from Boubousti (Fig. 10 *l*), where it is of L.H. III B or L.H. III C. A pot of similar shape and design comes from Kastritsa (Fig. 10 *k*; K 4a ware). The spectacle-fibula and the long bronze pin are to be dated probably to L.H. III C. Prendi reports the same shape and the same motives in decoration on pots from Ventrok near Koritsa. Two plain pots of the same shape came from the Vodhinë Tumulus Grave 2 (Fig. 10 *n*) and Grave 3, and another from Bodrishtë Tumulus A Grave 2 (7.2 cm. high and 5.9 cm. in diameter at the neck); this shape is very common in Macedonia in the Bronze Age.¹

Vodhinë Tumulus Grave 15 and Grave 16, which are contemporary with one another and earlier than Grave 12 (see p. 203, above), yielded several intact vases illustrated in Fig. 17; the upper row (1-3) is from Grave 15 and the lower (4-7) from Grave 16. The distinctive shape here is the dipper (nos. 2 and 6); there was one in each grave. Exact parallels of this rare shape are found at Tsangli in Phthiotis in Thessaly in period III, that is in the latter part of the Middle Helladic period. The rather clumsy shape of no. 3 with the steep rim and the lowish handle occurs at Tsangli in the same period, probably from a cist tomb. The *kantharos* shape, no. 5, is common in the Middle Helladic graves at Leucas; and no. 1 is also paralleled at Leucas, but with one handle there. The pot no. 4 with four small vertical handles, at equal distances from one another, is not exactly paralleled at Leucas; but one pot there has four small handles similarly arranged but pierced vertically, and another (Fig. 10 *i*) has the same awkward shape of splaying rim, which is reminiscent of a metal vessel. These pots are all ash-coloured at Vodhinë. Both graves contained cremations, and

¹ BUSS 1956, 1. 186 fig. 2 no. 3 and BUST 1959, 2. 198 fig. 8 (Bodrishtë); Heurtley PM 227 no. 462 (Boubousti); PAE 1952, 374 fig. 11.

each evidently contained a cremation set of pots. The round-heeled dagger found with Grave 16 is of a Middle Minoan type. This group of pottery is therefore of Middle Helladic date.¹

The Tumuli at Vajzë contained the debris of many vases which are not described in the report. The intact pots are mainly of the Bronze Age spherical type, which is very common in Macedonia and also, according to Frano Prendi, in North Albania, the Elbasan area and the vicinity of Koritsa. One from the soil of Tumulus B is illustrated (Fig. 100). A high-handled *kantharos* (Fig. 17, 9) comes from Tumulus A Grave 12; it has many parallels at Leucas and Sesklo and in the Shaft-graves at Mycenae and is typical of Minyan ware in the Middle Helladic period. A handleless bowl with inverted rim and a foot (Fig. 17, 10) comes from Tumulus A Grave 6; it has some characteristics of Minyan ware. A double bowl with one high handle and small holes through the wall at the join comes from Tumulus A Grave 3 (Fig. 17, 11); it seems to have small pierced lugs for suspension. A double bowl of this shape, without the small holes but with pierced lugs, was found in Grave R 10 c in Leucas (Fig. 17, 13), and two examples of a double bowl with the small holes but of a different shape (Heurtley's 'binocular jars') come from Pateli in West Macedonia, where they are of Early Iron Age date (Fig. 17, 12). The double bowl at Vajzë was in the same grave as a jug with a high handle which is divided by a cross-band of terracotta (Fig. 17, 14). Other examples of this 'double handle' or high bridge handle were found.² Prendi has pointed out that this type of handle has been found at Torre Galli on the west coast of southernmost Italy. The graves there are unlike those of Vajzë; they are dated from the ninth to the sixth century B.C. and they are thought to have been used by a Mediterranean race and not by any branch of Illyrians, for instance.³ This type of jug and handle is found in the twelfth or eleventh century at Villa Cavalletti in Latium; and also at Rome (in the Forum Grave C) and in Campania. The date

¹ BUSS 1956, 1. 185 f., fig. 4; PTh 89-90 with fig. 40 d (dipper), 99 and 121 with fig. 44 d (pot with steep rim); Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* 2 Beil. 73, 3, 7, and 9 (*kantharos*); Beil. 66 c 1 and Beil. 72, 3. My conclusions are reinforced by a report of the finding of Middle Helladic daggers, spearheads, and tweezers in the central burials of the tumuli at Pazhok, which is on the Devoli river where it runs close to the Shkumbi river; the report in *Studia Albanica* I (1964) 95 f. reached me when my text was in the press. Frano Prendi kindly sent me a copy.

² BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 20 with Heurtley PM, c.g. pp. 192-3; fig. 6 a (*kantharos*); fig. 6 b with PTh fig. 23 d (Rachmani) and Dakaris in PAE 1952, 370 figs. 7, 2 and 8; fig. 5 b (double bowl) with Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* 1. 230 and 2 Beil. 64 no. 7 and Heurtley, PM 252, pl. 23 d = Casson, 156, fig. 63; fig. 5 a (divided handle).

³ See Ebert, *RdV* 13. 340 for Torre Galli; T. E. Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* 405 with fig. 211 d; Randall-MacIver, *The Iron Age in Italy* (Oxford, 1927) 189 with fig. 69 b = pl. 40 no. 11; *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924) 78 fig. 18, pl. 17 nos. 1 and 10, pl. 16 no. 3; *ibid.* p. 90 for the early date at Villa Cavalletti.

of the double bowl and of this jug is likely to be very late in the Bronze Age or early in the Iron Age. A plain handleless tumbler (Fig. 17, 15) came from Tumulus D Grave 4; it is 14 cm. high, 18.3 cm. wide at the mouth and 6.3 cm. at the base. Its shape is common and not datable.¹

Now that the detailed description is complete, I give a summary of the conclusions to which the study of the flints and the pottery leads. The appearance of palaeolithic hunters in Epirus, probably in the plain near the mouth of the Vijosë and certainly in the plain of Butrinto and in the valley of the Louros, is a matter of great interest; for it shows that hunters had made their way from Central Europe into the western side of the Balkan peninsula. The Neolithic pottery at Velcë is evidence of settlement by a people who came by sea on the route which led from Corinth to the heel of Italy and included among its stations the cave near Astakos on the coast of Acarnania and some unidentified port of call in the Gulf of Valona. The fact that settlements were made as far inland as Velcë and Vajzë suggests that the settlers were attracted by the pitch and the asphalt mine at Selenicë (for these materials are especially valuable for shipbuilding) and perhaps by supplies of good flint. Signs of similar settlements on the coast may survive in the Neolithic or Sub-Neolithic sherds and artefacts which the Italian Mission found in the plain of Butrinto, at Spilë below Himarë and in the country south-east of the harbour (later to be called Oricum) in the Bay of Valona.

In the last phase of the Early Helladic period the first pottery to be found in the inland plateau of Ioannina shows the influence of a civilization which had spread, principally perhaps from Corinth, up the western side of Central Greece to Ithaca and Leucas. The bearers of this civilization in the inland plateau were evidently shepherds with a low standard of life, who possessed only the coarser varieties of the pottery of the time. It seems probable that they were themselves related to the Early Helladic peoples, who were of pre-Hellenic stock. They were soon joined by shepherds with a cruder pottery who derived from Western Macedonia, and the number of these increased in the Middle Helladic period (c. 1900–1600 B.C.) and especially after 1700 B.C.² It is at this time that Greek-speaking peoples were entering Central and Southern Greece. If they came from or via Macedonia, as seems most likely, the shepherds who entered Epirus from Macedonia probably belonged to the Greek-speaking peoples. Their contacts in the Middle Bronze Age were with Macedonia especially and also with Phthiotis and Leucas.

¹ *BUSS* 1957, 2 fig. 23 b.

² The dates are those which I have used in my *GH* p. 21.

During the third phase of the Late Helladic period (c. 1400–1125 B.C.) two separate styles of matt-painted pottery appeared in the plateau of Ioannina but not at Dodona. The bearers of both these styles came from Macedonia. They probably did not stay for any great length of time, as their pottery does not appear at Dodona. The earlier group consisted perhaps of people from Central Macedonia who had taken to a nomadic pastoral life at the beginning of the Late Helladic period, had moved into South-west Macedonia and had entered Epirus along the west side of Pindus. The second group of people had a culture which is known at Boubousti in South-west Macedonia, and they probably entered Epirus by the same route in the thirteenth century B.C. Meanwhile the first wave of peoples from Macedonia seems to have spread to most parts of Epirus, because their crude pottery has been found at a considerable number of sites, usually at points on the natural routes for nomadic shepherds who moved their herds in spring from the lowlands to the mountains. Two pieces of pottery which show a knowledge of Lausitz pottery suggest that these shepherds were in touch with shepherds from Macedonia, where this pottery became known c. 1150 B.C. Throughout this period, except at Velcë and Vajzë, there is no sign of any way of life other than that of small shepherd communities.¹

Two sherds which I picked up at Plaka by Cape Treporti were judged by A. J. B. Wace to be from Mycenaean pottery of Late Helladic III. It is a most suitable place for a small, remote, and defensible haven, possessing two anchorages which together offer shelter in any wind (p. 132, above). Such a station was of value for the crossing to South Italy; there were Greek settlers near Tarentum in L.H. III.² A report has been made recently by S. I. Dakaris that a Mycenaean tholos tomb was discovered in 1937 in a district called Kiperi between Parga and the bay of Ayios Ioannis, which is several miles to the north of the mouth of the Acheron river. The tomb is 4 m. in diameter, well built and with a dromos. It contained the bones of some skeletons, including those of a woman and a baby, probably stillborn; and 'local pottery' (probably of category K 2) and sherds of Mycenaean III B ware were found. Reports of walls which may be prehistoric have not yet been confirmed.³ On the hill of Xylokastro, which is north of the Hellenistic Nekyomanteion beside the Acheron

¹ My conclusions are in some respects different from those of S. I. Dakaris in *PAE* 1952, 384 f., as he places the first appearance of pottery at Kastritsa in the neolithic period and that of the categories 4a and 4b about 1150 B.C. He has expressed his views also in *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 121.

² See my *GH* 47–48. The sherds are those I mentioned in *BSA* 32 (1931–2) 136. For the position in South Italy see W. Taylour, *Mycenaean Pottery in Italy* 183 f.

³ *Ergon* 1960, 110 fig. 124.

river, Dakaris found a few sherds of Mycenaean high-footed goblets; this hill is fortified and one wall may be of Mycenaean date.¹ In the centre of the Hellenistic *temenos* of the Nekyomanteion a slab-lined cist tomb of L.H. III date was opened; it contained bones of the dead, bones of pig, Mycenaean and local K 2 sherds and necklace beads of chalcedony (*Ergon* 1963, 57). Mycenaean and local K 2 and K 3 sherds were found elsewhere within the *temenos*. No Mycenaean pottery has yet been found at Dodona. Numerous pieces of high-footed goblets of Mycenaean type were unearthed in the plain east of Kastritsa hill during the excavations. All except one are wheel-made and some are as late as the fourth century B.C. The exception is hand-made and came from the prehistoric stratum, which extends down to classical times. It is matt-painted, and this suggests that this type of goblet was introduced into the area late in Mycenaean times and had a long vogue.²

Finally I should mention a slip—one of the very rare slips—made by Kirsten, when he says that prehistoric 'round graves' have been found near Lelovon. The report was of prehistoric circular huts,³ such as Vlach shepherds still use.

2. CELTS, SWORDS, DAGGERS, AND KNIVES

The stone celts which come from sites in Epirus belong to the following categories (the classification is that adopted in Thessaly by Wace and Thompson):⁴

A. From Yeoryiani near Derviziana, in the upper Acheron valley, an unbored, finely worked and highly polished celt; the stone is grey with black mottling, and is light in weight for its size; the butt is pointed and the flanks curved. Size 11 cm. long by 5 cm. high with circumference of 14 cm. (Fig. 18, 3). Seen by me in the Ioannina Museum in 1937. See Plate XXIb (1).

A. From Greveniti, in the high country north-east of Ioannina an unbored, long, rounded celt with blunt rounded butt; the stone, which is dark green and like granite, is covered with a rough limestone deposit. Size 15.5 cm. long by 4.25 cm. high with 3.5 cm. as the maximum width (Fig. 18, 2). Shown to me before the war by Chr. Soulis.

Γ. From Pramanda, in the high country south-east of Ioannina, an unbored celt of large size, in cross-section rectangular but with the corners rounded; slightly polished, well made, and of hard black stone with some grey mottling. I have no note of its dimensions. Illustrated

¹ *Ergon* 1959, 97.

² *PAE* 1951, 182 fig. 7 no. 3; 1952, 365 fig. 3 and 374.

³ P-K 2. 1. 110 n. 5; *BCH* 78 (1954) *Chronique* 136.

⁴ *PTH* 23.

in *BSA* 32. 136 (here Fig. 18, 6). Found by me below Ayia Panayia (see p. 178) in 1930.

Γ. From the same site the blade of a small celt or chisel of rectangular section, finely made and polished, of grey granite; the section-shape suggests that it belongs to a small celt of this class. Illustrated in *BSA* 32. 136 (here Fig. 18, 7). Found by me on the same occasion.

Γ. From Dodona a fragment of a large roughly made celt probably belongs to this class (Evang. *Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 10 a 2).

Δ. From Kamarina; found by S. I. Dakaris in his excavations (*PAE* 1952, 348, with figs. 36 and 38).

Ε. From Konitsa a bored celt with heavy rounded butt, highly polished and of dark-green granite-like stone; size 6.5 cm. long by 4.5 cm. deep and 4.5 cm. wide, the hole being 2 cm. in diameter (Fig. 18, 1). Seen by me at the Agricultural School at Konitsa before the war; I was told later that it had been sent to the Athens Museum.

Ε. From Dodona two examples of the same type and in the same dark-green granite-like stone; the larger measures 8.5 cm. long and 5.5 cm. wide, the smaller 7 cm. long, 5 cm. wide and 2.5 cm. high. There are fragments of seven other celts of the same kind, and an eighth in hard grey stone, mottled with black, which falls into the same class but has a narrower butt (Evang. loc. cit. p. 205 and pls. 7 a and 10 a). From three other fragments no inference as to shape can be made.

Ε. From Finik fragments of two celts of porphyry stone, probably belonging to type E; the dimensions are given as 5.7 cm. high and 4.2 cm. high respectively. Another fragment, also of porphyry stone, comes from a celt of type E; its height is 4.5 cm.¹

Ε. From near Arta a bored celt with rounded butt, of grey stone. It is 13 cm. long, 6.5 cm. broad at the broadest place, and 5 cm. high; the diameter of the circular bore-hole is 2 cm. Seen by me in the Arta Museum in 1953.

A celt from Velcë is illustrated in *Rendiconti Accad. d'Ital.* 2 (1941-2) 681 fig., and one from Vajzë in *BUSS* 1957, 2 fig. 17; but they are not described. A celt is reported from a prehistoric circular hut near Lelovon but is not described in *BCH* 78 (1954), *Chronique* 136; and a bored celt comes from Graikikon in the Arakhthos valley in *BCH* 76 (1952), *Chronique* 226. A celt was found at Oricum during a recent excavation (*BUST* 1960, 1. 92 f.).

¹ *AA* 2. 140 figs. 73 and 75; for the celt illustrated in fig. 73 cf. Bulle in *AM* 59. 164 fig. 4 no. 2, which suggests that the celt found by Ugolini belongs to the perforated class but has been broken and refashioned with a groove. Two of the celts are from the prehistoric stratum at Finik. They are described also by D. Mustilli in *RdA* i (1940) 289.

In addition to these there are three unbored stone axes, too crude in workmanship to be included in the Thessalian classification:

From Artsista near Konitsa a roughly made and unpolished axe-head of hard limestone; the butt, which is pointed, curves downwards so that the axe-head is well balanced. Size 15.5 cm. long by 5 cm. wide (Fig. 18, 5). Seen by me at Artsista in 1931.

From Arta, on the west side of the town, a roughly made and unpolished pickaxe-head of hard limestone; the butt curves downwards, the flanks at the central point of balance are hollowed for binding, and the whole is well balanced. The pick-end is rounded in section, with sharp edges running along the top and the bottom, and culminates in a point; the butt is rounded and culminates in a blunt point. Size 16 cm. long; where the pick-end is broadest, the height is 4.5 cm. and the width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 18, 4). Seen by me at the Arta Museum.

From Filovryson near Menidhi a stone axe, 12.5 cm. long, 5 cm. high, and 2.7 cm. thick but tapering to 2.4 cm. thick towards the nose. Seen by me in the Arta Museum in 1937.

I found an obsidian blade at Xirakia. The obsidian is opaque, the blade is 12 mm. wide, and 33 mm. long but is broken; the under side, which is flattened, has a nodule for gripping near the butt end, the upper side rises to a central ridge, and the edges are sharp. At Finik¹ a fragment of an obsidian blade, unstratified, was found; it was 7 mm. in width and 21 mm. in length; and the obsidian was clear.

Several fragments of worked flint were found in the excavations at Finik;² the flint is indigenous to Epirus, and the fragments are too small for conclusions to be drawn as to the shape of the blades. At Aphiona in Corcyra³ several flint blades were found and a flint arrow-head; similar blades and arrow-heads occur in Leucas, and the Aphiona arrow-head is of a Bronze Age type. A number of flints and what may be obsidian tools from Velcë and from Vajzë are illustrated but not described in *Rendiconti Accad. d'Italia* 2 (1941-2) 681 and in *BUSS* 1957, 2 fig. 17.

For flints of the Palaeolithic period see p. 289 above.

In Thessaly the classes of celts can be dated within wide limits. Type *B* and type *A*, of which there is one example from Epirus, are common in the Thessalian periods I and II, but rare in the later periods; type *A*, of which we have two examples, is common to all periods. Type *F*, of which we have two or perhaps three examples, is more common in periods III and IV than in the two earlier periods; type *E*, of which we have some sixteen examples, is common only

¹ *AA* 2. 142.

² *AA* 2. 141.

³ *AM* 59. 166 with references to Leucas and Thessaly.

in period IV. By Thessalian standards,¹ then, it appears that the Epirote celts belong predominantly to period IV; in particular, the ten celts of class *E* from Dodona indicate that the site was inhabited at the time of period IV (beginning about 1650 B.C.).

In Leucas twenty-seven celts were found at Choirospilia. Not one of these is bored; the majority belong to the Thessalian periods I–III. This suggests that the Epirote type of celt certainly does not derive from Leucas.

In Corcyra at Aphiona two celts of type *E*, similar to those from Dodona, were found at the 'Katzenfeld' site; another example of the same type came from an unknown site. These three examples indicate an affinity of the 'Katzenfeld' settlement with Epirus. They are reported, with the support of Blegen's authority, as being 'certainly later than neolithic and probably of the early Bronze Age'; but, as the example from 'Katzenfeld' has a bore narrowing towards the centre, a refinement found in the Fourth Thessalian period,² the Middle or Late Bronze Age seems more probable.

The stone, of which the Epirote celts are made, is generally either a dark green granite-like stone or a grey stone, mottled with black. The Aphiona celts are described as of 'dark green stone like serpentine with brownish specks', 'light green stone with small mica-crystals', and 'grey stone with black mottling like diorite'. The Choirospilia celts are of the same stone as those of Aphiona, the same comparison to diorite and serpentine being made. In the report of the excavations at Aphiona these stones are stated on the authority of Renz to be 'of volcanic material, not local, probably from the Aegean coastal area, perhaps also from Italy, but certainly not from Korfu and the Adriatic-Ionian zone'.³ Yet the Epirote celts of the same stone can hardly have been imported from either area, for there is no trace of Aegean or Italian contacts; nor is it probable that stone was so rare and so precious a product that it was imported to Dodona or to the hill-country east of the Ioannina plain. The obvious origin of the Epirote stones, which are also like diorite and serpentine, lies in the central Greenstone range of Pindus, where diorite and serpentine are found; Konitsa, Grebeniti, and Pramanda lie on the fringe of the Greenstone belt, and Dodona is not far distant. It is reasonable to suppose that

¹ PTh 24. The very large number of celts found in Thessaly and the contexts in which they occur make it possible to date the types with some certainty. In Macedonia, where fewer celts are found, the dating is hazardous. For instance, at Vardaroftsa, a large site occupied in all five periods, few celts were found; it is doubtful too whether an object like a celt keeps a constant position in a deep deposit. For this reason I follow the Thessalian system of dating as the best guide for Northern Greece.

² Chr. Tsountas, *Dimini and Sesklo* (Athens, 1908) 322 and fig. 250.

³ *AM* 59. 166; cf. W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* 1. 332.

the material for the celts of Aphiona in Corcyra, of Choirospilia in Leucas, and of Thessaly was also derived from the Pindus range.¹

The three stone axes of crude workmanship from Arta, Menidhi, and Artsista are probably of earlier date than the celts which we have been considering; for neither in technique nor in the choice of limestone as the material are they so developed as the Bronze Age types. The pickaxe from Arta is of particular interest; for Arta is eminently suitable for early habitation and development. These axes may well be additional signs of a pre-Bronze Age population in Central and South Epirus.

Finally, there are the obsidian blades at Xirakia and Finik. Obsidian was not found at Aphiona; it is fairly common in Leucas, whither it was probably imported from the south. As Xirakia lies one hour's distance inland from the Gulf of Arta, it is probable that the obsidian came via Leucas and that in the Bronze Age, to which the obsidian may be dated, the Gulf of Arta lay in the sphere of influence of Leucas. The obsidian at Finik was probably imported by sea from the south. Two obsidian blades are said to have come from Salaora.²

The Bronze Swords from Epirus (see Figs. 19 and 20, in which the letters correspond to those in the text) are as follows:

A. From Mesoyefira, in North-east Epirus. The length of the sword (including the haft) is as preserved 58 cm., but the blade is broken off short of the point; the haft is flanged and measures across the top 2.7 cm., across the narrowest point 1.8 cm., and from tip to tip of the horned wings 9.4 cm. The narrow midrib is engraved with parallel lines. The haft proper, measured from the shoulders, is 9.5 cm. in length; at the head of the haft there are two grooves, upon which a knob was probably fitted. The blade tapers and is not leaf-shaped; the curvature appears to be due to the shock of breakage. Seen by me in Ioannina in 1937. See Plate XXIa (2) and (3).

B. From Mesoyefira, in North-east Epirus. The blade alone measures 84.5 cm. in length, and the total length as preserved is 86 cm.; the horizontal break is across the narrowest part of the haft, and one shoulder is broken off at the rivet-hole. The sword, when it was complete, would have measured some 95 cm. in total length. The one shoulder which is preserved is flanged and joins the upper hilt in a concave curve. The shoulders are not winged as in A. The narrow

¹ The celts in Thessaly were made locally, as Tsountas, *op. cit.* 315, points out, and this suggests that the material was not far away.

² These are in the Finlay collection at the British School of Archaeology in Athens. It was pointed out by R. C. Bosanquet in *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos* (London, 1904) 226 that there is some doubt whether the obsidian really came from the alleged places. In his own record Finlay had two lots from Salaora, totalling 20 cores, 31 flakes, and also flints.

midrib is engraved with parallel lines. The blade, which at its widest point measures 3.8 cm., tapers to a fine point and is not leaf-shaped; the width from shoulder-tip to shoulder-tip would have measured some 6 cm. when the sword was complete. The slight curvature is due to the shock of breakage. Seen by me in Ioannina in 1937. See Plate XXIa (1) and (3).

C. From Tseravina, north-west of the Ioannina plain. The total length of the sword, measuring 59 cm., is preserved; the haft is 7.2 cm. in length, measured from the line of the shoulder-tips, and fits the shape of the hand; the edges of the haft and of the shoulders are flanged. The shoulders slope straight from the haft to the blade, which is 3.6 cm. wide where it joins the shoulders. The midrib is wider and flatter than in A and B; the heavy patina on the bronze prevented me from determining whether the midrib was decorated with lines. The blade is not leaf-shaped; it tapers only towards the point, and is for the greater part of its length of constant width. One bronze rivet is in place in the upper rivet-hole on the haft. The sword is in an excellent state of preservation and the edges are true (Plate XXIc). Seen by me in the School collection of antiquities at Visani in 1931. I visited the place where it was said to have been found, some 10 paces north-west of Tseravina Han, and the peasants there said it was from 'a tomb', probably a cist grave, as this is the type they know in Epirus.

E. From Dodona (described by Carapanos and Undset, and seen by myself at the National Museum in Athens). The sword, which is in three pieces, measures some 58 cm. as preserved; the tip and the haft are both broken off. The haft is flanged and is 2 cm. wide at the narrowest point; the width from wing-tip to wing-tip would have been some 8 cm. The narrow midrib is engraved with parallel lines. The blade tapers and is not leaf-shaped; the curvature appears to be due to the shock of breakage. The sword is similar to A.

F1. From Dodona (shown as F in Fig. 19). The sword, which is complete, measures some 40 cm. in total length, the haft being 9.5 cm. long and the blade 30.5 cm. long. The haft has flanged edges, and the edges are decorated with incised lines; the rivets are preserved. The shoulders, which are flanged, continue directly into the blade; the blade, which is flat and 4.5 cm. broad where it joins the shoulders, narrows gradually towards the centre whence it retains the same width until towards the tip.¹

F2. A shorter sword of the same type, 36.8 cm. long and 4.7 cm. wide at the shoulders, has just been published by S. I. Dakaris; it was

¹ Undset shows the sword with five rivets; Montelius, *La Grèce préclassique* pl. 13 no. 2, shows apparently the same sword with four rivets; Dakaris, *Eph. Arch.* 1956 fig. 9 no. 15 reproduces the latter's sword but with three rivets.

found a hundred metres south of the Nekyomanteion at Likouresi. The flanged edges of the haft are decorated with two pairs of parallel lines.¹

G. From Vajzë Tumulus A Grave 12 a rapier of M.M. III type 'A' with raised midrib; it is 101 cm. long. The midrib is decorated with incised parallel lines, there are two rivets in the tang and one on each shoulder. The bronze rivets are 1.7 cm. long. It was found in six pieces. A rapier of a similar type but of a short variety was found at Leucas in Grave R 7; and rapiers almost as long as ours were in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.²

H. From Vajzë Tumulus A Grave 7 a short sword 38 cm. long with a tang, with curved shoulders and with five rivets of fine bronze, three being on the tang and one on each shoulder. The medial rib is flattish and tapers towards the point. A similar type of sword from Chauchitsa has an iron blade and a bronze hilt. Our sword resembles Catling's category of type II Group IV, of which specimens in Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine belong to the mid-twelfth century and to the early Iron Age.³

I. From the Vodhinë tumulus in the Drin valley a short sword 33 cm. long with a rather flat fish-tail haft. It belongs to Catling's category of type II Group I. It has blood channels and is decorated with two rows of spirals.⁴

J. From Vajzë from the soil of Tumulus B a sword 49.8 cm. long with five bronze rivets, heavy midrib, and spurred hilt, which is to be placed in Catling's category of type II Group II with specimens from Mycenae, Tiryns, and perhaps Thessaly. It is closest to one from Tiryns (Catling's no. 8), which was found with L.H. III B-C pottery.⁵

K. From the tumulus at Kakavi in the Drin valley a short sword 43.7 cm. long, with four rivet holes in the shoulders and four in the haft; the blade and the medial rib are both slightly leaf-shaped, the haft is fish-tailed and the greatest width of the blade is 3.7 cm. The sword belongs to Catling's category of type II Group I with specimens from Moulana and Myrsine in Crete, Naxos, Cos, and Cyprus; it resembles the Loizou sword from Cyprus except that our sword is

¹ *Arch. Delt.* 18 (1963) 2, 2. 153 fig. 4 and pl. 187e, published in 1965 when my text was in the press. Dakaris classes it as a dagger, but its length is rather that of a short sword; it is of the same type as Dagger G from Kalbaki (p. 330, below).

² *BUSS* 1957, 2 fig. 12; Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* 1 p. 229 and pl. 62 no. 3; Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization* 31 fig. 14 no. 1. N. K. Sandars in *AJA* 67 (1963) 121 has suggested that the sword from Leucas 'could equally well be C', that is in her system a horned or cruciform sword; but the shoulders of the blade make this unlikely.

³ *BUSS* 1957, 2 fig. 7; Casson, p. 147 fig. 50; Catling in *Antiquity* 35 (1961) 119 fig. 2.

⁴ *BUSS* 1956, p. 185 and fig. 3, 1. Prendi in *BUSS* 1957, 2 compares it with sword H from Tumulus A Grave 7.

⁵ *BUSS* 1957, 2 fig. 19; Catling loc. cit. Prendi refers to similar swords in Italy and Hungary in J. Naue, *Die vorrömischen Schwerter* pl. vii. 2. 6 and viii. 7.

slightly leaf-shaped. The specimen from Mouliaua is dated by Catling to c. 1200–1125 B.C., and some specimens from the other places are dated to c. 1225–1175 B.C. Prendi compares this sword to the one from Vodhinë (sword I) and he dates it to c. 1000 B.C., because he assigns the earliest burials in the Tumuli at Kakavi, Vajzë, Bodrishtë, and Vodhinë to the period 1000–800 B.C.¹ It seems better to take the standard date of this type of sword for the present.

L. Bronze sword of cruciform shape and with narrow midrib, and a bronze scabbard from the tumuli of the Mati valley; reference will be made to it on p. 323 and p. 326.

The two swords from Mesoyefira (A and B) were shown to me in 1937 by Chr. Soulis, then Ephor of Antiquities, and he said that they had been found at Mesoyefira. I went then from Ioannina to Dhistraton via Mesoyefira and Konitsa, and I obtained confirmation there that this was so. The swords have been published by the present Ephor, S. I. Dakaris. He had no knowledge of their provenience, owing to confusion caused by the war and the death of Mr. Soulis, but he had a note in the Ephor's files of two bronze swords having been found by a bridge near Perama. He naturally attributed them to Perama.² In fact they came from Mesoyefira. There must originally have been two separate pairs, for I was told in 1953 in Ioannina that two bronze swords 'like the two in the Ioannina Museum' (i.e. the two from Mesoyefira) had been found in 1920 at Strouunion, and Strouunion is near Perama; this pair has disappeared. His description of the two swords from Mesoyefira is in *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 131 f.

Sword G is the earliest in type, being attributed to Middle Minoan III. Specimens were found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and were dated there to the end of the Middle Helladic period. *Sword A* and *Sword E* are examples of the horned sword, which is the commonest form of sword found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.³ The horned sword at Mycenae is characteristic of the Late Helladic II period (1500–1400 B.C.);⁴ it is, however, certain that this type of sword survived into the early part of the Late Helladic III period; for examples have been found at Dendra in the Argive plain in the Tholos tomb, which dates to 1400–1350 B.C.⁵ These two swords could therefore have

¹ *BUST* 1959, 2 p. 194 fig. 5 and p. 210; Catling loc. cit. pl. 16 (a) and (b), showing the Loizou sword.

² They are referred to as 'swords from Perámatos' by N. K. Sandars in *AJA* 67 (1963) 120.

³ Karo, *Schachtgräber von Mykenai* (1930) pp. 202 f. the rapier of type A. That the home of the horned sword is Mycenae rather than Crete seems to me probable despite Evans, *The Palace of Minos* (1935) iv, pp. 847 f.

⁴ Following the chronology suggested by Wace, *The Chamber Tombs at Mycenae* (1932) p. 2.

⁵ A. W. Persson, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra* (1931) pl. xx. 3 and 5, p. 35 no. 11 and

reached Epirus at any date between 1500 B.C. and 1350 B.C., the period during which they were in vogue in the Mycenaean world.

Sword B is typologically an early example of the cruciform sword, which, though less common than the horned sword, is also frequently found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.¹ The cruciform sword at Mycenae developed at a somewhat later date than the horned sword, and its appearance there may be dated to the latter part of the Late Helladic II period and its use into the early Late Helladic III period;² but, as examples of the horned sword and of the cruciform sword are found together at Dendra in the Tholos tomb, it is clear that in 1400–1350 B.C. both types were in vogue³. Thus in Epirus sword B, though typologically later than A and E, may in fact be contemporary with them; we may date sword B with some safety to within the period 1450–1350 B.C.

These four swords in Epirus represent the greatest period of Mycenaean civilization. In their forms they correspond precisely with the two types which characterize that period at Mycenae, and in their size they fall into the two standard classes of Mycenaean sword (A and E into the short class; G and B into the long class);⁴ all except G have the midrib ornamented with parallel lines, a motif which is found at Mycenae. There can be little doubt that these swords are of southern origin, whether carried by trade or by invaders; for they are so fine in workmanship and so close to Mycenaean types that they can hardly be imitations made locally in an area which is shown by its pottery to have been a backwater of primitive culture.

We have an analogy in Macedonia. From the Grevena region two swords, both of the short class, one being of the horned type and the other of the cruciform type, have been published by Casson.⁵ He points out that these, the only examples of the Mycenaean sword from Macedonia, are found in a remote part of the country, far removed from the coastal area where Mycenaean pottery of the latest Late Helladic III period occurs. It is possible that the swords reached

p. 36 no. 15; the second is 68 cm. long, belonging to the shorter variety as the two examples from Epirus do.

¹ Karo, loc. cit. the rapier of type B. N. K. Sandars in *AJA* 67 (1963) 120 lists this sword as one of her class C, following S. I. Dakaris. The break leaves the matter in some doubt, but my note at the time was that it is a cruciform and not a horned sword.

² Wace op. cit. p. 188; Evans op. cit. iv, p. 849.

³ Persson, op. cit. pl. xx 2 and 4, p. 34 no. 9 and p. 35 no. 11. The recent study by N. K. Sandars, loc. cit., is in general agreement with the dates here proposed for these swords from Epirus.

⁴ Ebert xi (1927/8) p. 426.

⁵ S. Casson, *Man*, Nov. 1923, 22. 170 f. These swords are I imagine not made locally, but the example from Karaglari in Bulgaria, which he illustrates, appears to come from a cruder workshop; see also Heurtley *PM* 231 fig. 104, and N. K. Sandars loc. cit. 146 and 148. The swords are in the Naturhist. Museum at Vienna.

Grevena not via the Thermaic Gulf but via Epirus. *Sword L* of the cruciform type, very similar to that from Grevena, has been published from the tumuli in the Mati valley in Central Albania; the lower part of the bronze scabbard, ending in a spherical knob, was found with it.¹

Sword F1 is an example of the short sword which is characteristic of the close of the Late Helladic III period (about 1200–1100 B.C.); it is widely spread throughout the Mycenaean world and our example has all the features—size, shape of blade, square shoulders running straight into the blade, and the flanged edge round the top of the hilt—which are typical of this class.² There is then good ground for considering sword F to be an import from the south (as it is finely worked and decorated with incised lines), which may have arrived at any date between 1200 and 1100 B.C. *Sword F2* is dated by S. I. Dakaris to Helladic late III B or early III C, i.e. on my chronology c. 1200–1150 B.C.

Sword C from Tseravina is not a typically Mycenaean form; for of the many swords illustrated from Mycenae only two resemble our sword.³ The example illustrated in Schliemann's original publication indicates that the resemblance is only of a general nature, namely in respect of the shape of the hilt, the slope of the shoulders, the wide flat blade, and the size (65 cm.); the example from Mycenae lacks the wide midrib rising between the shoulders and lacks the curvature between the blade and shoulders. The same general resemblance occurs in the case of a sword from the *σχιστή όδός* in Phocis;⁴ the shape of the hilt, the juncture between shoulders and blade, the wide midrib between the shoulders, and the flat blade narrowing only towards the point are the same as in our sword, but the sword from Phocis has convex shoulders and a tang attached to the top of the hilt. The important feature of our sword C is that it is a slashing sword of a non-Mycenaean type; this feature is common to the swords from Mycenae and Phocis, and I therefore class them together without employing the subdivision into classes according to the shape of the hilt

¹ BUSS 1955, 1, pl. 2 no. 1 and p. 115; *Studia Albanica* 1 (1964) pl. xii, 2.

² Tsountas, *Eph. Arch.* 3 (1897) pl. viii no. 4, and Persson, op. cit. pl. xxxiii no. 4 and p. 97 no. 23, illustrate exact parallels; the type is dated by V. G. Childe, *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, ed. Casson, (1927) p. 3, as from the thirteenth century, and the example at Dendra is dated by Persson to after 1200 B.C. (p. 116). The distribution includes Mycenae, Corinth, Attica, Carpathos, Rhodes, and Crete; cf. Ebert, xi. (1927/8) p. 426 and pl. 141 A k.

³ Schliemann, *Mycenae and Tiryns* (1878) p. 144 no. 221, found in the House of the Warrior Vase, i.e. of the L.H. III period; Tsountas, *Eph. Arch.* 1891 p. 25 without illustration.

⁴ Tsountas loc. cit. p. 110 fig. 1; the sword is 77 cm. in length. The sword illustrated as from Levadeia in H. Peake, *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World* (1922) pl. xii 3, appears to be the same sword as that published by Tsountas.

and the join between hilt and blade, which is made by Peake.¹ To the same class of slashing sword we may add from Greek lands two examples reported from Tiryns and two from Tomb B at Mouliana in Crete; also two from the Egyptian Delta.² Of these only the ones from Crete and from Egypt can be firmly dated;³ they occur at the close of the Late Minoan III period in Crete (about 1100 B.C.), and in the reign of Seti II in Egypt (about 1200 B.C.).

This type of slashing sword, Naue's type II, is an intruder in the Mediterranean region; its origin is most probably to be found in Central Europe, where it evolved late in period V phase C (in Childe's chronology = L.M. III A, i.e. about 1350 B.C.) and spread southwards in period VI to reach Greek lands at the earliest about 1250 B.C.⁴ It is thus probable that our sword C reached Epirus as an intruder from the north at any date within the period 1250–1100 B.C.

Sword D, which is illustrated here from Undset,⁵ comes from Scutari in Illyria. It belongs to the same class of northern sword as our sword C, but typologically it is less developed⁶ and may be somewhat earlier in date; the wide midrib between the shoulders and the shape of the blade relate it closely to our sword C. A similar sword was found 'near the mouth of the Drin in Illyria', and another example of this kind has been published from Prilep in North-west Macedonia.⁷ *Swords H* and *J* from Vajzë, *Sword I* from Vodhinë, and *Sword K* from Kakavi are also of northern types. They show beyond doubt that the peoples of north and central Epirus were strongly armed in the latter part of L.H. III B and especially in L.H. III C. As we shall see later, this is true also in the case of some other weapons.

¹ Op. cit. pp. 94 f. and pl. VI types B to E. It is clear from the text that in some cases these types were in contemporary use. This sword does not fit any of Catling's categories in *Antiquity* 35 (1961) 115 f.

² Karo, *Arch. Anz.* (1916) p. 145; S. A. Xanthoudides, *Eph. Arch.* (1904) p. 48 and fig. 11; Peet, *BSA* 18 (1911–12) 282.

³ Peet, loc. cit. dates the Cretan examples to the close of L. M. III but follows a different dating for the end of that period and so dates them to 1200 B.C.

⁴ V. G. Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory* (Oxford, 1929) pp. 250 f.

⁵ In the British Museum no. 2754 (see H. B. Walters, *Catal. of Bronzes*). Peake op. cit. pl. vi would assign it to type B, in which the shoulders are semicircular, whereas the sword from Phocis belongs to his type C and our sword C from Tseravina belongs to his type E. Childe, loc. cit., also subdivides this class of sword into types; in the same order these three swords belong respectively to his types C 1, C 4, and C 3. H. W. Catling has an illustration of the sword from Scutari in *PPS* n.s. 22 (1956) pl. 9 facing p. 112, and p. 117, and he discusses this type of sword in *Antiquity* 35 (1961) 118. It is illustrated also in *AA* 1. 15 fig. 15.

⁶ Undset in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie* 20 (1890) 16.

⁷ *WMBH* 1 (1893) 317 f. and fig. 4; M. V. Garašanin, *Neolithikum und Bronzezeit in Serbien und Makedonien* (Sonderdruck aus 39. Bericht d. Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 1958) 125 fig. 26; V. L. Tema in *Arheološko Društvo Jugoslavije Praistorijska Sekcija* 1 (Ochrid, 1960) pl. 1 no. 9. For another of early type from the Mati valley see *Studia Albanica* 1 (1964) pl. xii, 1.

Before proceeding to draw conclusions from these swords found in Epirus, we may consider the nature of the other swords found in North-western Greece. From Leucas in the R Graves the fragments of six bronze swords are known;¹ they divide into three classes, the early Mycenaean rapier (of which one example was found in Epirus), the ribbed Mycenaean rapier, to which the Epirote swords A, B, and E belong, and the wide slashing blade of northern origin, to which our swords C, D, H, I, J, and K belong. From Ithaca comes the blade of a rapier, which in shape belongs to the early Mycenaean class (of which one example was found in Epirus) but which is decorated with three sets of three parallel lines each, in a way which suggests contact with South Italy; it may be tentatively assigned to the Late Helladic II period.² Another but earlier specimen of the same kind and the same period (Fig. 20, M) has an overall length of some 37 cm.; the top of the blade is 3.6 cm. wide, and the medial rib, widening towards the top, is decorated with a set of three parallel lines on each side. This specimen is in the Woodhouse collection in the British Museum, and comes from Corcyra or perhaps Ithaca.³ From Corcyra comes an example of the short sword dated to the end of the Late Helladic III period, to which sword F belongs; the sword from Corcyra is typologically later, for the shoulders are elongated into downward-curving horns, and it may be dated to the close of the Late Helladic III period.⁴

The bronze swords found in Epirus enable us to form some conclusions about the contacts of Epirus with the adjacent parts of the north-west area and with the south and the north. In the first place, the swords are not of local manufacture; for Epirus was primitive in culture and had no metal.⁵ They entered Epirus either as a result of trade or as a result of war. Examples of the early Mycenaean rapier in the north-west area occur at Leucas and at Vajzë. In the Late Helladic II period and in the early part of the Late Helladic III period, when Mycenaean civilization reached its acme, the horned and the

¹ Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* (1927) i. p. 291 f. and ii pl. 62; the swords cannot be dated precisely by the context in which they were found; the early class is, I think, represented by the fragment no. 2 in pl. 62. N. K. Sandars in *AJA* 65 (1961) has an account of the development and distribution of swords on pp. 17 f. and a chart on pl. 20; she was not aware of the swords from Tseravina, Vajzë, Vodhinë, and Kakavi.

² S. Benton, *BSA* 29 (1927-8) 113; for fragments of another sword from Ithaca see *BSA* 35. 72 and H. W. Catling in *PPS* n.s. 22 (1956) 118.

³ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum* (1899) no. 2752.

⁴ Undset, *Études sur l'âge de bronze de la Hongrie* (1880) p. 151; it is illustrated in H. B. Walters, *Catal. of Bronzes in the British Museum* no. 2753 fig. 79 and in S. Benton loc. cit., who thinks that it probably comes from Ithaca rather than from Corcyra. Dakaris, *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 141, accepts her view.

⁵ This is an important point against the theory, advanced for instance by J. D. Cowen in *Bericht über d. V. Internat. Kongreß f. Vor- und Frühgeschichte Hamburg* 1958, 214, that the arrival of a prototype started a change of style and weapons were then made locally.

cruciform rapiers penetrated to Ithaca, to Leucas, and to Epirus; in Epirus they were carried not only to Dodona in Central Epirus but to Mesoyefira in north-eastern inland Epirus.

This conclusion accords with the general range of Mycenaean sword-types.¹ The earliest Mycenaean rapiers are not found elsewhere in northern Greece, but they reached Sicily towards the end of the Middle Helladic period, where they persisted into the Late Helladic III period.² The horned rapier, which is common on the Greek mainland, reaches its northern limit at Tetovo in Yugoslav Macedonia³ and at Karaglari in Bulgaria, where it is probably a local imitation of the Mycenaean type.⁴ The cruciform rapier is found in Italy and in south Germany; and sword L, the specimen from the Mati valley which we have mentioned, shows that mariners used the Adriatic route. That the earliest type reached Sicily and that the cruciform rapier reached Italy via Leucas and the straits of Otranto, is most probable; and the swords from Corcyra or Ithaca show a reciprocal influence from Italy upon the western Greek islands. The period of the horned and cruciform rapiers, in which these objects of Mycenaean manufacture travelled westwards to Italy and northwards to Mesoyefira in Epirus, to Grevena in Macedonia and to the Mati valley in Albania may be defined as about 1500 to 1300 B.C. The bronze scabbard, found with sword L, is a very early example.⁵

Although there is evidence that the cruciform rapier reached south Germany, the influence of Mycenaean sword-types on central Europe is strongly marked for the first time by the importation of the Late Helladic III class, to which the sword from Corcyra and swords F1 from Dodona and F2 from the Nekyomanteion belong. This influence which is dated to about 1350 B.C. led to the evolution in central Europe of the leaf-shaped blade; and the leaf-shaped blade appeared in Greece, having come from the north, from 1250 B.C. onwards until the close of the Late Helladic III period. During this time the Mycenaean sword-type (illustrated by F) continued its vogue but developed a slashing blade;⁶ the examples of this development from Corcyra, Dodona, and the Nekyomanteion show that the north-western area was in touch with the Mycenaean world to the south during the latest phase of the Late Helladic III period. Further, Epirus affords five examples of the

¹ Ebert, xi p. 426.

² Ebert, loc. cit. and *Bull. Pal. It.* 1891 pl. xi.

³ Reported by N. K. Sandars in *AJA* 67 (1963) 120 and 145.

⁴ Ebert, ii pl. 103 b; cf. Casson, *Man*, Nov. 1923, xxii pp. 170 f., and *PM* 231 fig. 104 ff. N. K. Sandars, loc. cit., notes special features in the horned swords from Dodona, Mesoyefira, Tetovo, and Bulgaria, and she has suggested they come from two or perhaps several hands (p. 125).

⁵ Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory*, 250 f.

⁶ Peake op. cit. 92 f.; cf. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop in *PPS* N.S. 22 (1956) 133.

northern type of sword, which came from the north after 1250 B.C. Sword D from Scutari and the similar one from the Drin in Illyria provide a further link in the chain; for they are of northern form and are earlier in type than the Tseravina sword and its descendants.

So far, then, as the available evidence carries us, the conclusion is likely that the passage of Mycenaean influence to central Europe and the reciprocating wave from central Europe to the Aegean travelled through the north-west area of Greece. For of the transitional types, which reflect these influences, two categories of the northern type are represented in Central Epirus and in Illyria, and the only Mycenaean type which reflects northern influence occurs at Corcyra and in Central Epirus. The developed northern type of sword came to Greece evidently by the same route; for Vajžë, Vodhinë, and Kakavi lie on the main route from the Bay of Valona to the plain of Ioannina. The main land-route from Central Europe to Northern Greece which is not thwarted by the massive ranges of Montenegro passes down the Vardar valley into Macedonia. Since Macedonia has yielded no evidence of such influence in sword-types, it seems probable that Macedonia was not an intermediate stage and that the swords did not travel by the Vardar route. On the other hand, since Epirus and the western islands do afford evidence of such influence, the swords are likely to have come by sea down or across the Adriatic. The next stage of a voyage by sea is the most dangerous, that which passes the Acroceraunian range, formidable even to Greek and Roman navigators; but it can be avoided by using the land-route from the Bay of Valona to the plain of Ioannina, whence one can proceed either to the Ambraciote Gulf or to Thessaly and the Maliac Gulf. This land-route passes near Vajžë, Vodhinë, Kakavi, and Tseravina, where the transitional type of sword is found.

When we trace the transitional northern sword from Central Europe towards the south, we find further evidence in favour of the Adriatic route. In Italy the most developed examples of the type are found near Lake Trasimene, near Lake Fucino, and in Apulia; all these areas face eastwards to the Adriatic. And the earliest forms of the transitional sword are found at Friuli and near Treviso, both near the head of the Adriatic, and near Ancona on the Adriatic coast (the former being type A in Peake's classification and the last type B).¹ Moreover, a large number of swords and other weapons have been

¹ See the important publication of S. Foltiny, 'Ein neuer Beitrag zur Frage der Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Siebenbürgen, den Ostalpengebiet und Nordostitalien während der mittleren Bronzezeit', in *Archaeologia Austriaca* 29 (1961) 76 f.; A. Benac, *Studien zur Stein- und Kupferzeit im Nordwestlichen Balkan* (Berlin, 1962) with the chart facing p. 156 for finds on the Dalmatian coast; *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 55 (Split, 1953) pl. 5; and I. Marović in *Antidrom M. Abramić* (Split, 1954-7) 2. 24.

published recently from the head of the Adriatic Sea and from the Dalmatian coast. It seems, then, probable that the distribution in Italy originates from the head of the Adriatic, some examples passing by land along the eastern side of the Apennines and some along the coasts of the Adriatic. This distribution, when combined with the distribution in North-west Greece and with the sword from Scutari (type B in Peake's classification), would seem to establish the Adriatic route as the main channel during the Late Helladic III period.

Before leaving this subject it may be wise to mention two points. An example of the transitional northern sword from Bešli in Bulgaria should probably be attributed to influences emanating from Hungary and travelling down the Danube. Similarly, the isolated example from Karaglari of the horned sword, which is after a Mycenaean model, may be attributed to contact with Mycenaean areas via the Hebrus, which flows into the Aegean. Neither the geography of Bulgaria nor the evidence of these two swords makes it likely that Thrace is the main channel through which contact was established between Central Europe and the Aegean world. Another example of the northern sword has been found at Tetovo in North-west Macedonia (now in Yugoslavia); this sword and that from Prilep may suggest a route from the Danube up the Morava and then turning west into Albania. These cases may remind us that even if the Adriatic Sea provided the main route, it was not necessarily the only route which trade or war could follow.¹

The penetration of southern influence into Epirus during the latter part of the Middle Bronze Age and in the Late Bronze Age is revealed by the bronze knives and bronze daggers which have been found in the north-west area (see Fig. 21). A number of bronze knives were found at Vajzë.² *Knife A* came from Tumulus A Grave 12. It is 17.5 cm. long, straight-backed and with three rivet holes; such knives are found in Thessaly and further south in M.H. times. In the soil of Tumulus A three bronze knives were found. *Knife B* is 13.5 cm. long, with a slightly convex back and two rivet holes; *knife C* which survived in fragments was of the same kind.³ Such knives are also found in Thessaly and further south in M.H. times. *Knife D* (Fig. 21, D1) with a snout and three rivet holes comes from Dodona;⁴ it has been placed by Miss

¹ For the route via Bulgaria see K. Horedt in *Studii Si Comunicari* 4 (1961) chart on p. 15. For the general question and for the sword from Tetovo see S. Foltiny in *Mitteil. d. Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 91 (1961) 139.

² BUSS 1957, 2 with figs. 13b, 13a, and 15b.

³ For parallels see Childe, *Dawn of European Civilisation* 70 fig. 36 nos. 2 and 3. These knives belong to the class Ia of N. K. Sandars in *PPS* 21 (1955) 176 f.

⁴ *PAE* 1952, 295 fig. 21; Sandars in *PPS* 21 (1955) 182 f. and 196, where the reference to *PAE* is incorrect.

Sandars in her class 6b, and it resembles a dagger from Leucas (Grave S 10). It is possible that *knife E* from Dodona is also snouted; it is some 9 cm. long and may have had three rivet holes originally.¹ Miss Sandars thinks this type may be derived from Middle Helladic knives at Sesklo.² A knife from the tumuli in the Mati valley in Central Albania seems from the illustration to belong to this class.³ From Dodona Carapanos published two bronze knife-blades, one-edged, and rivetted to the haft, *knife F* measuring 11 cm. and *knife G* 14 cm.;⁴ they are analogous to a copper knife-blade from Leucas (Grave R 17 a), which is of a Mycenaean type and may be dated by its context to the Late Helladic II or Late Helladic III period. A strongly curved bronze *knife H* was found in the grave near Kalbaki from which the bronze dagger came (see next paragraph); it is one-bladed and is rivetted to the haft. It is a Hungarian type of knife from the Urnfield culture and is dated to the thirteenth century on typological grounds, as Dakaris shows.⁵

Three bronze dagger-blades are published by Evangelides from Dodona.⁶ *Dagger A* belongs to that Cypriote class of rat-tanged dagger which spread throughout the Greek world and entered Hungary in the Copper and Bronze Ages; it is probably of Middle Helladic date.⁷ There is another example of this Cypriote class from Albania; it is made of copper, and the exact provenience is not known.⁸ *Dagger B*, some 10 cm. long, is poorly illustrated. It is probably of the same Middle Minoan type as dagger F from Vodhinë, which is mentioned just below. *Dagger C* is a triangular dagger only 5 cm. long, with three rivet-holes triangularly arranged; it is likely to be of Middle Minoan date and may be an *ex voto*. A similar triangular dagger with the same arrangement of the rivets is published from the tumuli in the Mati valley.⁹ *Dagger D* (Fig. 21, D2) came from Vajzë Tumulus A Grave 14. It is 38 cm. long. The blade is kite-shaped and is decorated with three

¹ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 242 no. 132 and pl. 21 b 5. The illustration is difficult to make out.

² Dakaris in *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 123 attributes it to L.H. III; but it is likely to be M.H. or L.H. I.

³ *BUSS* 1955, 1, pl. 2 no. 5.

⁴ Carapanos i p. 96 and ii pl. liii, 5 and 6.

⁵ Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* i. p. 293 and ii pl. 63 a 8; Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (1917) p. 26, who appears to err in classifying the Dodona type among the 'double convex knives', and in pl. xxx 20 describes it as in iron; and S. I. Dakaris in *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 125-6.

⁶ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, p. 242 no. 132, and pl. 21 b 2, 29, and 33; so far as one can judge from the illustrations, no. 33 is of the Cypriote type and no. 2 is of the Middle Minoan type; no. 29 is triangular.

⁷ The flattened tang seems to put it in Class a or b of H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* 56 f. and fig. 1.

⁸ *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* 22 (1890) p. 8, now at Vienna, Antiquitäten-Cabinet, Ludolph bequest; for examples from Hungary cf. Pulszky, *Die Kupferzeit in Ungarn* pp. 77, 79-81, and 93.

⁹ *BUSS* 1955, 1, pl. 2 no. 4.

sets of incised parallel lines. Two sets run down the edges and one set down the upper medial part, where it meets the other two sets about halfway down the blade; there are eight parallel lines in the central set. There are three fine rivets in a diminutive tang. A hollow-based hilt was fastened to the blade by many small rivets. This kind of dagger is derived ultimately from an Egyptian prototype; but the decoration and the shape are characteristic of Central Europe at the time of the Middle Helladic period.¹ *Dagger E* (Fig. 21, E) from the soil of Tumulus A at Vajzë is 15 cm. long, rhomboid in section and with three relatively large rivets in position; it is of the type used in M.M. I-II² and a similar one 12 cm. long was found in Grave F 7 at Leucas. *Dagger F* (Fig. 21, F), a strong bronze dagger 24.2 cm. long, with a rather accentuated medial spine, was found at Vodhinë in Grave 16. It is probably of a Middle Minoan type and it was found with Middle Helladic pottery.³ Two daggers from the tumuli in the Mati valley appear to be of the same type (see Fig. 21, G).⁴ In 1956 Dakaris published a bronze dagger and other objects from tombs which had been found close to the main road near Kalbaki. The dagger, *dagger G*, is 32.8 cm. long, including the haft, and the slightly raised midrib is engraved with four pairs of parallel lines, which run down the length of the blade. It is of a Mycenaean type, belonging to category b in Furumark's classification, and it is of similar design to swords F1 and F2 (p. 319 above). Specimens of this category have been found in datable contexts from L.H. III A2 to L.H. III C2. Dakaris puts the manufacture of the dagger in L.H. III B. It comes from one of four cist graves, which seem to have been made at the same time, and Dakaris has been able to date the other objects from the graves—bracelets, tweezers, a knife, a spear-head, and a necklace with beads of amber, chalcedony, rock crystal, and clay—to the end of L.H. III B or to the beginning of L.H. III C. A dagger, 36.8 cm. long, from Corcyra or Ithaca, is of an earlier Mycenaean type.⁵

The distribution of knives and daggers supports the belief that weapons passing to and from Central Europe came down the Adriatic Sea and then either followed the sea-route by the western islands or

¹ BUSS 1957, 2 with fig. 15 a; see Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization* 118 fig. 58, and 239 in Childe's *European Period III*, and Undset, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* 22. 22 fig. 40 (from South Italy).

² Childe op. cit. 30 fig. 13; Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* Beilage 73 no. 15.

³ BUSS 1956, 1. 186 and fig. 3, 3; see R. B. Seager, *Explorations in the island of Mochlos* fig. 45 xi 22, xiii m, and iii o and j (the first is 23 cm. long); Boardman, *The Grotan Collection from Oxford* 15 fig. 3, I Heraklion 452 and fig. 3, G Heraklion 450 (20 cm. long).

⁴ BUSS 1955, 1, pl. 2 nos. 7 and 8.

⁵ *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 115 fig. 1 and 144: *περί τὸ τέλος τῆς III B ἢ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς C*; the dagger from Corcyra or Ithaca (see p. 325 n. 3 above) is described by H. B. Walters in *Catal. of Bronzes* no. 2752.

turned inland from Valona to the Ioannina plateau and thence to the eastern side of Greece. For the Cypriote and Minoan types of dagger are found not only in Epirus at Dodona, Vajzë, and Vodhinë (daggers A, B, E, and F) but also in Albania (three being in the Mati Valley); and the European type of dagger is found at Vajzë (dagger D).

The first clue to the importance of this route in prehistoric times was provided, as is so often the case, by the literary evidence of the Argonauts and of the Hyperboreans' gifts, which we shall consider shortly. The amber of the Hyperboreans came from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic and via the Adriatic Sea to the Aegean world. Miss Sandars has recently written that 'the route employed in the amber traffic during the Bronze Age is well marked by the scatter of finds in the Ionian Islands and Epirus leading up the Adriatic to the Alpine passes and the north'.¹ In fact the evidence of amber in Epirus is limited to the amber beads from Kalbaki. But there is a more important place where amber has been found, that is in the tumuli of the Mati valley in central Albania; for Frano Prendi reported of his excavations there that he found much amber in the graves.² The Mati river, navigable in its lower reaches like the Aous, was evidently a port of call on the important Adriatic route.

3. BRONZE BATTLE-AXES, SPEAR-HEADS, JAVELIN-HEADS, AND ARROW-HEADS

A. From Dodona a bronze axe, with high socket (measuring 11 cm.) and with a disk-shaped butt.³ This belongs to a distinctive type of axe,⁴ which is believed to have originated during the Bronze Age period V in the Urnfield culture of Hungary; thence it spread west into Bavaria and Denmark, and south-east into Serbia; the axe at Dodona is the only example known in the central Balkans. The Urnfield culture can be broadly dated by its contacts with Macedonia and with the Aegean to the Late Helladic III period; furthermore, the early type of this axe is found at Vattina in a tomb containing examples of the early northern sword which originates in period V phase C (= L.H. III A, i.e. about 1350 B.C.). The axes which spread from Hungary belong to a later type than the Hungarian axe at Vattina; they can be dated according to type to period V and the beginning of period VI phase D (the line of division between the two periods being about 1300 B.C.). The axe at Dodona is intermediate between A2 and A3, which occur

¹ *BSA* 53-54 (1958-9) 239.

² *BUSS* 1955, I. 137.

³ Carapanos, pl. liii 4 and p. 97.

⁴ Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* p. 12 and pl. xi 125; S. Foltiny, *Zur Chronologie der Bronzezeit des Karpatenbeckens* (Bonn, 1955) pp. 70 f. and pl. 46 no. 7.

in phase D; its arrival in Epirus may then be dated to the same period as that in which the northern type of sword entered Greece (i.e. after 1250 B.C. and so between 1250 and 1150 B.C.).¹

B.1 (Fig. 22). From Tseryianni near Grammeno, in the plain of Ioannina, a single-bladed bronze axe (19.5 cm. long; 7.5 cm. high at the cutting edge, 5 cm. high and 3 cm. thick at the head of the blade; 6 cm. high at the butt; 4.5 cm. wide at the bore; 3 cm. diameter of the bore, which is circular). A ridge runs along the top of the axe, which shows that it was cast in a mould. I saw this axe in 1937 at Ioannina in the possession of Chr. Soulis. See Plate XXI *b* (2).

B.2 (Fig. 22). A similar bronze axe is in the Arta Museum, where I saw it in 1953. It came from Siroupolis near Filippias. The bore-hole is circular, 2.8 cm. in diameter, and the axe is 16.5 cm. long and 7.5 cm. wide towards the blade; the butt end is 6.5 cm. high. There is a ridge along the top which shows that it was cast in a mould.

B.3 (Fig. 22). A similar but smaller axe came from the vicinity of Loutro and is now in the Arta Museum, where I saw it in 1953. It is 15.5 cm. long and 6.5 cm. high towards the blade; the butt end is 6 cm. high, and the diameter of the circular bore-hole is 2.5 cm.

B.4. I was told at the Arta Museum that a similar axe had been found at Terovo and was in private possession; I have not seen it, but my informant was a dependable and observant person.

The family to which these axes belong originated during the Bronze Age period IV as a predominant of the Slavonian culture in the region of Laibach, near the head of the Adriatic in the upper valley of the Drave (Fig. 22, B5).² From Laibach it spread into the Danube valley and into the South Tyrol, was adopted by the Urnfield culture of Hungary (where it developed into Fig. 22, B6), and then spread eastwards from Hungary into Bulgaria and as far as Troy VII; to the south it is known in Serbia, between the Drin and the Morava and on the Dalmatian coast (Fig. 22, B8).³

The lacuna between Epirus and central Europe is bridged by one reported (but unpublished) example from Central Macedonia⁴ and

¹ Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory* (Oxford, 1929) pp. 272 f. and figs. 145 c, 147 2, 148 a and d; for Vattina cf. pp. 287 f.

² Childe op. cit. fig. 113 and p. 214; Ebert xiv p. 13.

³ For the Hungarian form cf. Childe op. cit. fig. 147, 5-12 and p. 272. For Bulgaria cf. Ebert ii pls. 100-1; for its further distribution the references are fully given in Casson p. 298. The collection of these axes in the National Museum of Hungary is published in *Folia Archaeologica* 9 (Budapest, 1957) 47 and pls. vi and vii; A. Benac, *Studien Zur Stein- und Kupferzeit im Nordwestlichen Balkan* (Berlin, 1962), shows the distribution of this type of axe in Yugoslavia. The closest parallel to the axes from Epirus is from the Dalmatian coast; see *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 55 (Split, 1953) pl. 4 no. 3 in the Lukanović collection.

⁴ Casson p. 298.

by a number of axes from Albania.¹ Five examples, of which the largest is illustrated in Fig. 22 as B7 (20.5 cm. long; 4.3 cm. wide at the bore), have been found in the neighbourhood of Scutari in North Albania; and I was shown² an axe of the Scutari type at Elbasan in Central Albania, which lies both on the north to south route and also on the later Via Egnatia route from west to east. The Scutari type, with its collar and raised ribs of ornament, is ultimately derived from Hungary. If it reached Albania from Serbia through the Morava valley, its arrival may be dated to the period of Hungarian expansion in the thirteenth century B.C.

The axes from Epirus are related to the one Macedonian example, to the Bulgarian types, which came with the Hungarian expansion but were closer to the original Laibach form, and to the Laibach prototype. We have, then, two alternatives. Either this type of axe entered Epirus at the same time as the northern sword and axe A between 1250 and 1150 B.C., all three being representatives of an expansion originating in Hungary, or else it derived from the Laibach area via the Adriatic sea-route.³

C.1. From Dodona, a double-bladed bronze axe, with a socketed oval bore and swallow-tail wings; ridges along the top and base show that it was cast in a mould. It is 17 cm. long; 4.5 cm. high at the blade, 2.2 cm. before the socket, and 3 cm. including the socket; 2.7 cm. wide

¹ WMBH 12 p. 168 figs. 1 and 2; Ugolini, *Albania Antica* i p. 19 fig. 17 and p. 163; Vulpe, *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 23 (1932) p. 132 f. figs. 1 f. The thesis of Vulpe, that the Scutari type derives from Phoenicia, seems to me to be unacceptable in view of the Hungarian evidence, which supplies closer parallels than Phoenicia (Beaumont, *JHS* 56 (1936) 164, also rejects Vulpe's thesis). D. Garašanin in *Arheoloski Vestnik Acta Archaeologica* 6. 2 (Ljubljana, 1955) 232 (summary in French) dates the Scutari type to the Bronze Age and finds the ultimate origin of the Scutari and Albano-Dalmatian types of axe in the Far East. R. Vulpe in *Hoffierov Zbornik* (Zagreb, 1940) 42 dates a specimen of the Scutari type of axe from Moldavia to not later than the thirteenth century B.C.

² By the courtesy of Mr. Lef Nosi, who informed me that the axe was found near the town of Elbasan in the Shkumbi valley.

³ Childe, *op. cit.* p. 215, supplies some evidence to show that the Laibach culture spread westwards across the head of the Adriatic. But the main current of expansion passed eastwards towards Hungary and south-eastwards towards Serbia. The Klicevac group in North Serbia is of particular importance; intermediate examples of our axes A and B are found there together with traces of Mycenaean influences from the Aegean world. It would appear that the Vardar route was then in use and that the Epirote axes may well derive by that route; cf. Childe p. 286. See also M. V. Garašanin in *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 34 (1951-3) 65 fig. 1 no. 15, 70 Group 3 type 3, 3 and 75, where he stresses the long life which this type of axe had in the full Bronze Age. R. Vulpe has argued for a Phoenician origin of this type of axe and connects it with the legend of Cadmus settling among the Encheleae in Illyria (*Istros* 1934, 44-49 and *BUST* 1960, 2. 165 f.); this view is, I think, rightly rejected by F. Prendi in *BUST* 1958, 1. 214 f., who published three of the axes, one being from Shelcan near Elbasan, and thinks the type was evolved locally. Vulpe's suggestion in *BUST* 1960, 2. 165 f. that this type of axe was a form of ingot seems to be correct, as many specimens show no sign of having been used.

at the centre, the bore measuring 1.5 cm. by 2.8 cm. in diameter. It was given by me to the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. This axe has only one parallel in Greek lands; at Kilindir in Central Macedonia (in the Vardar valley) a double-bladed bronze axe of smaller size (11 cm. long) but of precisely the same form¹ was discovered in the excavation of a tumulus. As the Fitzwilliam Museum has mislaid the axe from Dodona I give a drawing of the one from Kilindir (Fig. 22 as c). The axe at Kilindir is said by Casson to be of Danubian type.² Although I have not found any exact parallel, there are certain features which recall Hungarian axes; the single-bladed Hungarian axe with the disk-butt, which we mentioned above in discussing axe A, has the same narrowing of the waist near the socket, the expanding blade, and the collared socket.³ These distinctive features of the 'hammer-axe' are here seen in a double-bladed axe; when we come to consider axe E from Epirus, we shall see that the double axe was known in Hungary and that its blade developed the same distinctive shape (Fig. 22, E).

C.2 (Fig. 22). A double-bladed bronze axe from Dodona was published by Evangelides in *Ergon* 1959, 76 fig. 81; the bore is evidently oval. He does not include any measurements. It appears to be a battle-axe rather than a small votive axe; if so, it is related to axe C.1 in having a collar (but on the top only) and swallow-tail expansion of the blades (but it is of a fairly uniform height).

C.3 (Fig. 22). A double-bladed bronze axe from the 'Christe' district of Pramanda, 28 cm. long, with a slight swallow-tail expansion of the blades, which are 10.5 cm. high. The height at the narrowest part of the waist is 5 cm.; the oval bore-hole is 4 cm. long and just under 2 cm. wide, and the width of the axe at the bore-hole is 2.5 cm.

The axe at Kilindir was found at the top of stratum II C, from which a bronze sickle of Hungarian type also came to light. The upper part of this stratum indicated that the settlement at Kilindir was destroyed by violence, a fate shared by other Bronze Age sites in this area; the destruction can be dated by the burnt fragments of a Mycenaean 'Bügelkanne', which was found at the top of stratum II C, to approximately 1250–1150 B.C.⁴ The site was not reoccupied in the Iron Age; its culture in the late Bronze Age was primarily of a Danubian type but it was also influenced by Mycenaean contacts. We may conclude

¹ Casson, *Antiquaries Journal* 6 (1926) no. 1, pp. 67 f. and pl. xvii no. 2; *Macedonia*, etc., fig. 45 facing p. 136.

² Ibid. p. 132.

³ Childe, op. cit. pp. 272 f.

⁴ Casson, *ibid.* 6, no. 1, p. 71, dates the 'Bügelkanne' to about 1150 B.C., and in *Macedonia* p. 132 to about 1200 B.C.; in neither place is the 'Bügelkanne' illustrated and it is not clear why it should be dated so late as 1150 B.C. I have therefore enlarged the date to 1250–1150 B.C.

then that the axe C.1 from Dodona derives ultimately from Hungary via the Vardar valley route, on which Kilindir lies; its arrival probably dates to the same period as the axes described above from Epirus, i.e. between 1250 and 1150 B.C.

D.1 (Fig. 22). A large double axe from Terovo; it is reported to have been found about a kilometre south of the Khan at Terovo on a side of the valley before the river Louros (here called the Viros) enters the gorge. Chr. Soulis showed it to me at Ioannina. The axe is 25.5 cm. long, 8 cm. high at the blade and 5 cm. high at the waist; the socket is oval, the long diameter being 5 cm. and the short diameter 2 cm. There is no curvature of the blades and no collar. A similar bronze axe is reported from North Albania (*BUST* 1958, 2. 119 and fig. 7 *a* and *b*).

D.2. Another specimen of this type is illustrated in *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961/2) 2 pl. 225 *b* as coming from the area of Riziani; the blades are slightly curved, the bore is oval (4.3 cm. long), the blade is 7 cm. high and the overall length is 22.3 cm.

E (Fig. 22). Published by Montelius as coming from Epirus,¹ it is about 16.5 cm. long, with an oval bore, flattish top and curving blades; the ridges show that it was cast in a mould. This axe is transitional between C.2 and D.1.

The double axe divides into two classes, those made for use and those intended for monetary or religious purposes. The Epirote examples which we have mentioned belong to the former class; for they are large and are bored for hafting. The double axe as an effective weapon is believed to have originated in or near Crete during Early Minoan II; it spread widely throughout the Aegean and into the western Mediterranean.² Examples of this axe have been found at Athens³ together with a sword of the L.H. III B type. In the Aegean the axes are straight-edged; to this class axe D.1 from Terovo belongs. In Hungary the double axe, which is believed to have been derived from the Aegean, takes on a curved edge, and in some examples the Hungarian collar is added to the socket.⁴ Thus axes C.1, C.2, C.3, and E from Epirus all show Hungarian influence in the curvature of the edges, and C.1 and C.2 have the collar as well.

From Leucas and Acarnania several specimens of the bronze double axe are known. At Charadiatika on the east coast of Leucas two were found, each measuring 17 cm. in length; these two axes are not illustrated, but the description establishes their affinities.⁵ The upper side rises from the cutting-edges towards the centre, which is pierced by an oval bore, and the lower side is slightly curved; along the upper

¹ *Archiv. f. Anthrop.* 25 (1898) p. 459 fig. 40.

² *Archiv. f. Anthrop.* 21 (1890) p. 29 fig. 30.

³ *Ibid.* 26 (1899) p. 951 fig. 436.

⁴ Petrie, *op. cit.* p. 13.

⁵ Dörpfeld, *Ali-Ithaka* i p. 328.

side runs a raised band which forms a collar round the bore. The collar and the curvature of the sides relate these axes to our axes C.1-3 and E from Epirus; and these characteristics are ultimately derived from Hungarian influences. From Sto Gula in the south of Leucas a bored double axe of bronze with strongly curved cutting-edges is reported;¹ though smaller (8 cm. long), it may be related to axe E. From Kekhropoula, on the Acarnanian coast opposite Leucas, bronze double axes which are similar to our axe E are known; one example (17 cm. long), which is illustrated by Dörpfeld, shows the same curvature of the cutting-edges and of the flanks.²

F (Fig. 28). From Dodona Carapanos reports twenty-three 'small votive axes of different sizes, plain and ornamented'; of these he illustrated four.³ Three are specimens of flat axes with lateral projections. Evangelides has found another such axe at Dodona. These axes will be considered in chapter IX as they belong probably to the Early Iron Age.

The five types of axes A-E, which we have been considering, are of considerable importance. The first three types (A, B, and C) derive beyond doubt from the Urnfield culture of Hungary and their arrival in Epirus can be dated with some confidence to the period 1250-1150 B.C. The route by which they came, if we consider the analogies at Vattina and at Kilindir, is most probably through Serbia into the upper Vardar valley; from that point to central Epirus two routes are possible, either through Macedonia or through central Albania. As only one specimen of one type is found in Macedonia, the balance of probability favours the route via central Albania; and this receives some support from the axes related to our type B, which have been found as a local variant at Scutari and Elbasan. The salient feature of this route is that it does not follow a channel of trade; for of the two main trade-routes one passes down the Adriatic to Epirus, the other down the Vardar valley into Southern Macedonia; secondly, these axes are battle-axes which, although they may have been articles of trade, were also carried by the invading peoples who spread outwards from Hungary. We may therefore deduce with some probability that these three axe-types in Epirus reflect an invasion by a body of peoples with the Hungarian type of axe; these peoples had failed to enter Central Macedonia and had turned westwards into central Albania and thence had reached Epirus between 1250 and 1150 B.C. Their influence in Epirus was transitory, for the conservative Epirote pottery remains unchanged, but it carried the new type of battle-axe into Leucas and Acarnania, where variants of our types C and E are found.

¹ *AM* (1902) p. 365 n. 1.

² *Op. cit.* ii pl. 79 b.

³ Carapanos, p. 100 and pl. liv 6-7, 9-10.

These Hungarian invaders may perhaps be regarded as the western counterpart of those Lausitz invaders who penetrated Macedonia c. 1150 B.C. but did not carry their influence south of Thessaly.

The axes of type D show contact with the Mycenaean world during the Late Helladic III period; they serve to corroborate the conclusion, to which we were led by the consideration of the sword and dagger types found in Epirus, namely that Epirus was open to Mycenaean contacts and may have been an intermediate station on the Adriatic route by which communication between Hungary and Greece was maintained.¹

We have already mentioned the bronze spear-heads from Vajžë Tumulus A (p. 229 above). They are as follows. *A* (Fig. 23, A). The slotted spear-head from Grave 12 is 17.5 cm. long and 5.2 cm. wide at the widest point; the upper part of the blade has a small, unemphatic ridge, and the lower part is flat and contains a rivet. The two slots are designed for attachment. Such slotted spear-heads occur in the Cyclades, especially in the tombs at Amorgos, in Early Cycladic and Middle Cycladic times; there is also one in copper from Grave R 24 at Leucas which is 18 cm.² long. I illustrate as Fig. 23, M a slotted spear-head from the Woodhouse Collection in the British Museum; it is 24.5 cm. long, including the spike, and 5 cm. wide at the widest part. It comes from Corcyra or perhaps from Ithaca.³ *B* and *C* (Fig. 23, B, C). The shoed spear-head (in two pieces) from Grave 12 is 16.5 cm. long; the other shoed spear-head which comes from the soil of Tumulus A is described simply as 'olive-leaf shaped'. Each has a rivet-hole in the lower part of the blade. Such shoed spear-heads are found at Sesklo in Middle Helladic graves, where a mould has been discovered, and at Mycenae in Shaft Grave IV of circle A; and there is one specimen from Grave 7 of Tumulus F (Familiengrab F) at Leucas. The affinities with Leucas are particularly close in the case of Tumulus F, which has yielded close analogies to pottery and a dagger found in Tumulus A at Vajžë.⁴ Bronze spear-head *D* (Fig. 23, D) from the soil of Tumulus A at Vajžë is 34 cm. long. The blade has a broad medial rib which flattens out in the upper part, and the blade expands very little; fine lines are engraved beside the edges of the medial rib. It has a long socket with two holes

¹ An axe-adze in copper with a circular bore-hole, illustrated in *BUST* 1958, 2. 112 as coming from North Albania supports the existence of the Adriatic trade-route too; it is of the Late Cypriote bronze type in H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World* (Oxford, 1964) 90 f. and pl. 8 a-c. The use of copper suggests that the axe-adze is a form of ingot or that it is of an earlier date.

² *BUSS* 1957, 2 fig. 11 b; Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization* 53 fig. 26; Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* pl. 63 a 2, where he calls it a dagger as in volume 1. 241.

³ H. B. Walters, *Catal. of the Bronzes in the British Museum* no. 2778.

⁴ *BUSS* 1957, 2 fig. 11a and c; see Childe, op. cit. 70 fig. 36, 1 and 75; Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* pls. 73, 16 and 74 a with an illustration of the mould.

for a nail. So far as one can tell from the illustration, it is of the classical Minoan type, going back to M.M. III.¹ Grave 8 of Tumulus A, which is a later interment, had a bronze spear-head *E* (Fig. 23, *E*), 21 cm. long and 4 cm. wide at the widest point, with a raised medial rib such as occurs on the northern type of slashing sword and a socket with a nail-hole just below the blade.² This spear-head is of a Hallstatt type. Tumulus B Grave 2 had a bronze spear-head *F* (Fig. 23, *F*), 18.2 cm. long, fully leaf-shaped and with the socket running to the tip; this is of a Hallstatt type.³

The following are classified by Frano Prendi as bronze arrow-heads: 1. From Vajzë from the soil of Tumulus A two arrow-heads, each 8.7 cm. long, with leaf-shaped wings, not illustrated ('majë shigjete bronxi . . . me fletë në formë gjethi'). 2 (Fig. 24, 2). From Vajzë Tumulus C Grave 6 a leaf-shaped arrow-head 12 cm. long; this is socketed and has a nail-hole on the side. 3 (Fig. 24, 1). From Vajzë from the soil of Tumulus C a bronze arrow-head, 6 cm. long, with elliptical wings and a socket; this closely resembles one 'from North Albania' which is 7 cm. long (Fig. 24, 5). 4 (Fig. 24, 3). From Vodhinë Tumulus Grave 17 a bronze arrow-head ('majë shigjetë prej bronxi'); the size is not reported by Prendi but it is possible to calculate the length as 12 cm. from the illustration. It is socketed, and the blade is almost fiddle-shaped.⁴

In fact, however, the bronze arrow-head is very rare in the Bronze Age. The Shaft Graves in both Grave Circles at Mycenae contained no arrow-heads of bronze but many of flint or obsidian;⁵ and it is arrow-heads of flint which were found in the soil of Tumulus A and in the soil of Tumulus B at Vajzë. One bronze arrow-head was found outside the Chamber Tomb at the Argive Heraeum;⁶ it is a bronze replica of a flint arrow-head with no stem and it is 5 cm. long. Two bronze arrow-heads with no stem and with three or four small holes for attaching the head to the arrow were found in Chamber Tomb 515 at Mycenae; three are in fact like the so-called arrow plates, with stem and without stem, which occur at Cnossus. The arrow plates without stem at Cnossus are 3.5 to 4 cm. long; those at Mycenae are 4.3 cm. and 4 cm. long; and the sizes of flint arrow-heads run from 2.6 to 5.5 cm.⁷ I have traced only one socketed bronze arrow-head: it comes from Mochlos, is 5.2 cm. long and was found in an E.M. II context,

¹ BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 16; Childe, op. cit. 32 fig. 15.

² BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 9.

³ BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 18.

⁴ BUSS 1957, 2, 89 with fig. 25*b* and 25*a* (Vajzë); BUSS 1956, 1, p. 186 and fig. 3, 2 (Vodhinë); BUST 1958, 2, 113 fig. 4*a*.

⁵ G. E. Mylonas, *Ancient Mycenae* 170.

⁶ Illustrated in BSA 25 (1921-2) 335 fig. 68 *m*.

⁷ *Archaeologia* 82 (1932) 59 and 187; A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos* 4. 836 f. and fig. 816*a* and *b*; K. Müller, *AM* 1909. 292. For other arrow-plates see Persson, *Royal Tombs at Dendra* (Lund, 1931) 103, 16 and 105 fig. 80.

but the excavator says it may be of 'a later date e.g. M.M. I'.¹ The so-called arrow-heads from Vajžë and Vodhinë are not only far too long, except perhaps 3, but they are also of the wrong shape to be arrow-heads which have straight or slightly curved edges. There can be no doubt that they are javelin-heads, not arrow-heads; and even 3 is probably a javelin-head because of its bulging shape.

Javelin-heads in bronze are indeed rare. Those from Isopata in Crete of L.M. III date are entirely different in shape.² A close parallel to my number 2 is found in Shaft Grave IV of Circle A at Mycenae, which dates to the latest part of M.H.; it is 15 cm. long with a round socket, a leaf-shaped blade and a nail-hole.³ Another javelin-head of this shape is illustrated (Fig. 24, 6) from the tumuli of the Mati valley; and another (Fig. 24, 7) in the British Museum, 14.5 cm. long, is in the Woodhouse Collection and comes from Corcyra or perhaps Ithaca.⁴ The three from Vajžë, numbers 1 and 3, may be small javelin-heads of the same kind. The javelin-head from Vodhinë, number 4, which is almost fiddle-shaped, resembles closely one from the tumuli of the Mati valley and one from 'near Thebes' (Fig. 24, 4), which is in the Ashmolean Museum (it is rather longer, being 16.2 cm.).⁵ Of this trio the Vodhinë javelin-head was found with M.H. pottery (see pp. 203 and 310 above) and should be dated to that period; the other two should be attributed to the same time, the more so in view of their unusual shape, which is not so much lanceolate (as Desborough describes it in attributing the Theban one to L.H. III B or L.H. III C) as fiddle-shaped. A javelin-head, some 15 cm. long, of a different shape as the blades spring angularly from a short socket, was found in a Late Mycenaean cemetery together with a sword of Catling's Type II Group II (PAE 1938, 118).

Although Sir Arthur Evans distinguished between spear-heads and javelin-heads, most scholars seem to have forgotten the distinction. Even Miss Lorimer speaks of a spear-head 'so small that it can hardly have been a weapon of war' which was found in Tomb B at Moulana in Crete; this was obviously a javelin-head.⁶ The throwing spear or javelin as well as the thrusting spear was evidently used in North Epirus, certainly in Middle Helladic times and possibly in L.H. III B-C; both types of spear were used by the warriors of the Homeric epic.

¹ R. B. Seager, *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos* (Boston, 1912) 74 and fig. 45.

² A. Evans, op. cit. 4. 840 f.

³ G. Karo, *Schachtgräber von Mykenai*, Grave iv no. 448, pl. 97.

⁴ H. B. Walters, op. cit. no. 2777.

⁵ Illustrated in V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans* 67 and pl. 22d ('near Thebes'); *BUSF* 1955, 1, pl. 2 no. 2 (from Mati).

⁶ H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London, 1950) 257 n. 1.

The tomb near Kalbaki which yielded the dagger and the knife also contained a bronze spear-head *G*, which S. I. Dakaris has dated to L.H. III C; he attributed it to a Mycenaean type, but it is of the leaf-shaped class (Fig. 23, *G*). A bronze spear-head *H* (Pl. XXIc bottom right), 18 cm. long, was found at Lakhanokastro near Visani. I saw it first at the Library of Visani and later at the Ioannina Museum. The socket runs almost to the tip and the flanges of the blade are badly broken, but it appears to be of the same type as that from Kalbaki. The type has a European origin. Dakaris has published a bronze spear-head *I* from Gribiani, where it had been found in a tomb (Fig. 23, *I*); it is of Hallstatt A type, and Dakaris attributes it to about the middle of the thirteenth century B.C. Another bronze spear-head *J* (Fig. 23, *J* and Pl. XXIc in centre) was said to have been found at Koukousos, a village three-quarters of an hour distant from Visani, in a district called Kastro but with no walled fortifications; this district is a quarter of an hour from the village. On a subsequent visit the spear-head had reached the Library at Visani, where I saw it, and it went later to the Museum at Ioannina. It is about 19 cm. long with a heavy socket and an almost flat spear blade, and there are two holes for nails near the base of the socket.¹ The bronze spear-head *K* from the Mycenaean Tholos tomb at Kiperi near Parga has already been mentioned. *J* and *K* are both of the Hallstatt A type. A spear-head of the same kind was found in the grave at Prilep with the sword of northern form which was mentioned above under sword *D*. Spear-head *L* was seen by me at the Ioannina Museum in 1937; its provenience was not known. It is 20 cm. long and has a short socket.

¹ The spear-head from Koukousos resembles pl. 50 no. 8 in S. Foltiny, *Zur Chronologie der Bronzezeit des Karpatenbeckens* (Bonn, 1955); a similar spear-head from Prilep in Macedonia in *Arheološko Društvo Jugoslavije Preistorijska Sekcija 1* (Ochrid, 1960) pl. 1 no. 8. F. Prendi publishes in *BUST* 1958, 2. 113 and fig. 4 a bronze spear-head of Hallstatt A type from somewhere unknown in North Albania.

VIII

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

1. (a) THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE MIDDLE HELLADIC PERIOD

OUR study of the pottery found in Epirus has led us to the deductions that some civilizing influences reached the coast of Epirus first in the Neolithic period, then towards the end of the Early Helladic period, and again in the Late Helladic period; that these influences were due to people who came by sea; and that so far as inland Epirus is concerned there were two periods of external influence in pottery, one towards the end of the Early Helladic period and the other in Late Helladic III. It appears that in the Middle Helladic period Epirus was not exposed to very extensive outside influences either on the coast or in the interior.

The discoveries at Vajzë provide important information for the Middle Helladic period. The weapons from Grave 12 and from the soil of Tumulus A are a mixture of Minoan and Mainland weapons. The presence of Minoan weapons and also of a Cycladic type of slotted spear-head shows that a current of trade flowed then by the Gulf of Valona whether on the way to South Italy and Sicily or up the Adriatic. The probability is that it went in both directions. For the Minoan swords which have been found at Plemmyrium near Syracuse¹ evidently came to Sicily by the sea-route across the Straits of Otranto; and a recent report of objects discovered in tumuli in the Mati valley in Central Albania (some 40 miles north of Durazzo) includes illustrations of two daggers of Middle Minoan type,² which indicate trade up the Adriatic Sea. At the same time one must note that Vajzë lies at a distance of some seven hours on foot from the coast at Valona; it is an inland place and in no sense a maritime station. The rulers of Vajzë cannot have been Minoan settlers. They are likely to have been indigenous and their wealth can be accounted for on two grounds. They were some 10 miles inland of the fossil pitch of Selenicë, which was a valuable export, and close to the route inland

¹ T. J. Dunbabin in *BSR* 16. 1.

² *BUSS* 1955, 1. 110 f. and pl. 2 nos. 7 and 8.

from the Bay of Valona up the Aous valley into the interior. Trade may well have brought weapons to this apparently remote place.

The Mainland weapons call for less comment. Such Mainland weapons are prominent also at Sesklo in the Middle Helladic period, where they have been associated with the coming of Greek-speaking people from the north. But the mixture of Minoan and Mainland weapons is an exciting phenomenon when we look further south. Leucas provides a similar mixture, and the weapons there also were associated with Minyan pottery. But more than this, the Middle Helladic burials of Leucas were made in slab-lined cist graves or in pit graves; they were placed on a pavement of stones or on a thick core of stones, usually surrounded by a stone circle or peribolos, and they were covered over by a tumulus. There were signs of cremation in Grave 12 at Vajzë and equally so at Leucas. We are evidently dealing with peoples of a similar culture at Vajzë and at Leucas in the Middle Helladic period. When we consider whether the occupants of Leucas are likely to have come from the north or those of Vajzë from the south, the distribution of tumulus-burials is of some importance. At Leucas it occurs only in the Middle Helladic period; subsequently the practitioners of it departed or else stayed and adopted Mycenaean customs. In Epirus at Vajzë and also at Vodhinë, Kakavi, and Bodrishtë tumulus-burial persisted into L.H. III and perhaps just into the Early Iron Age; moreover it is found in the Mati valley of Central Albania in the Bronze Age, perhaps even in the Middle Bronze Age.¹ The conclusion seems likely that the people who practised tumulus-burial in Leucas at Skaros and in the Nidhri plain came from the area which includes Central Albania and Northern Epirus. This people of Leucas had in common with the people of Epirus not only the same taste in weapons and burial customs but also the Minyan pottery and the coarse domestic ware which have both been found at sites in Central Epirus.

The most striking similarity to the grave goods of Grave 12 and of the soil of Tumulus A at Vajzë is found not at Leucas in the Skaros and Nidhri graves but at Mycenae in Shaft-grave IV of Grave Circle A. This Shaft-grave is of particular importance at Mycenae because the first burials in it and in the sixth Shaft-grave have been judged to be the earliest graves of Circle A and because it provides an overlap with Grave Epsilon of Circle B, showing that both circles were in

¹ See last note. Thirteen tumuli were opened by the excavators; their diameters ranged from 22 m. to 18 m. and their heights from 2.50 m. to 0.70 m. Since my manuscript went to press we can now add M.H. and L.H. tumulus-burials at Pazhok, which is on the Devoli river where it runs close to the Shkumbi river (*Studia Albanica* 1 (1964) 95 f.); the largest tumulus is 5 m. high by some 45 m. in diameter, to judge from the illustration (ibid. fig. 2).

use in the last phase of the Middle Helladic period.¹ The parallels are as follows. The Minoan rapier of Grave 12 at Vajzë (sword G above, 101 cm. long) and the Minoan rapier of Shaft-grave IV (no. 414, plate 73, 93.5 cm. long).² The two-shoed spear-heads at Vajzë from Grave 12 (16.5 cm. long) and from the soil of Tumulus A and the shoed spear-head of Shaft-grave IV (no. 413, plate 73, 18.1 cm. long). The bronze knife of Grave 12 at Vajzë (17.5 cm. long) and that of Shaft-grave IV (no. 454, plate 97, 17.3 cm. long). The bronze knife from the soil of Tumulus A at Vajzë (13.5 cm. long) and that of Shaft-grave IV (no. 457, plate 102, also 13.5 cm. long). The bronze spear-head with a long socket from the soil of Tumulus A at Vajzë (34 cm. long) and that of Shaft-grave VI (no. 903, 27.7 cm. long). A flint arrow-head with no stem from the soil of Tumulus A at Vajzë and one from Shaft-grave IV (plate 101). A small javelin-head with a leaf-shaped blade from Grave 6 in Tumulus C at Vajzë (12 cm. long) and one of the same unusual kind from Shaft-grave IV (no. 448, plate 97). Another interesting point of resemblance is that Grave 12 at Vajzë contained a hand-made *kantharos* of Minyan style and Shaft-grave IV (no. 611, plate 171) contained one also hand-made—a rarity at Mycenae where the wheel was known. The similarities between Vajzë and Mycenae far exceed those between Leucas and Mycenae.³

These astonishing similarities show that the rulers of Vajzë and the early rulers of Mycenae had not only the same taste in the weapons which accompanied them into the grave but also virtually the same weapons. The similarity does not end there; for the burial customs also have much in common. Grave Circle A at Mycenae in its present monumental form was rebuilt on the site of an original and humbler Grave Circle. The discovery of Grave Circle B, which has not been rebuilt, and which was probably earlier than the original Grave Circle A, has added much to our knowledge. There, and probably in the original Grave Circle A, the peribolos was a wall of large unworked stones, 1.55 m. thick and up to 1.20 m. high, built in late Middle Helladic times. It is unfortunate that Frano Prendi has not described the details of the tumuli at Vajzë, but he has done so for the later ones at Vodhinë, Kakavi, and Bodrishtë. It is clear that Grave Circle B at Mycenae was designed on similar lines to the Grave Circles of Epirus, that is with a peribolos of unworked stones, more massive at Mycenae than in Epirus.⁴ The resemblance between Mycenae and Leucas is less close. The scale is different. The Grave Circles at

¹ G. E. Mylonas, *Ancient Mycenae* (London, 1957) 143.

² The references are to G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* (Munich, 1930/3).

³ Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* 1. 316, commented, for instance, on the two-handled *kantharos* of Familiengrab F that the same *kantharos* was found in Shaft-grave IV.

⁴ The plans of the Circles at Leucas are given in Dörpfeld op. cit. 2, Tafel 13 and 14.

Mycenae are both about 27.50 m. in diameter; the earliest tumulus at Vajžë, Tumulus A, is 24 m. in diameter; the other three at Vajžë are over 20 m. each. Those elsewhere in North Epirus run from 14 to 17 m. The Familiengrab at Skaros in Leucas is 12.10 m. in diameter and the Königsgräber at Steno vary from 2.70 m. to 9.60 m. in diameter. The burials within the Grave Circles at Mycenae were some in what Mylonas¹ has called 'cist graves cut in the rock' and others in Shaft-graves. The analogy of the former with those at Vajžë and in Leucas is obvious. The Shaft-grave is likely to have developed from a pit grave or a cist grave which had to be sunk into an already existing tumulus. For in Epirus, where the tumulus of Vodhinë, for instance, stands over 3 m. high even after centuries of erosion, a secondary burial may originally have been sunk as deep as 10 or 12 ft. into the soil. Markers were clearly needed in such a situation; otherwise one might have dug down into an existing grave.

There would therefore be a ready explanation for the development of Shaft-graves and for the use of markers at Mycenae if the Grave Circles there had originally been covered with tumuli, as they are in Epirus. Such tumuli might have disappeared at Mycenae through the rebuilding at Grave Circle A and through later constructions, where the ground 'was terraced up level'² just above Grave Circle B. Indeed Mylonas has observed that in Grave Circle B each grave—and there were twenty-four of them—probably had a small mound over it.³ One wonders whether twenty-four small mounds in an area 27.50 m. wide in diameter are as likely as a single large mound. But, whether or not tumuli originally covered the two Grave Circles, we find not only the circular wall but the tumulus in use in the next type of royal burial at Mycenae and on the same scale. For Wace noted⁴ a circular retaining wall 20 to 25 m. in diameter and a mound or tumulus of earth over the top of the Tholos Tomb of Clytemnestra and the Treasury of Atreus; and Stamatakes reported the same features at the Lion Tomb at Mycenae and at the Tholos Tomb near the Argive Heraeum. It looks as if these uses of a circular wall and a tumulus were continuations of practices which had originally existed in the Grave Circles.

The resemblances between Vajžë and Mycenae are so striking that one should consider also the differences. Vajžë had a Cycladic type of slotted spear-head which is not found at Mycenae; this may indicate that Grave 12 at Vajžë was made earlier in the Middle Helladic period

¹ Op. cit. 144 f. in both circles; Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilisation* 75, made the same point: 'Shaft-grave II is really just a Minyan cist.'

² F. H. Stubbings in *CAH*³ ii. 14 p. 6 (1963).

³ Op. cit. 148.

⁴ In *JHS* 74 (1954) 170.

than Shaft-grave IV at Mycenae. The excavators of Vajzë found no markers, but there must have been some markers on the tumulus if only for practical reasons, and they may have been of wood. Vajzë had no gold death-masks. But a piece of gold leaf was found in the soil of Tumulus B at Vajzë. It was decorated with a device which appears on the gold diadems of Shaft-grave IV; but the same device is found also in later times.¹ Indeed the only close parallel to the gold death-masks at Mycenae comes from Trebenishte near Lake Ochrid many centuries later, where their use might have been a survival of an indigenous custom. When we consider the similarities and the differences, the general deduction may be made that the rulers of Vajzë have a very strong similarity to the early rulers of Mycenae.

When we consider whether the rulers of Vajzë are likely to have come from the south or those of Mycenae from the north, there can be little doubt that Vajzë is most unlikely to have been occupied by settlers from Mycenae at so early a date and in so remote a place, especially since the settlements from Mycenae which we do know lacked the distinctive features common to Vajzë and Mycenae. The alternative seems highly likely. The rulers of Mycenae are generally supposed to have been Greek-speaking persons who came from the north in view of their warlike disposition, their large weapons and their considerable height. Taller men than the Greeks of today come from Albania, where the mountaineers, whether Albanian or Vlach in race, are often 6 ft. tall. Indeed, in view of the evidence from Vajzë and in the present state of our archaeological evidence, the area comprised by Central Albania and north Epirus is more likely than any other area to have been the homeland of the warriors who established themselves as kings of Mycenae late in the Middle Bronze Age. Their armament consisted then of thrusting-spears, throwing-spears or javelins, bows and arrows, daggers and rapier-swords, and they were evidently 'champions in war', who won their realms by combat. Once established in the Peloponnese, they developed on different lines, because Mycenae rapidly became a centre of wealth and of power which, unlike Vajzë, entered the wider world of Aegean civilization.²

¹ BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 14c and Karo op. cit., e.g. no. 286, pl. 38; for a similar design in gold leaf at Chauchitsa, see Casson fig. 53. A gold head-ornament is reported from the tumuli at Pazhok and dated to Late Helladic (*Studia Albanica* 1 (1964) 96).

² F. H. Stubbings, in *CAH*² ii. 14 p. 11 f. (1963) refers to the 'champion's physique' and the barbarous ostentation of the early rulers at Mycenae. He looks to Egypt and the Levant for their origin; he was unaware of the excavations in North Epirus, but in any case close analogies in Egypt and the Levant are lacking.

1. (b) THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR LATE HELLADIC III

Important evidence for this period comes from the tumuli of North Epirus which we have already described in general terms. The contents of the tumuli, apart from the objects of the Middle Helladic period and of much later periods, are listed here for convenience of reference:

VAJZĚ TUMULUS A (apart from Grave 12 and objects from the soil of the tumulus which are dated with the contents of Grave 12 to the Middle Helladic period). *Grave 1*. A long bronze pin with a small conical head; it is broken, and the bronze seems to be twisted. The length is not given, but it may be estimated from the illustration at about 21 cm. Prendi says that similar long bronze pins have been found in graves at Lesković and at Vodhině. *Grave 2*. A twisted iron pin with a funnel-shaped top (length not given but originally more than 10 cm.). An iron knife with a tang holding one rivet, round in section; the knife is 9 cm. long. Four pierced beads of bronze, biconical in shape but with the ends of the cones truncated; the measurements are given as 3.3 cm., i.e. in length, 1.6 cm. at the centre, i.e. in diameter, and 1.2 cm. at the ends. Prendi reports that bronze beads of similar shape were found in the Mati valley tumuli and that they have also been found in Bulgaria.¹ A pierced reel of bronze, biconical and with ringed ends, which carries on its surface sets of incised concentric circles with a drop at the centre of each set; the sets of concentric circles are symmetrically arranged. The reel is 6 cm. long and 3.3 cm. wide at the widest point. A reel of this shape is illustrated from Gevgeli and is attributed to the Middle and Late Hallstatt period. Another of this shape comes from the cemetery at Chauchitsa, which was dated to the Iron Age by Casson.² *Grave 7*. Bronze sword H of type II Group IV (Fig. 20 and p. 320 above), which may be dated within the period from c. 1150 B.C. to the Early Iron Age. *Grave 8*. Bronze spear-head E, 21 cm. long and 4 cm. wide at the widest point, with nail-holes at the top end of the socket (Fig. 23 and p. 338 above). Thirty-seven 'mushroom-shaped' bronze buttons, 5 cm. high and 1.3 cm. in diameter at the base. The tip of each button has a small hole through which a rivet with a hemispherical head was passed in order to fasten the button. Similar small rivets were found

¹ Prendi cites BUSS 1955, 1. 119 pl. 6, and R. Popov in *Izvestia na B. A.* 1 vol. 2 (1924, Sofia) 121.

² BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 4c; M. Ebert 2 pl. 108d (Gevgeli); Casson fig. 58 centre (Chauchitsa). Casson shows at the top of the same figure a bronze bead which looks like the Vajzě beads of this grave.

in the tumuli of 'Upper Dropol' (not specified where or in which grave) and also in the vicinity of Scutari in North Albania. The large number and the method of attachment make it pretty certain that these 'buttons' were studs on a leather belt and not buttons on clothes; such studs have been found especially in Bavaria and in the Hautes-Alpes.¹ I have not found a parallel to this method of attachment; but it is probably earlier than the simpler and more economical use of sharp prongs on the stud, which occurred at the end of the Bronze Age in Central Europe and was used in the Early Iron Age. Two plaques of shaped bone, rectangular in shape; one measures 5.9 cm. × 5 cm; one of the short sides has a central dip (see Fig. 26, no. 3) and at each corner an incised decoration of two concentric circles. As the plaques are compared by Prendi to those at Kakavi which are pierced at the centre of the concentric circles, it is possible that these at Vajzë are pierced in the same way. We shall meet examples of such plaques both in bronze and in bone at other tumuli. As the plaques were usually fitted with rivets, they were evidently attached by them to leather belts or straps. The plaques are either belt-ornaments or wrist-guards; the former are found in much the same contexts as the bronze studs, and the latter were worn in Hungary and Central Europe from c. 1400 B.C. onwards. The almost square shape suggests that they are belt-ornaments and this suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the graves from which they came at Vajzë, Kakavi, Vodhinë, and Bodrishtë did not contain any arrow-heads.² An iron sword, 85 cm. long, with four iron rivets of which two were in the broken-off haft and one in each shoulder (Fig. 27, no. 3). The edges of the blade are parallel and it is intended for slashing. As the flanges and the placing of the rivets resemble those features in the later groups of the type II Bronze sword, this sword is likely to be an early example of the iron sword.³ *Grave 9*. Two bronze pins, 20.2 cm. and 21 cm. long respectively, one of which ended in a mushroom-shaped head (Fig. 25, c); and one iron pin 11.2 cm. long with a funnel-shaped top (Fig. 25, no. 5). *Grave 10*. A bronze pin 33 cm. long, round in section, decorated with an incised vertical zigzag line and ending in a flat-topped head in the shape of a truncated cone. This pin has an elongated swelling

¹ BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 10b. Prendi says that similar buttons were found at Vodhinë, but they are not mentioned in his publication of the excavation at Vodhinë in BUSS 1956, 1. 180 f. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie* 3. 348 fig. 358, illustrates the pronged studs from Guillestre, which are of the Early Iron Age, and he adds that the belts and the buttons or studs there were already used at the end of the Bronze Age.

² Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization* 221 fig. 109, illustrates a wrist-guard of gold leaf from Bohemia; Déchelette, *op. cit.* 3. 347 fig. 357, illustrates bronze belt-ornaments, of which the central one was fixed at each corner as were the bronze plaques from Kakavi.

³ BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 8; Catling, *Antiquity* 35 (1961) 119 fig. 2.

some 7 cm. below the head (Fig. 25, E). *Grave 11*. Two bronze pins, decorated with an incised vertical zigzag line and ending in a small biconical head; they measure 27 cm. and 28 cm. in length (Fig. 25, nos. 1A and B)). *Grave 13*. Thirty-six beads of which some were in glass paste; they are likely to be of Mycenaean date.

VAJZĚ TUMULUS B. A bronze sword, J, of type II Group II, which is of the transitional period L.H. III B–C, from the soil of the Tumulus (Fig. 20 and p. 320 above). A round piece of gold leaf, 2.2 cm. in diameter, which has a design of concentric circles impressed in relief and in dots (Fig. 26, no. 8). This so-called repoussé technique is found on a piece of helmet at Tiryns, dated by Verdhelis to about 1100 B.C., on a shield in Cyprus, dated by Catling to towards the end of the twelfth century, and on a piece of gold leaf from the cemetery at Chauchitsa, dated by Casson to the Early Iron Age.¹ *Grave 1*. Two bronze pins, 19.5 cm. and 17 cm. long. *Grave 2*. A bronze spear-head of lanceolate shape, F, (see Fig. 23, and p. 338 above), which may be of the same period as that from Kalbaki, i.e. early in L.H. III C. *Grave 3*. Two bronze pins, 28 cm. and 17 cm. long.

It seems likely that the objects from the soil of Tumulus B are from earlier graves, of which the contents were dispersed when Graves 1, 2, and 3 were placed in the Tumulus. As these graves appear to be those of one man and two women, they are probably of a single period. If so, the sword and the piece of gold leaf may be early in L.H. III C and Graves 1, 2, and 3 in the middle of L.H. III C; or the gold leaf may be of an even earlier period (see p. 345 above).

VAJZĚ TUMULUS C. *Grave 2*. Five spherical beads of glass paste, probably of Mycenaean date. Two bronze beads. Long iron pins, of which one is illustrated; this one is broken, and the surviving pieces are 11 cm. long in all (Fig. 25, no. 4). An iron spear-head, 37.5 cm. long, with an 'olive-leaf-shaped' blade (Fig. 27, no. 6). A two-handled jar of a type current in Macedonia throughout the Bronze Age.² *Grave 4*. Two biconical beads of clay of a kind in use throughout Mycenaean times and a tumbler-shaped pot without handles. *Grave 5*. A double-shanked iron pin of Glasinac type and a belt-buckle of iron, 4.3 cm. long, which is probably of the Christian era.³ *Grave 6*. A leaf-shaped 'arrow-head' with a heavy socket, which

¹ BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 14c, 'te neqeje florini', literally 'tin-foil florins', but in the context it evidently means 'gold-leaf sequins'. The same design occurs on diadems from Shaft-grave IV at Mycenae (see p. 345 above). Verdhelis, *Eph. Arch.* 1956 Suppl. 4 (Tiryns); Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework* 146 (Cyprus); Casson, fig. 53 no 1 (Chauchitsa). The Tiryns helmet is illustrated also by Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans* pl. 24. 9.

² BUSS 1957, 2 figs. 22a (pin), 24 (spear-head) and 23a (jar).

³ J. Boardman kindly suggested a parallel to the belt-buckle in *Corinth* 12 pl. 113–15. BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 22 b and c.

is in fact a javelin-head; it is 12 cm. long and has nail-holes in the socket (Fig. 24, no. 2).¹ *Grave 7*. A bronze finger-ring, 2 cm. in diameter. The soil of Tumulus C yielded a bronze finger-ring, 1.7 cm. in diameter; two rings of bronze wire; and a bronze 'arrow-head', 6 cm. long, with elliptical wings (Fig. 24, no. 1).²

VAJŽĚ TUMULUS D. *Grave 1*. Four biconical clay beads, like those from Tumulus C *Grave 4*; and a pin of bronze wire with incised zigzag decoration. *Grave 2*. A pin of bronze wire, 17.5 cm. long. *Grave 3*. A pin of bronze wire 13 cm. long. *Grave 4*. A bronze pin 16 cm. long with a hemispherical head.

KAKAVI TUMULUS. *Grave 1*. A bronze sword, K, of type II Group I, which is to be dated generally to the transitional period L.H. III B—C, though one at Moulana may be as late as 1125 B.C. (Fig. 20 and p. 320 above. An iron knife, 10 cm. long, with one bronze rivet and with a curving back (Fig. 27, no. 1); its shape is similar to that of the bronze knife with two bronze rivets from Kalbaki. *Grave 4*. Iron tweezers 5 cm. long, smaller but sturdier in shape than the bronze tweezers from Kalbaki. *Grave 4*. Small fragments of bone plaque, of which the surface on one side is decorated with sets of four incised concentric circles; in the centre of each set a perforated hole held a bronze rivet with a hemispherical head and with a turned-up tail. These pieces of plaque are like those from Vajžě Tumulus A *Grave 8*. In the piece which is illustrated (Fig. 26, nos. 4 and 5) the turn-over at the edge of the bone plaque may have been used to fasten the belt, for instance by going over a piece of bronze wire, and the points of the rivets were evidently turned-up (Fig. 26, no. 7) after piercing a leather belt, in order not to prick the owner or pull out of the leather.³ Five bolt-shaped bone pins, round-topped, 4 cm. long and with a roughly shaped head, which is pierced horizontally to receive a small bronze rivet (Fig. 26, no. 6); these bolts are rather like the so-called bone 'hammer-pins' and are likely at this time to have come from the Danubian area.⁴ Two pieces of bronze plaque (Fig. 26, nos. 1 and 2), one of which measures 6.5 × 5.2 cm. Both of them have a central dip on one side, such as occurs in the bone plaques from Vajžě Tumulus A *Grave 8* (but here on a long side), and in each corner there is a rivet-hole; some rivets were in place and had a hemispherical head. The plaques are decorated with five parallel lines of dots along their length and with a line of dots at the edges of

¹ BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 25b.

² BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 25a.

³ BUST 1959, 2 figs. 5 and 6a-g.

⁴ Childe, *The Dawn of European Civilization* 154 fig. 76 no. 6, illustrates 'hammer-pins', where he mentions examples of a much earlier period from Anatolia, Caucasus, and Italy (see his p. 240).

the short sides. The technique is that known as repoussé. All these objects were in the middle of the slab-lined cist tomb, which had evidently not been disturbed. If our hypotheses are correct, the warrior who was buried here some decades before 1125 B.C. had a slashing sword of bronze, an iron knife with a bronze rivet, iron tweezers, a belt with a bone clasp and with bronze ornaments, and some hammer-pins, which were probably used for fastening a piece of leather equipment such as a jerkin or a shield.

BODRIŠTĚ TUMULUS A. *Graves 1 and 2.* Only sherds of undecorated cooking pots and a two-handled pot of a kind common in all periods of the Bronze Age in Macedonia. *Grave 6.* A lunate ring, 2 cm. in diameter. Other graves were of a later period.¹

BODRIŠTĚ TUMULUS B. Most of the graves were of the Greek and Roman periods but two were early. *Grave 9.* Nine small bronze buttons, varying from 0.7 to 0.6 cm. in height and from 0.9 to 0.6 cm. in diameter, hemispherical in shape and with a channel (or groove) bisecting the base; this channel was bridged by bronze loops at each end and in the middle, presumably to hold the thread when they were sewn into place (Fig. 26, no. 10). These buttons were found in among the bones in the slab-lined cist grave, 2.20 × 0.75 × 0.70 m., and had presumably been attached to the dead man's clothing. The excavator compares these buttons with a type found in Bavaria; and such buttons are dated there to the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age.² Five pieces of bronze plaque, 2.4 cm. long and 1 cm. wide, rectangular in shape and flanged on both long sides; it is evidently an edging strip (Fig. 26, no. 11). One broken piece of thin bronze plaque, 2.5 cm. long and 1 cm. wide, with a row of drops in the repoussé technique (Fig. 26, no. 9). *Grave 10.* Two bronze buttons like those in Grave 9, and two larger bronze buttons, also hemispherical, 1.5 cm. in diameter. These graves had evidently been rifled by those who made later burials in the tumulus.

VODHINĚ TUMULUS (the tumulus here contained also some Middle Bronze Age burials, see p. 310 above). *Grave 12.* A bronze spectacle-fibula, 9.8 cm. long (Fig. 25, no. 3), and not far from it a bronze pin in two pieces, which together made up 19 cm.; the pin, round in section, had a 'conical or hemispherical head' and was decorated for part of its length with an incised vertical zigzag line (such zigzag lines occurred on pins at Vajžě). A painted pot, akin to one at

¹ *BUST* 1959, 2. 198 fig. 9c.

² *BUST* 1959, 2. 204 referring to Déchelette *Manuel* ii (Paris, 1913) 861 fig. 358; this is still fig. 358 in the second edition (1927). The buttons, however, are different because they are pronged. I find a closer parallel in Déchelette i. 337 fig. 134 no. 2 which shows a Bronze Age type of button.

Boubousti (see p. 310 above) and datable to the very end of the Late Bronze Age or to the beginning of the Early Iron Age.¹ *Grave 17*. A lanceolate bronze javelin-head (Fig. 24, no. 3). *Grave 14*. A bronze sword I (Fig. 20 and p. 320 above), which is of type II Group I and in view of analogies elsewhere is datable to the transitional period L.H. III B—C, though one example at Moulana in Crete may be as late as 1125 B.C. As we have seen above (p. 202), Graves 14 and 17 are earlier than Grave 12.

Although the graves in the tumuli at Vajžë, Kakavi, Bodrishtë, and Vodhinë may be spread over a century or more (apart from the earlier Middle Helladic burials and the much later ones), we can see that the tumuli represent the similar practices of two groups of people, one at Vajžë and the other near the head of the Drin valley, some two days' distance apart. Common denominators, in addition to burial customs, are the long pins of bronze (Vajžë A9, A10, A11, B1, B3, D1, D2, D3, D4, Vodhinë 12), often with zigzag decoration; the belt ornaments, (Vajžë A8, Kakavi 1, Bodrishtë B9); the love of concentric circles (Vajžë A2, soil of B, Kakavi 1); the repoussé technique (Vajžë soil of B, Kakavi 1, Bodrishtë B9); the bronze swords of type II (Vajžë A7, soil of B, Kakavi 1, Vodhinë 14); the leaf-shaped bronze spear-heads and javelin-heads (Vajžë A8, B2, C6, Vodhinë 17); the iron knives (Vajžë A2, Kakavi 2); the beads of glass paste (Vajžë A13, C2); and the association of bronze and iron within one grave (Vajžë A2, A8, A9, C2, Kakavi 1).

The people who possessed these burial customs and weapons may have had some affinity with the people who buried in tumuli but usually not in cist graves in the Mati valley; but their culture has only a few points in common with that of the Mati valley (the use of biconical bronze beads and of leaf-shaped javelin-heads and spear-heads). It seems possible that our groups and the Mati valley people may have had in some respects a common ancestry or a common source of inspiration; but it was remote at this time. On the other hand our groups are different from the people further south in Epirus. The warriors at Kalbaki, only 15 miles away as the crow flies from Bodrishtë but across the watershed, did not have tumuli; the furniture of their cist graves on the one hand lacked the bronze pins and on the other hand contained spiral-ended bracelets. The only feature common to our groups and to Kalbaki is the leaf-shaped spear-head, which is quite widely spread in Epirus. Stray objects from Vaxia (see p. 180 above) resemble objects from the tumuli.

¹ *BUS* 1956, 1, 184 and fig. 2 nos. 3, 4, and 5. In *BUST* 1959, 2, 211 Prendi compares this pot to Protogeometric pottery from Marmariani in Thessaly, but the comparison is much closer with Boubousti.

The influences which underlie the culture of our groups come entirely from Europe and not from Mycenaean Greece (the glass-paste beads are the only Mycenaean objects). The European elements are the use of tumuli, the type II swords, the leaf-shaped spear-heads, javelin-heads, and arrow-heads, the belt ornaments, the bronze beads, the bronze reel, the bronze studs, the bronze buttons, the curving-backed knife, the lunate ring, the hammer-pins and the spectacle-fibula. The iron weapons (see Fig. 27), that is the sword of Vajzë A8, the spear-head of Vajzë C3, the iron knife of Vajzë A2 and the iron knife with a bronze rivet of Kakavi 2, are copies of northern types in bronze. The iron pins (see Fig. 25) according to Prendi are copies of the bronze pins. It seems likely that our groups possessed bronze and iron weapons from a common source (Epirus having no suitable minerals), and that this source was in Europe, not in Greece. The date at which this group first had iron is dependent on the date of the associated finds in Vajzë A2, A8, A9, C2, and Kakavi 2; we shall consider this matter later.

It may be noted *en passant* that Dodona has yielded an iron knife with curving back and one rivet (Fig. 27, no. 2), which is closer to the bronze knife from Kalbaki than to the iron knife from Kakavi. It too is of a European and not a Mycenaean type.¹ An iron sword, 58 cm. long, from Dodona is a hybrid (Fig. 27, no. 4); it has the cruciform guard and the narrow medial rib, engraved with parallel lines, of the Mycenaean type (it is indeed very similar in these respects to one of the bronze swords from Grevena), but the blade swells in a leaf-shaped fashion like the latest type II bronze swords. It is probably early in the development of the iron sword.²

So far as Epirus is concerned these groups disappeared with the first transition from bronze to iron, which is visible in a few graves. Burials in tumuli do not recur in Epirus. They are found at Apollonia in the sixth century B.C.;³ but there are none at Buthrotum, Ploçë, and Dyrrachium, where excavations have been pretty thorough. These tumuli were, of course, for the chieftains (or royal families) only and not for the ordinary tribesmen; so costly a dedication of land, 20 m. in diameter, is out of the question for every ordinary family in an area so poor in arable land. These chieftains were evidently champions in the epic days of single combat, and their military equipment went into the grave with them. While there is a link in tradition with the royal family burials of the Middle Helladic period at Vajzë, and probably also at Vodhinë, the Late Bronze Age burials in the tumuli begin not earlier than the end of L.H. III B. For the earliest objects are the

¹ Carapanos pl. 53 no. 7.

² *BUST* 1959, 2. 239 f.

³ Carapanos pl. 57 no. 2.

bronze swords of type II Group I (Kakavi 1 and Vodhinë 14) and of type II Group II (Vajzë, soil of B). Of these the type II Group I sword at Kakavi was in the company of an iron knife with a bronze rivet and iron tweezers, so that it is not likely to be earlier than L.H. III C. The lanceolate fashion in spear-heads, javelin-heads, and arrow-heads, though of L.H. III B at Kiperi and of early L.H. III C date at Kalbaki, is also associated once with iron in one grave (Vajzë A8). On the other hand, the rarity of iron in these tumuli graves shows that the lower limit of time is the actual transition from bronze to iron. After that time these chieftains are no more to be found in Epirus. In view of the general trend southwards, they may be looked for in that direction—if they survived at all.

Before we turn south, we may summarize the position in Epirus in the last part of the Bronze Age. A Greek-speaking population of pastoral habits was already in occupation of Epirus and the area to the north; this population was related to that of Western Macedonia. Their crude culture in Epirus was marked only by domestic ware with finger-made ornaments of various kinds (in particular of category K₂ above). In Late Helladic III two separate styles of matt-painted pottery appeared in the plateau of Ioannina; one was brought perhaps by people from Central Macedonia in L.H. III A and the other by people from South-west Macedonia in L.H. III B. Pottery of the latter type is found as far north in Epirus as Vodhinë. At the turn of L.H. III B to L.H. III C chieftains were buried in cist graves at Kalbaki with their weapons, which included a dagger of Mycenaean type and a spear-head and a knife of European type, with spiral-ended bracelets of bronze wire of a European kind and with local Epirote pottery of the unpainted kind.¹ It is likely that these chieftains belonged either to the people who had been in Epirus since at least Middle Helladic times or to one of the groups of incomers from Macedonia during L.H. III A and B. In the course of L.H. III C and down to late in L.H. III C (which in my chronology ends *c.* 1125 B.C.) the chieftains of two groups, related by common customs of burial and dress, were buried in cist graves and occasionally in pit graves within a tumulus, with their weapons, which were entirely of a European type. One of the groups was at Vajzë and the other in the Kseria valley off the upper Drin. These two groups seem to have come into Epirus from areas to the north and north-west. Finally the battle-axes, which are not found at all in the armoury of the graves we have mentioned, show that a different body of peoples with weapons of a Hungarian type came via central Albania into Epirus between 1250 and 1150 B.C. and most probably *c.* 1150 B.C. as a western counterpart

¹ Dakaris, *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 114 f. with figs. 1, 2, and 4.

of the Lausitz invaders of Macedonia. Concurrently Mycenaean culture (which has little or nothing to do with 'Mycenaeans')¹ reached the coastal area of Southern Epirus, particularly in the lower valley of the Acheron river; and some artefacts of Mycenaean types penetrated inland into Central and Southern Epirus as far as the headwaters of the Kalamas, but not into the Drin valley.

This picture is one of relatively short duration. By 1125 B.C. or not long afterwards the bearers of the painted potteries, the users of the tumulus burials and the carriers of the battle-axes have disappeared from Epirus, and the same may be true of the users of the cist graves seen, for example, at Kalbaki. If we had no evidence from other areas we should infer for Epirus that these inland peoples of Epirus migrated southwards or south-eastwards in the course of L.H. III C and particularly after 1150 B.C., when heavy pressure was exerted from the direction of Central Albania by the warriors of the battle-axe. On the other hand, there is no evidence of a large-scale movement of peoples from Epirus in the course of L.H. III B.²

The archaeological evidence to the south is, of course, involved with the collapse of Mycenaean civilization. The destruction of some sites in the latter part of L.H. III B, that is to say soon after the sack of Troy, should be attributed to internal *stasis* on the Mycenaean mainland; for intrusive artefacts of a non-Mycenaean kind are conspicuously lacking at that time. It is in L.H. III C, and especially late in L.H. III C and in the succeeding Sub-Mycenaean period, that the intrusive artefacts are found. The chronology for this crucial epoch is precarious; but the present evidence is still consistent with my dating of the Sub-Mycenaean period as from 1125 to 1075 B.C. at Athens³ (and probably at Argos). The divisions at either end of the Sub-Mycenaean period, and in Crete of the Sub-Minoan period, are ragged and vary from place to place.

The intrusive artefacts in early contexts have generally been listed as follows. The places where they have been found are added; the places in Epirus are in italics.⁴

¹ I make the distinction because Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans* 37 and elsewhere, speaks of 'Mycenaeans' as if they were a separate ethnic group—for instance, at Kalbaki 'the dead were not Mycenaean'.

² Desborough, *op. cit.*, believes that a large-scale invasion by land, originating perhaps from Epirus, penetrated to the tips of the Peloponnese and that then the invaders returned to the areas whence they had come. This seems to me contrary to common sense; the richer lands of the south were not spoils to be abandoned by invaders in favour of the pastoral areas of Epirus.

³ In Hammond *GH* (1959) 84. The present evidence includes the reoccupation pottery of Miletus; see Desborough, *op. cit.* 254, where he corrects his earlier chronology of Proto-Geometric pottery.

⁴ References will be found for places other than those in North Epirus in the summaries

1. *Swords*. Type II Group I. 'Greece', Crete (Mouliaana), Naxos, Cos, Cyprus (3), *Vodhinë, Kakavi*.
Type II Group II. Mycenae, Tiryns (3), Thessaly (Graditsa), *Vajzë*.
Type II Group III. Phocis, Crete (3) (Mouliaana 2, and Mesara plain 1).
Type II Group IV. Cyprus, Megiddo, Hama, *Vajzë*.
2. *Long bronze pins*. Attica (Kerameikos); Salamis; Crete (Mouliaana, Karphi and Gypsadhes); Argos; Ithaca; Macedonia (Boubousti and Grevena¹); *Vajzë* (in 11 graves); *Leskoviq, Vodhinë, and Pramanda*.
3. *Leaf-shaped spear-heads, javelin-heads, and arrow-heads*. Ithaca; Corcyra; Cephallenia; Crete (Mouliaana); Boeotia (near Thebes); perhaps Achaea; *Vajzë* (6); *Vodhinë, Kalbaki, Gribiani, Lakhano-kastro, Koukousos, and Kiperi*.²
4. *Shield bosses*. Tiryns; Scyros; Attica (Kerameikos); Crete (Mouliaana, Vrokastro and Kavousi); Cyprus; Leucas³ (3 of a much earlier date); Macedonia (Chauchitsa); *Dodona* (and perhaps shield edgings from *Bodrishtë*).
5. *Spectacle-fibulae*. Rhodes; Thera; Sparta; Olympia; Arcadia; Achaea; Argolid; Delphi; Boeotia; Locris; Phocis; Thessaly; Macedonia (Chauchitsa, Grevena and Vergina); *Vodhinë* and *Dodona*.

The last of these, the spectacle-fibulae, are the most widespread; but the great majority of the examples are from the ninth and eighth centuries. They have been found mainly on the Greek mainland and more often north than south of the Isthmus.⁴

made for swords by H. Catling in *Antiquity* 35 (1961) 115 f. and *Cypriot Bronzework* (1964) 110 f., and by N. K. Sandars in *AJA* 67 (1963) 117 f.; for long pins by Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans* (1964) 53 f. (he mentions three other sites, but the reports of the excavators do not define the pins as being of the long variety; he does not include the pin from Boubousti); for leaf-shaped or 'lanceolate' blades by Desborough op. cit. 66 f.; for shield bosses by Desborough op. cit. 66 f. and Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework* 142 f. (neither mentions those from Leucas and the one from Dodona); for spectacle-fibulae by Blinkenberg (see n. 4 below); and for cist tombs by Desborough op. cit. 37 f.

¹ *BSA* 18 (1911-12) 182.

² I have not included Catling's group of lanceolate spear-heads as they differ from those above in being so short in the socket. He ascribes one to the first half of the twelfth century (*Cypriot Bronzework* 121).

³ See p. 357 n. 2 below.

⁴ I have given only the two-piece spectacle-fibulae. The list is based on Blinkenberg, 253 f. V. Milošević, in *Arch. Anz.* 16 f. and esp. 35, held that the date of the majority of the examples indicated a strong Illyrian invasion in these two centuries ('im Laufe des 9 und 8 Jhs. kamen starke Scharen von illyrischen Zuwanderern aus Bosnien und Makedonien nach Griechenland'). His theory is not consistent with literary and other evidence, and it should be remembered that relatively few sites have yielded objects of eleventh- and tenth-century date.

Importance has been attached also to cist tombs. I include them here, but I postpone discussion of them until the end of this section.

6. *Cist tombs.* Attica (Kerameikos); Salamis; Thessaly (Agrilia and Dimini); Macedonia (Chauchitsa, Kozani and Vergina);¹ *Vajžë, Kakavi, Bodrishtë, Vodhinë and Kalbaki.*

As there have been far fewer excavations in Epirus than in any other region of Greece, the pattern of distribution is most remarkable. It leaves little doubt that the source—or one source—of these new artefacts was Epirus. What little doubt remains may be resolved by a more important test, the consideration of groups of finds within tombs containing objects other than those listed above. Tombs B and A of Moulia in Crete afford examples.²

(1) Tomb B. Two bronze swords of type II, Group I and Group III respectively, a lanceolate spear-head riveted through the socket (18.5 cm. long), a javelin-head (9.5 cm. long), two ivory plaques with decoration engraved on one side only in concentric circles and in embossed 'drops', with a row of holes at top and bottom (the larger one 9.5 × 4.5 cm.). Everything here occurs also in the graves of North Epirus, even down to the concentric circles and the 'drops'; for the ivory plaques evidently had the same function as the bone and bronze plaques from Epirus. Tomb B contained also three bronze shield bosses (about 19 cm. in diameter) with a central hole, decorated in repoussé technique. A bronze shield boss (13 cm. in diameter), decorated with pairs of concentric circles and with triangles in 'tremolierstich', was found at Dodona.³ The repoussé technique is also at home in North Epirus. Tomb B contained also a plain gold ring (1.8 cm. in diameter), and such rings in bronze occurred in the tombs of North Epirus; a gold plaque which is said to be from a mask (no parallel until we come to Trebenishte); and a piece of iron. We shall revert to iron later.

(2) Tomb A. Part of a type II sword as in Tomb B, and two square-shouldered bronze swords; a bronze pin 10 cm. long, ending in a knob and having close to it a globular swelling which is decorated with incised bands (ζώνες); a bronze spear-head (c. 30 cm. long) and a bronze javelin-head (c. 12 cm. long), both in poor condition but probably leaf-shaped as in Tomb B; four rectangular bronze plaques, the largest measuring 6 × 4.3 cm. These are all paralleled in Epirus;

¹ The Macedonian sites are of a date well within the Iron Age; I mention them here to complete the picture but I shall discuss them in Chapter IX.

² Published in *Eph. Arch.* 1904, 21 f.

³ Carapanos pl. 54 no. 4, as a 'cymbal'. Decoration in such concentric circles and in triangles (the concentric circles on the bone plaques even more markedly) occurs on the bronze corslet from Čaka in Slovakia (see H. Müller-Karpe in *Germania* 40 (1962) 282 fig. 913) which is of the thirteenth to twelfth century.

for Dodona had two swords and Kalbaki had a dagger of the square-shouldered type, and Pramanda has yielded a pin with a globe and incised decoration (Fig. 25, 2). The bronze plaques of Tomb A are of similar size and shape to those in Epirus but have one serrated edge; they are also, I suggest, belt ornaments with the serrated edge biting into the leather of the belt.¹ Tomb A contained also two fibulae of a kind not found in North Epirus. Pieces of an iron sword and an iron knife were found in Tomb A. They were attributed by the excavator to a grave of the Geometric period which was also in this tomb, but this attribution seems to have been an after-thought. They may belong to the early burial in Tomb A, as iron was found in Tomb B.

Another interesting tomb group is that of Kaloriziki Tomb 40 in Cyprus. Of the three bosses of the shield two are 8.4 cm. and one is 16.2 cm. in diameter, and they all have a central hole for a spike; the repoussé technique is used in a decorative overlay of bronze; and there is an edging strip of bronze. The three bosses of the Kaloriziki shield were found lying in a line. The same phenomenon occurred at Leucas in Familiengrab S Grave 8—the central and primary cist tomb in the tumulus; here three bosses, each 4 cm. in diameter, were found by the skull and a little below. Another set of three bosses lay on the breast of a skeleton at Chauchitsa in Macedonia; these bosses and two others varied in diameter from 13 to 31 cm. and carried a spike or ferrule like the bosses at Kaloriziki. The dates of these instances are widely spaced. The Leucas grave contained a bronze dagger of Middle Minoan type; the Kaloriziki tomb is of the late twelfth century; and the Chauchitsa cemetery is of the Iron Age. Yet a common and continuing source for these peculiarities is most probably a north-western area such as Central Albania and Western Macedonia.² We have mentioned the shield boss from Dodona, and also the edging strip and the piece of bronze plaque with the repoussé technique from Bodrishtë, Bg. The latter are probably from a similar shield.³ The

¹ Five bronze plaques measuring about 5.2 × 2.8 cm. from Kato Zakro have one serrated edge (*BSA* 7, 134 fig. 46). Four of them were found two by two; in each pair one lay on top of the other, and it is likely that some perishable material such as leather had once held them in that position. The purpose of these plaques has not been explained by the excavators. At Kato Zakro the plaques were in a bronze hoard in House C which was dated 'towards the close of the Bronze Age'.

² H. Catling reconstructed the Kaloriziki shield (*Cypriot Bronzework* 144), but he did not refer to the examples at Leucas (Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* i. 210 and Beilage 70) and Chauchitsa (Casson, *Macedonia* 149) which in fact confirm his reconstruction. Pieces of bronze plaque from a shield at Dodona may possibly be of early date (*Ep. Chr.* 1935, no. 62, pl. 22a).

³ The measurements given by Prendi for Bodrishtë are 2.4 × 1 cm. for the five pieces and 2.5 × 1 cm. for the piece with repoussé technique. The edging strip from Kaloriziki is 2.5 cm. wide. J. Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford* 53 fig. 25E shows a piece of 'shield rim (?)' with a similar design to our piece.

leaf-shaped blade of a dagger or two-edged knife of iron (19.5 cm. long) with a flat tang and one rivet was also in the Kaloriziki tomb—'obviously unconnected', writes Catling later, but 'at the same level' and 'need be no earlier than the 12th century B.C.', wrote McFadden, the original excavator.¹ The evidence from Mouliana Tomb B supports MacFadden's view—and so does the presence of iron knives in the tombs of North Epirus.

These tombs are of particular importance because they contained datable pottery. Tomb B at Mouliana has been attributed to the twelfth century² but early in it,³ Tomb A at Mouliana to early L.M. III C⁴; and Kaloriziki Tomb 40 to 'the very threshold of the Iron Age', which Catling places towards the end of the twelfth century B.C. Moreover, their contents show a phenomenon which marks the graves of North Epirus; for iron was in two of them and perhaps in the third as well. It was shrewdly observed by H. L. Lorimer that 'the iron sword follows the bronze in Greece at a very brief interval . . . after them (the bronze pair from Tiryns at the very end of L.H. III) the bronze sword is no more seen on the mainland'.⁵ The first use of iron for weapons seems to have been for knives, which were sharper and stronger in that metal. Iron knives occur at Vajzë A2 and at Kakavi 1, the former having an iron rivet and the latter having a bronze rivet and being found in conjunction with a bronze sword of type II Group I. The distribution of iron knives with bronze rivets is as follows:⁶

Attica (Perati) (2); Crete (Gypsadhes and Vrokastro); Cyprus (Enkomi in level 1); Hama; *Kakavi*.

The knives in places other than Kakavi are dated by Desborough to his L.H. III C, Sub-Minoan and L.C. III periods, probably around the turn of the twelfth century.⁷ The knife from Kakavi is earlier than these in view of its association with a bronze sword of type II Group I. Iron swords of the transitional period are very rare. H. L. Lorimer placed the earliest—four from Attica (Kerameikos) and two from Cyprus (Enkomi)—within the eleventh century.⁸ The iron sword from Vajzë A8 with its wide straight blade is certainly of an early type

¹ Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework* 143; McFadden in *AJA* 58 (1954) 140.

² Catling op. cit. 145.

³ Desborough op. cit. 177, if I understand him correctly.

⁴ N. K. Sandars in *AJA* 67 (1963), 'after rather than before 1200 B.C.'.

⁵ H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (1950) 267.

⁶ Listed by Desborough op. cit. 61. An iron knife with bronze rivet from Fortetsa in Crete is of late Proto-Geometric date. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes in the British Museum* no. 2746, lists an iron dagger with a bronze handle with a disk at either end; it is from the Payne-Knight collection and may be from Epirus.

⁷ H. L. Lorimer op. cit. 267 f.

⁸ N. K. Sandars in *AJA* 67 (1963) 135 puts the Perati Tomb and the Gypsadhes Tomb with these knives 'probably in the twelfth century'.

(Fig. 27, 3). In view of its association with a bronze spear-head and with belt ornaments it is likely to date to the twelfth century. The iron sword from Dodona (Fig. 27, 4) is again of an early type; but it is not in a datable context.¹ The curving-backed iron knife with an iron rivet from Dodona is a copy in iron of a bronze knife which Dakaris has dated to the turn of L.H. III B to III C.² The leaf-shaped spear-head of iron, 21 cm. long, from Ayios Ioseph near Louro, which I saw in 1933 (Fig. 27, no. 5), is a version in iron of the fully leaf-shaped spear-head in bronze of the twelfth century. A spear-head in iron, 37.5 cm. long, from Vajzë Tumulus 3 Grave 3, has a blade of olive-leaf shape and a long socket (Fig. 27, no. 6); this large spear-head is a version in iron of the large bronze spear-head of an even earlier date.³ These pieces of evidence, though few in number, point to the conclusion that iron was used for weapons in Epirus at an earlier date than in Attica and Cyprus, indeed at a date which precedes the so-called 'Dorian' invasion.

Another object which is found in bronze and in iron in North Epirus is the long pin. Prendi noted that one iron pin is an exact replica of a bronze pin, another is an improvement on a bronze pin and the iron pins generally are of the same type as the bronze pins.⁴ In one grave, Vajzë Ag, two bronze pins and one iron pin occurred together. The two metals were therefore in contemporaneous use. The pins which Prendi mentions in his report of the excavations at Vajzë number fourteen in bronze and more than three in iron. He describes them as having heads which are conical, biconical, hemispherical, flat at the end (*à fond plat*) or disk-shaped. The swellings which occur on some of the pins at some distance below the head are only of a moderate size. The length of the pins varies from 33 cm. to 13 cm. They were found not only at Vajzë but also in graves at Leskoviç and at Vodhinë and by chance at Pramanda. The bronze pins from Vajzë B1 and B3 may date to the middle of L.H. III C (see p. 348 above); the bronze pin from Vodhinë 12 was in association with a spectacle-fibula and a painted pot datable to the very end of the Late Bronze Age or the beginning of the Early Iron Age. The frequency of these pins at Vajzë suggests that the bronze pins were in use throughout L.H. III C at least. These long pins were used evidently for fastening such thick clothing of goat-hair and wool as is still worn by shepherds in Epirus, and the small swellings as well as the small heads were sufficient to prevent the pins from pulling out of the thick stuff.

¹ Carapanos, pl. 57, 2.

² Carapanos, pl. 53, 7.

³ BUSS 1957, 2 fig. 24. Double-bladed battle-axes of iron were found at Kastritsa by S. I. Dakaris but are not yet illustrated (*PAE* 1951, 175 and *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961/2) 2. 195, referring to one at Arta).

⁴ BUSS 1957, 2. 108.

The long pins of bronze which have been found in Greece are more elaborate and carry more decoration than the simple zigzag line which occurs on many of the pins from Epirus. It is clear that the primitive form of the long pin is at home in Epirus. The distribution of the long pins of bronze is as follows:¹

Attica (Kerameikos); Salamis; Argos; Ithaca (Aetos, from 'the cairns'); Crete (Mouliana, Gypsadhes and Karphi); Macedonia (Boubousti); *Vajzë, Lesković, Vodhinë, Pramanda*.

The most primitive of the pins outside Epirus are those from Gypsadhes and Karphi in Crete, because they have an 'elongated globe-like swelling' and no moulding of the shank.² On the other hand the pins from Attica and Salamis have a developed globe instead of a swelling, and they have more engraving. The shapes of the heads are as varied as those of the Epirote pins.³ The date of the pins from Greece and Crete is generally the eleventh century, although some 'may even precede 1100 B.C.'⁴ (especially at Argos, where they are found in chamber tombs with L.H. III C and Sub-Mycenaean burials). On the other hand the Epirote pins are likely to have been used throughout L.H. III C, that is in the period before 1125 B.C. The iron pins in Epirus may be equally early in view of their associations. There is one iron pin from the Kerameikos and perhaps one from Perati in Attica;⁵ both of these lie within the Sub-Mycenaean period and are probably later than the Epirote iron pins.

We have now considered the evidence in relation to the tombs at Mouliana and at Kaloriziki and to the individual objects—type II bronze swords, leaf-shaped weapon-heads, shield bosses, belt ornaments, the repoussé technique, the iron knives with bronze rivets, the iron swords, the long pins of bronze and of iron—and we are led in each case to the conclusion that an object which is believed to have come into the Mycenaean world from outside made an early appearance in Epirus. The collective case when we take all the objects together is very strong. The comparison of the tombs in North Epirus and the tombs at Mouliana and Kaloriziki shows that in each area warriors used the same types of weapons and gear; here too the priority in time lies with Epirus. In other words Epirus, or in a larger sense an area including northern inland Epirus, gave off bands of warriors with distinctive equipment; and they or their descendants or imitators were buried with their equipment in a fairly wide scatter of places but particularly in the Argolid, Crete, and Cyprus. Some of the objects they introduced appear in Attica and Salamis, but not in

¹ See Desborough *op. cit.* 53 f. and add Heurtley *PM* 231 fig. 104z for the pin from Boubousti.

² *BSA* 53-54 (1958-9) 236.

³ Kraiker, *Kerameikos* 1. 82.

⁴ Desborough *op. cit.* 54.

⁵ *Hesperia* 30. 174 f.; *Ergon* 1960, 21 fig. 28d.

warrior tombs, and at a rather later date. These warriors of North Epirus possessed weapons both of bronze and of iron; they seem to have proved more successful in single combat than the Mycenaean chieftains. Some scholars have maintained that the carriers of such weapons in Greece were barbarian mercenaries.¹ But the point is not so much that they came and went or that they took their wages and died on the field, but that they stayed and were buried with their valuable equipment. The truth is rather that, whether they came originally as mercenaries or as invaders, they stayed as rulers and leaders. The literary evidence, as we shall see, casts more light on this than mere speculation can do.

We must remember that we are dealing with small numbers of objects—for instance, some twenty-five to thirty long pins in Epirus and not many more in the whole Greek area.² But the warriors of these tombs were chieftains of tribes, and it is likely that their tribes followed them when they moved out of Epirus for good, most of them during L.H. III C and some, perhaps, a decade or two later. Now the movement of these tribes southwards from the inland valleys of the Aous and the Drin cannot have failed to dislodge and drive before them the tribes of Central and South Epirus, who are known archaeologically only by the finds from Kalbaki and Kiperi and by stray finds from Dodona, Koutsoulio, Vaxia, Gribiani, Pramanda, and near Louro. But we should also reckon that the invaders with the battle-axes drove southwards the peoples of Central Albania who *may* have had a similar culture to the people of Vajzë and the Drin valley. There were also earlier movements from South-west Macedonia into Epirus in L.H. III A and L.H. III B, as we see from the painted potteries. In short there were widespread movements of peoples on a large scale and over a long period in the whole north-western area. But archaeological traces of these movements are bound to be very few. The ordinary people in Epirus had nothing much to leave apart from crude cooking-pots, and it is only their leaders who made some mark in terms of archaeology³ and in the literary tradition.

¹ Catling in *Antiquity* 35 (1961) 121 advances this view, which is followed by N. K. Sandars in *AJA* 67 (1963) 143. He suggests that the mercenaries may even have been shipped in Mycenaean hulls; as he calls them 'barbarian mercenaries from central Europe', they would indeed have had a long trip by sea. He comes nearer to my view when he says the owner of the Kaloriziki shield was 'an Aegean prince'.

² Desborough, *op. cit.* 54, reckoned thirty to forty pins (apart from those in Epirus of which he was not aware).

³ H. Müller-Karpe in *Germania* 40 (1962) 284 seems to underestimate the significance of these archaeological traces because he relates them to the question of Danubian hosts ('donauländische Volksscharen') invading peninsular Greece. Such archaeological evidence as we have suggests that Danubian hosts came no farther than the northern confines of Greece, and that the invaders of peninsular Greece lacked Danubian characteristics.

One matter which I have not discussed is that of methods of burial. The change in the Mycenaean world from chamber tombs to cist tombs which follows the collapse of Mycenaean civilization at different times in different places is in my opinion significant not of new populations but of disturbed conditions.¹ The same is true of a change from burials in tumuli to single graves, and probably of a change from inhumation to cremation. The tumuli of Vajzë and the upper Drin valley show that certain leading families were settled there for a time and made their family burial-place there; but on moving elsewhere they probably used single graves, or took over family vaults such as chamber tombs at Argos, or adopted local methods of interment, for instance at Mouliana. In the same way it seems probable that the people who used cremation and cist tombs at the Kerameikos and at Salamis were refugees and people who did not own estates of land.²

There are some important features in the burials in Epirus. The cist tombs of Kalbaki are early in L.H. III C; cist tombs are more common than pit graves in the tumuli, which were in use probably throughout L.H. III C; and the L.H. III burial at the Nekyomanteion was in a cist tomb. This evidence indicates that under settled conditions families in these places preferred the cist tomb. The cairns of stones and the pavements or cores of stone may be derived from a primitive origin, and it may be significant that the long pin from Actos in Ithaca was found in an area notable for cairns of stone. Cairns were placed over burials at Chauchitsa in Macedonia. The cairn in North Epirus may have served originally as an altar; for it is to be noted that the earliest sword at Vajzë (sword G) was found on the cairn of stones by Grave 12 and that the earliest dagger at Vodhinë (dagger F) was on the cairn of stones by Grave 16. The use of cist tombs in Greece may be explained on so many grounds that no valid connexion between the cist tombs of Epirus and those of Greece can be established. The tumuli are of interest because they are found at a later date at Vergina in the Haliacmon valley (see p. 401 below), and they are found also in the Devoli valley and in the Mati valley of Central Albania. The only tumuli in Greece of a size comparable to those in North Epirus and of a date subsequent to the Bronze Age are two at Chalandritsa in South Achaëa. They are of the Geometric period.³ One of the rare types of

¹ I differ here, for instance, from Desborough, *op. cit.* 37, who saw the relatively early date of the cist tombs at Kalbaki and thought 'other cist tombs might perhaps be expected to be found on the route to Western Attica' (i.e. to Kerameikos, where the tombs are more than a century later on his reckoning and at the other end of central Greece).

² See Hammond *GH* 85. The cist tombs of Kerameikos and the chamber tombs of Perati were in use concurrently for a time. The change from cist tombs of the Middle Helladic period to family burials in the Late Helladic period is not attributable to a change of race.

³ *BCH* 85. 682.

knife which occurs in the north-west (knife D1 above) was found at Chalandritsa.¹

2. CORCYRA IN THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

Our knowledge of Corcyra in the prehistoric period, that is down to the appearance of Proto-Corinthian pottery at Palaiopolis in the last decades of the eighth century B.C.,² is based almost entirely on the results of the excavation of Aphiona by H. Bulle, which were published in *AM* 59 (1934) 147–240. At that time Bulle did not know of the prehistoric pottery in Epirus. We are now able to bring our knowledge of the pottery in Epirus to bear on the problem presented by Aphiona.

Aphiona is a peninsula on the north-west coast of Corcyra. It is linked to the main part of the island by a narrow spit. There are two sites on the peninsula. One is on an easily defended hill, called Nisos, on the peninsular end of the spit. The harbour is west of the Nisos. To the north of the harbour and some 300 or 400 m. from the Nisos the second site is on more level ground, called the Katzenfeld by the excavators.³ There is no painted ware and no stratification at either the Nisos or the Katzenfeld. The finer ware was found almost exclusively at the Nisos. The clay is purified and well fired, and some of the best sherds have a thin slip of black clay. The walls of the pots are highly polished both within and without, and the decoration, both incised with a tool and impressed with cord, was made before the firing. The decoration consists of fine parallel lines with cross-hatching, lines with little or no hatching, unorganized hatchings or jabs (the latter called the 'comma style' by Bulle). The only shape which could be identified was a wide handle-less bowl with almost upright walls, rather shallow and with a rounded foot.⁴ This ware, while entirely different from any ware in Epirus, is closely related, as Bulle showed, to an isolated ware in Leucas, which is called the Sotiros-ware after the Chapel of Ayios Sotiros in the Nidhri plain.⁵ The Sotiros-ware, sealed off by a deep bed of gravel, has nothing in common with the other sites in the Nidhri plain nor with Choirospilia, and equally they have no trace of Sotiros-ware in their deposits.⁶ It is then likely that the Sotiros-ware settlement is of a different period from the other settlements. Now at the other sites in the Nidhri plain the strata followed immediately on one another, consecutively from 'Achaean' down to Roman in Dörpfeld's terminology; but at Ayios Sotiros a gravel bed, varying from one to two metres in depth, is interposed between Sotiros-ware and some

¹ *PPS* 21 (1955) 182 fig. 4 no. 3.

² *Archaeology in Greece* 1960–61 16.

³ For maps of the site see *AM* 59. 151 and 157.

⁴ *AM* 59. 173–8.

⁵ *AM* 59. 182 f.: 'nächstverwandt, ja fast identisch'.

⁶ W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Ithaka* 170 f. and Beilage 57.

archaic terracottas. It is probable then that Sotiros-ware is earlier than the remains of the other settlements. The ware which is characteristic of the Nisos and of Ayios Sotiros has not been found farther south. Bulle has shown that its affinities are with the unpainted wares of the neolithic hut-settlement at Molfetta near Bari in South Italy, and he has dated the Nisos and Sotiros wares to the Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age periods.¹

The Katzenfeld yielded a different and much coarser ware. It is in every respect similar to the coarse pottery found at Dodona and at other sites in Epirus, which we have called Category K 2.² Moreover, the same sort of coarse pottery occurs at the sites in the Nidhri plain with the exception of Ayios Sotiros. The conclusion is, I think, fairly certain that the settlements at the Nisos and at the Katzenfeld are separate in time as in place,³ and that we have a development parallel to that in Leucas, namely that the settlement at the Nisos is of the Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age and that the settlement at the Katzenfeld is of subsequent date. We can also infer from the nature of the sites that the Nisos was occupied to defend the peninsula from the

¹ *AM* 59, 189 f.

² This ware is illustrated by Bulle on pp. 168-9. I give a detailed comparison as follows. Bulle 168 fig. 5 nos. 6 and 10 (pierced semicircular handle), 18-20 (vertical ribbon handle) 11, 14, 15, and 17 (vertical roll handle), 16 (shoulder to rim), 9 and 10 (fitting through the wall), 1-5 (lugs); and *Evang. Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 3 a 5 and 11 (pierced semicircular), pl. 4 a 2 and 6 (vertical ribbon handle), pl. 3 b 16 and 20 (vertical roll handle), pl. 3 b 19 and 20 (shoulder to rim), pl. 4 a 1-5 and 12 (lugs). Bulle fig. 5 no. 8 (flattened semicircular roll handle); and *BSA* 32, 135 fig. 4. For the handle fitting through the wall see here Figs. 11 and 13 b 6. The only handle in Bulle, namely fig. 5 no. 7, which has no parallel in Epirus, belongs not to the coarse but the fine ware (Bulle p. 171). As regards decoration Bulle 170 fig. 6 nos. 9-12 (mammiform knobs), 16-17 (disks), 18-20 (large knobs), 6 (rough blobs), 26 (vertical incisions), 22 (pockmarking), 24 (arches), 21 and 23 (pockmarking and waving on the rim), 27 and 28 (curvilinear bands), 1-5 (comma-like incisions). For Epirus see here Fig. 14 (Koutsoulío), *BSA* 32, 132 fig. 1 (Dodona) and *Evang. Ep. Chr.* 1935, 205 and pl. 2 a 3 for mammiform knobs; *Evang.* 205 and pl. 6 a 10 (disks), pl. 6 a 8-9 and 8 b, and *BSA* 32, 134 fig. 3 for rough blobs; *Evang.* pl. 8 b 7-10 and *BSA* 32, 133 fig. 2 for vertical incisions on a raised band; *Evang.* pl. 8 a and *PAE* 1951, 177 no. 4 for pockmarking on a raised band; *BSA* 32, 132 fig. 1 for arches; see here Fig. 15 b 16 and *Evang.* pl. 9 a 3 for pockmarking and waving on rims; *Evang.* pl. 8 b 18 for curvilinear band; and *PAE* 1951, 177 fig. 2 no. 2 for comma-like incisions. It should be noted that Bulle fig. 6 no. 15 does not belong to the coarse ware; this appears from his p. 175 at the foot. As regards whorls, etc., Bulle 164 fig. 4, 13-18 and 167 (whorls), 21-26 (bored sherds), 20 (clay reel); and *Evang.* 206 type a (round whorl), type d (biconical), and here Figs. 11 and 13 b 9-10 (single conical with convex flanks), *Evang.* pl. 2 a 2 (bored suspension holes) and pl. 9 b 2, 4 and 10 (clay reels). There is one sherd illustrated in *PAE* 1951, 177 fig. 2 no. 1 from Kastritsa which is similar not to the coarse but to the fine ware at Aphiona.

³ Bulle himself considered this possibility, but he did not have the knowledge of the Epirote pottery. He wrote on p. 178: 'Hinsichtlich des Verhältnisses der schwarzen ritzverzierten zu der groben rottonigen Keramik müßte überlegt werden, ob die doch recht starken Verschiedenheiten in Ton und Technik etwa zwei getrennte Epochen anzeigen. Daß die beiden Arten gemischt gefunden wurden, besagt bei der starken Umwälzung des Bodens nichts.'

main part of the island, and that the Katzenfeld was occupied when there was no such need, presumably because people of the same kind were in the main part of the island. It would appear likely then, so far as the present evidence goes, that people of Macedonian origin and in contact with their kindred in Epirus occupied Corcyra towards the end of the Early Helladic period or in the Middle Bronze Age. We do not know whether they came from the Bay of Valona, where their pottery is known at Velcë; from Butrinto (where no such pottery was reported by Ugolini); or from the Gulf of Arta, where this pottery is known at Anactorium. I should be inclined to suggest the Bay of Valona as the most probable.

Dörpfeld carried out some excavations and visited different parts of the island before the First World War. He reported briefly that he found at Cape Kefali, a few miles north of Aphiona, 'a similar culture' to that which he had found in the plain of Nidhri, that the pottery was monochrome and that only a few sherds show Mycenaean glaze and Mycenaean shapes.¹ Perhaps Cape Kefali was a port of call for Mycenaean ships, like Plaka at Cape Treporti. His report of Mycenaean ware does not carry complete conviction; the island as a whole seems to have been outside the Mycenaean sphere of influence. On the other hand, a people of Macedonian extraction, or marked at least by a Macedonian-Epirote type of pottery, occupied a part at least of the island and were already conversant with seamanship, as the choice of Aphiona for a settlement shows.

3. THE LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

The most remarkable legacy of the Bronze Age to classical Greece was an immense amount of poetic material, whether we choose to call it religious myth, folk-lore, epic saga, or genealogical history. Such a legacy was not peculiar to Greece. It was found also in Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, and the Mesopotamian valley. The finest poetic creation of the Bronze Age was epic in the Near East. Accurate memory of names and places reached back even into the fourth millennium in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and in related epics, and this form of poetry existed and developed alongside the use of writing on tablets. We have no tangible evidence of epic poetry in Bronze Age Greece; but we possess

¹ *Arch. Anz.* 1913, 108: 'kleinere Ausgrabungen... förderten eine ähnliche Kultur zutage, wo ich sie in der Ebene von Nidri auf Leukas-Ithaka gefunden habe. Die Keramik ist monochrom: nur einige Scherben zeigen mykenischen Firnis und mykenische Formen.' W. Taylour, *Mycenaean Pottery in Italy* (1958) 186, 'no Mycenaean sherds have been found there to date', seems to overlook this reference. On the other hand, there is some doubt about the accuracy of Dörpfeld's report, as I found when I was in Corfu and questioned the Ephors of Antiquities there; neither of them thought that the site had yielded Mycenaean sherds.

the same quality and range of material in the traditions of the Bronze Age as survived in the Near East, and we know from the Homeric epics that men believed that the earlier *aoidoi* recited their epic lays at the courts of the Mycenaean kings and recounted not only the recent achievements of men in the war against Thebes or in the war against Troy but also the earlier doings of gods and men. The story of the Argo is a case in point. Some have suggested that it was largely worked up into its classical form by Miletus in the colonizing period, because Miletus had many colonies in the Black Sea;¹ yet she had none in the Adriatic sea or the Ionian sea. It seems to me more true to say that the story of the Argo is derived from an early epic of the Bronze Age, was firmly embedded in the epic tradition during the so-called Dark Age and was but little affected by Milesian colonial interests simply because it was already an epic of the Greek inheritance and not the perquisite of one city-state. In the same way I believe that the Homeric epics and the Cyclic epics contained information about the Bronze Age, which was altered only in minor details and by minor additions in the course of the Dark Age.²

The epic tradition about Epirus begins with the story of the Argo. The belief that Jason and Medea sailed in the Argo from the Black Sea to the Adriatic Sea derives from a time when the northern coasts of both these seas were unknown and when the belief in a circum-ambient Ocean made it hypothetically possible that both seas were linked to the Ocean.³ It is a legend of the earliest days of seafaring, which were those of the Neolithic period in Greek lands, and it is surely no freak of chance that the return of Jason into the area of Greek lands brought him to the Gulf of Oricum and the coast of Corcyra,⁴ the only places where Neolithic settlements have certainly been found in the remote north-west of Greece. The worship of the power behind the burning flame of Selenicē, which Greek religion connected with

¹ The article on the Argonauts in the *OCD* is an example.

² See my *GH* 57 f. for a fuller expression of this point of view.

³ *Ibid.* 62 and for its importance in the plans of Alexander 627 f. and fig. 33. A variant of the Ocean is a great river, such as the Danube, which had mouths in the Black Sea and in the Adriatic and Sicilian seas; so in *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 282 f. and 308 f. with *Scholia*, ed. C. Wendel (*R. C. Seaton* in the Loeb edition misunderstands the passage as his desire to emend 'Ionian' shows; likewise *Jacoby* with the *Scholia*). See O. Zeller, *Auf des Odysseus und der Argo Spuren* (Aalen, 1959) 97 f. Mrs. D. B. Thompson suggested to me that there may have been a memory of a route for canoes up the Danube, then by portage over the watershed and down a river into the Mediterranean.

⁴ *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 576 and 982 f. *Hesiod* described the wedding of Jason and Medea, but we do not know if he put it at Corcyra; see fr. 518 in A. Traversa, *Hesiodi Catalogi sive Eoearum Fragmenta* (Naples, 1951) p. 96, and fr. 49 for the 'well-horsed Hyperboreans'. *Celius* in *Solinus* 2. 30 (ed. *Mommsen*) put the tomb of Medea at Buthrotum, and Medea was associated with the bridge near the *Nekyomanteion* in the Acheron valley (*Ampelius* 8. 3). The keel of the Argo was said to be from the sacred oak at Dodona (*Philostr.* 361 κ 4); but see p. 368 n. 1.

the Nymphs, and the worship of Hecate monoprosopos and trikephalos at Oricum may have been rooted in the pre-Hellenic period.¹ The importance of the Adriatic Sea as a route of trade from the Aegean to Central Europe is brought home to us by the story which Herodotus tells of the Hyperboreans, a people known to the Cyclic epic and to Hesiod no doubt from a Bronze Age tradition. The offerings came through Scythia and then down to the head of the Adriatic Sea 'which is the most westerly point on their journey'; during this stage they passed from one people to another, that is they were not carried by one set of pilgrims or traders. From the head of the Adriatic they were sent forward to the south (evidently by sea) and reached 'the Dodonaeans first of the Greeks'. They must have been landed in the Gulf of Valona or at the mouth of the Aous and then transported up the easy route through the valleys of the Aous and the Drin to the plateau of Dodona. From Dodona they passed to the Maliac Gulf, that is by Arta and the easy pass to Karpenisi.² The reasons for taking the route overland from Valona to Arta and Karpenisi may have been to avoid Corcyra if it was held by enemies or pirates (part of the route was used for this reason by troops sent by Corinth to Epidamnus shortly before the Peloponnesian War), or to avoid the long sea route round the Peloponnese (this was the case in the twelfth century A.D. as we know from the Arab geographer, see p. 38 above). Both reasons may have been operative in the latest phase of the Mycenaean period.

The most ancient memories about inland Epirus are concerned with Dodona. The site of Dodona is striking and awe-inspiring, and particularly so if it is approached from the south on the line of the Sacred Way over 'the divine bridge', the natural *theogephyra* (see p. 172 above). There is little doubt that the first settlers of Dodona came from the south in the Early Bronze Age and were identified in the Greek tradition with the Pelasgians, who were reputed to have founded the oracle. It was evidently in existence when the first Greek-speaking peoples arrived and adopted the sacred place on their own account. The results of excavation are compatible with this tradition.

When Herodotus visited Dodona (2. 52: ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας), he learnt from the priestesses there that the Pelasgi had had no names for the gods at Dodona but had received the names from

¹ The Dioscuri also were worshipped in this area. The group of Medea (or Hecate), Zeus, and the Dioscuri may indicate the existence of a pre-Hellenic mother-goddess as at Dodona; see E. Will, *Korinthiska* (Paris, 1955) 88 for Medea's connexion with such a cult at Corinth.

² Hdt. 4. 32 f. If the offerings had gone by the Zygos pass into Thessaly, they would have taken the easy route to the Gulf of Pagasae, not to the Maliac Gulf. Callimachus, *Delos* 287, brings the gifts to the 'Holy town and the mountains of the Malian land'; this may refer to Ambracia with its Hieron Oros and to the mountains over which one passes on the Arta-Karpenisi route.

Egypt; and he reported the accepted belief that Dodona was the oldest oracle in Greece and had been in continuous existence since Pelasgian times. Aeschylus too held this belief. He described the realm of the Pelasgi as being bounded in the north by the valley of the Strymon, the land of the Perrhaebi, the area beyond Pindus near Paeonia, the mountains of Dodona and the coast of the sea (*Supplices* 245 f.); and he wrote of Io wandering from Lerna in Argolis to the Molossian plains and sheer-cliffed Dodona, where are the oracular shrine of Thesprotian Zeus and the incredible marvel, the talking oaks.¹ Heracles too visited Dodona and received new oracles from the talking oak at the hands of the Selli, mountaineers who sleep on the ground (*Sophocles Trachiniae* 170 and 1166 f.); and there are traditions that Heracles took the cattle of Geryones from the area of Ambracia and Amphiloehia (Hecataeus F 26) and from Chaonia (Arist. *Mete.* 359^a25; and Ps-Scylax 26).

Whatever doubts may have been felt about the nationality of the peoples of Epirus, the controllers of the shrine at Dodona in classical times (and presumably in Mycenaean times) were speakers of Greek and were accepted as Greek. Herodotus, for instance, spoke of the Hyperboreans' offerings reaching *πρώτους Δωδωναίους Ἑλλήνων* (4. 33). The priestesses who delivered the oracular utterances were described by Herodotus (2. 52) as *αἱ προμάντιες, αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἰέρειαι* and *Δωδωναίων αἱ ἰέρειαι*, and their account that the oracle was founded by a dove or by a priestess known as a dove, *πελειάς*, was accepted by him. Pausanias (10. 12. 10) supported the latter view; according to him there were priestesses called doves, *πελειάδες*, at Dodona before the first Pythia at Delphi, and they sang the famous lines:

Zeὺς ἦν, Zeὺς ἔστι, Zeὺς ἔσσεται. ὦ μεγάλε Zeῦ,
Γᾶ καρπούς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε ματέρα γαῖαν.

The three priestesses² whom Herodotus met had normal Greek names. He mentioned also *οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν*; these presumably included the interpreters of the oracular utterances, *οἱ ὑποφῆται*, who are mentioned in the prayer of Achilles in the *Iliad*.³ Another name which may have had an early origin is *τομοῦροι* or *τόμουραι*, the cult name of the classical *προφῆται*, which was explained in different ways

¹ Aeschylus is probably speaking of the Peraebi in the sense of the Homeric Catalogue and means that the Pelasgians did not stretch north of the plain of Ioannina in Epirus; Early Helladic pottery has not so far been found north of this line in Epirus. The insertion of a piece of Dodonaean oak into the Argo looks like a piece of Alexandrianism by Ap. Rhod. 1. 527 and 4. 583, because Dodona does not enter the myth in any other way.

² Three is probably the correct number; cf. Str. 9. 2. 4, C 402 = Ephorus *FGH* 70 F 119 (4) where they are called *προφητιδες*. The belief, that the oracle was founded by a single priestess (Hdt. 2. 54 and Pindar *Fr.* 49), is of course a different matter.

³ The prayer is quoted on page 371 below.

but may well be connected with the name of the holy mountain Tomaros.¹

The fact that Zeus is associated so early with the oracle at Dodona and that the cult is connected with so many aspects of nature—oaks, doves, springs, echoes, and the wind—suggests that he is a later addition to a cult which was originally that of a mother-goddess in the manner of the pre-Hellenic cults. In the very early hymn which we have quoted the mother-goddess is Gaia, and she is the object of the worshippers' celebration as 'mother earth'. This original stage is probably marked by the Early Helladic pottery at Dodona. Then Zeus came to Dodona and Gaia became his consort. Later Gaia was replaced by Dione. It was probably as a result of this development at Dodona that Dione was named as the mother of Aphrodite, the embodiment of fertility, a tradition which is found in the *Iliad*.² These changes are no doubt due to the arrival and the consolidation of Greek-speaking peoples, who took control of the oracle and modified the cult. They began to arrive, as we have seen, probably late in the Early Helladic period and their numbers increased greatly in the Middle Helladic period. Their arrival was marked by the appearance of a cruder pottery and by the dedications of small votive bowls in this ware. Zeus was a god of war, his title being Zeus Areios in the Molossian worship, and his symbols included the thunderbolt, the eagle, and the double-bladed axe or *labrys*. A battle-axe of this kind has recently been found at Dodona, where it was evidently a votive offering. As it dates to L.H. III, the cult of Zeus as a god of war was already established by then.³

The oracle of the Dead by the Acheron may have been no less old. The discovery of a burial with Mycenaean sherds in the centre of the Hellenistic *temenos* indicates that it was a sacred place in the last phase of the Late Helladic period. We know from the Homeric epic that its place was already secure in Greek belief by the time of Homer, and the origins of the oracle are to be sought in the Bronze Age—or perhaps in the Neolithic Age, if the cult of Hecate at Oricum derives from that period.⁴ There is no evidence here of any change in the cult.

¹ Str. 7. 7. 2 with reference to an ancient variant of *Od.* 16. 403; Eust. 1760. 47, 1806. 37; Hsch. s. *Τόμαρος* and *τομουῖροι*. They were associated by some with Hellos, an eponymous ancestor of the Helloi (cf. Str. 7. 7. 11, Schol. *Il.* 16. 234 and Philostratus, *Imagines* 2. 73). Strabo 7. 7. 12 argued that the deliverers of the oracular utterances were originally men and later women; but the reverse is much more likely to have been the case, as at Delphi.

² *Il.* 5. 370 and 381; elsewhere in the epic she is connected with Cyprus rather than with Dione. The worship of her at Dodona is shown by *SGDI* 1372.

³ *Ergon* 1959. 76; see above, p. 334. Small votive axes are also found.

⁴ One form of Persephone's name is *Persephassa*, which has a pre-Hellenic suffix; this implies that the cult was established either in the Neolithic period or in the Early Helladic period.

Persephone, Hades, and Cerberus may be as old as the identification of the entrance to the underworld at the confluence of the Acheron, the Cocytus, and the Pyriphlegethon near Likouresi. Three of the labours of Heracles were probably localized in the north-west area before the Homeric epic took shape: namely, the contest with Achelous, the carrying off of the cattle of Geryones from Epirus and the descent to the underworld from the banks of the Acheron. The ritual of which we read in the *Odyssey* was already old, and it was maintained without change into the Hellenistic period, as the excavations of S. I. Dakaris at Likouresi have shown.¹

The branch of the Greek-speaking peoples which was particularly associated with Dodona in early tradition was the Hellenic branch proper, that is *οἱ Ἕλληνες* or *οἱ Πανελλήνιοι*, of which the Dorians were a part. The use of the name 'Hellenes' was already ambiguous in the times of Hesiod, Pindar, and Herodotus because it had become a generic term for the Greek-speaking peoples, but this was not so in Mycenaean times nor in the Homeric epic and the summaries of the Cyclic epics. There are two late passages which place the early habitat of the Hellenes in the area of Dodona and the upper Achelous valley. Aristotle, *Mete.* 352^a33 f., defines *ἡ Ἑλλάς ἡ ἀρχαία* as 'the area round Dodona and the Achelous'; for 'it was there that the Selloi and those who were then called Graikoi and are now called Hellenes used to live'. At the end of the third century B.C. King Theodorus and his successor Amyntander, when granting a request made by the state of Teos, affirmed their relationship to the founder of the general name 'the Hellenes'. While this claim to special kinship alludes to their eponymous ancestor Athamas as a son of Hellen, the eponymous ancestor of the Hellenes, it assumes the presence of the Hellenes in Athamania at an early stage of their existence.²

The earliest evidence for the names 'Hellenes', 'Panhellenes', and 'Hellas' is in the *Iliad*. Every mention of these names there is associated with the realm of Achilles, which lay in South Thessaly and the Spercheus valley. 'Phthia and Hellas' were adjacent to one another in his realm; the Hellenes were presumably in 'Hellas', the Myrmidons

¹ Paus. 1. 17. 5 thought that Homer must have seen the district. His description of the entry to Hades in the words ascribed to Circe in *Odyssey* 10. 508 f. is very true of the Acheron plain. 'Do you beach your ship by deep-eddying Ocean, where the shore is level and there are groves of Persephone—tall poplars and willows shedding their fruit—and go yourself into the dank house of Hades, where the Acheron is entered by Pyriphlegethon and by Cocytus which is a branch of the water of Styx, and where there is a rock and the meeting of the two roaring rivers.' For the rock see p. 64 above; the idea of the underground river is a commonplace in Epirus, where there are so many *katavothres* and *kefalovrisia*. For the ritual of sacrifice see p. 65 above.

² C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven, 1934) 152 f. Professor C. Edson kindly drew my attention to this letter.

were placed in 'Hellas' in *Il.* 16. 595, and the third group of Achilles' followers, the Achaeans, were therefore in 'Phthia'. Achilles is the only hero in the *Iliad* who refers to Zeus of Dodona. Moreover, he refers to him as Zeus Pelasgicus, and the only other occurrence of this adjective in the *Iliad* is in the name Pelasgicum Argos, with which the followers of Achilles are introduced in the Achaean Catalogue.¹ The Pelasgi appear only in the Trojan Catalogue and on the Trojan side. Thus in the *Iliad* the terms 'Hellas', 'Hellenes', and 'Pelasgi' do not have a general meaning, as they have already in Hesiod, but a specific meaning. They apply only to the realm of Achilles and to Dodona in the prayer of Achilles. An obvious explanation of this phenomenon is that the family of Achilles and the Hellenes had come recently from the area of Dodona, and this explanation accords with his short genealogy.²

The two mentions of Dodona in the *Iliad* are as follows:

- (1) Γουνεύς δ' ἐκ Κύφου ἦγε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας.
τῷ δ' Ἐνιήνες ἔποντο μενεπτόλεμοί τε Περαιβοί,
οἱ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχείμερον οἰκί' ἔθεντο,
οἳ τ' ἀμφ' ἱμερτὸν Τιταρησσὸν ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο.

Iliad 2. 748-51

- (2) εὖχετ' ἔπειτα στὰς μέσῳ ἔρκεϊ, λείβε δὲ οἶνον
οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδῶν· Δία δ' οὐ λάθε τερπικέραυνον
"Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρον· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι."
ἦτοι ὁ μὲν σπείσας τε καὶ εὐξάμενος Διὶ πατρὶ
ᾧψ κλισίην εἰσῆλθε.

Iliad 16. 231 f.

The Peraebi are placed by T. W. Allen³ on the Thessalian side of Pindus in the Khasia mountains, the Titaressus being a northern tributary of the Peneus, and the Enienes are on the western side of Pindus between the Zygos pass and Dodona. Neither people figures

¹ It is unnecessary here to discuss whether Pelasgicum Argos was intended to describe what was later called Thessaly or just the realm of Achilles. V. Burr, in *Klio*, Beiheft 49 (1944) 87, and G. Jachmann, *Der homerische Schiffskatalog und die Ilias* (Köln, 1958) 184, think it refers to Thessaly as a whole, but the Catalogue indicates nine separate baronies and not a general unity in this area. The fact that Pelasgiotis survived as the name of a part of Thessaly is a pointer to the use of Pelasgicum Argos as meaning only the part of the plain which was in Achilles' realm.

² It is generally believed that the length of genealogies reflects the lengths of time during which a dynastic family was in power in the Mycenaean world.

³ T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* (Oxford, 1921) 121 f.; this is still the best book for an understanding of the Catalogue in regard to North Greece. Lepore 4 f. discusses these passages most recently.

again in the *Iliad*. Achilles is precise in his mention of the cult; Zeus is the god of the sky and the thunderbolt, Zeus Dodonaeus, Zeus Pelasgicus, and Zeus Pater. As Nilsson pointed out,¹ Zeus is the Indo-European god of the sky, and the thunderbolt is conspicuous in the classical cult; Zeus Dodonaeus is known from a late inscription, Zeus Chaonius is to be associated probably with the Acroceraunia, and the worship of Zeus Pater under the name Δειπάτυρος is attested by Hesychius for the Tymphaei, a people of the Pindus range.² No doubt Zeus Pelasgicus was a cult title in the early period to which the prayer refers, and the transference of the name to the Argos of his realm is a token of Achilles' derivation from Dodona. The description of Dodona as wintry and of Zeus as dwelling afar off at Dodona expresses the point of view of someone who now dwells in the Maliac plain (whereas in the *Odyssey* Dodona is close at hand). The mention of the Selloi and their habits is likely to be equally appropriate. Some have thought they were ascetics; but failure to wash one's feet is an odd sort of asceticism, and peasants in Epirus today have no beds.³ It is rather a comment on the contrast between life at a Mycenaean court in civilized Thessaly and in the huts of the nomad shepherds whose settlements have been excavated at Dodona and Kastritsa. The Selloi evidently lived beside the shrine, as the Dodonaei did later, and one of their functions, expressed in the word ὑποφῆται, was to interpret the oracular utterances.

Scholars, ancient as well as modern, have debated whether the text should be Selloi or Helloi.⁴ The difference, however, is not substantial, because the forms with an initial sigma, digamma, or aspirate are almost interchangeable. More important is the connexion between Helloi and Hellenes. Hesychius commented 'Ελλοί· Ἑλληνες οἱ ἐν Δωδώνῃ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς. As the termination *-enes* or in the West Greek dialect *-anes* is a tribal termination, as in Enienes and Athamanes, it is likely that Hellenes is a tribal derivation from Hellas *vel simile*. Other words seem to be related to Helloi and Selloi. One is the name of the river Selleeis. This river is mentioned twice in the *Iliad* (2. 659 and 15. 531), associated in each case with Ephyra; and Ephyra is mentioned twice in the *Odyssey* (1. 259 and 2. 328) in connexion with the obtaining of poison. The best guide to the identification of Ephyra is Thucydides 1. 46, who mentions Ephyra by the Acheron river; Selleeis may then be the name of the upper part of the Acheron which rises on the western side of Mt. Tomarus, the sacred mountain of Dodona,

¹ M. P. Nilsson, *Opuscula Selecta* 2 (Lund, 1952) 711.

² A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1914) 1. 681 n. 4.

³ See Friederich 19 f. for a summary of ancient and modern views.

⁴ See Friederich 7 f.

beneath which the Selloi lived.¹ The name of the wide plain by Dodona is given by Hesiod in a fragment of the *Eoeae* as Hellopie, and it is named in connexion with the oracle of Zeus. There can be little doubt that this group of names—Hellas, Helloi, Hellenes, Hellopie, Selloi, and Selleeis—stem from this vicinity and have some connexion with the worship of Zeus, even perhaps with Zeus Hellanios.²

Another group of names shows a similar range of variation—Hyllos, Hylleis, Hyllis, Byllis, and Syllanios. Hyllos appears in Hesiod, *Eoeae*, fr. 4 as the son of Heracles by Deianeira;³ Hylleis as one of the Dorian tribes in a fragment of Tyrtaeus (1. 12), which may refer to the Dorian invasion of Laconia;⁴ Hyllis in Pindar *P.* 1. 61, where he is talking of the Dorian system, established after the Dorian invasion; Byllis, which may be a barbarized form of Hyllis, is a territory in Northern Epirus, of which mention was probably made by Hecataeus;⁵ and Zeus Syllanios and Athana Syllania stand at the opening of the Lycurgean Rhetra.⁶ If there was once a tribal ethnic Syllanes, the word Syllanios would be explicable. Some names in this group go back to the Bronze Age and most probably had a geographical setting in Epirus.

The Homeric form Peraebi is the earlier form on the coinage of these people, that is with one rho.⁷ Epirote inscriptions have a tribe of Prasaebi, which has a similar ethnic ending. It has been suggested to me by C. Edson that Peraebi means 'those beyond the Aous'—or rather the Aias, which is the earliest form of the name—and this accords with their geographical setting, if one is thinking of the upper Aous and West Pindus. It is most likely that the names of the rivers in Epirus were given in the Bronze Age. We have seen this in the case of

¹ Friederich 13 f. has a full discussion. Strabo 7. 7. 5 gives Cichyrus as the later name of Ephyra on the Acheron, and Pausanias 1. 17. 4 puts Cichyrus close to the Acherusian Lake. Hesychius identifies Selleeis as a river of Thesprotia and derives the Selloi from it; but the name Selleeis had evidently disappeared, as its identification was in doubt. The Acheron is split in two by its immense gorge, and it is likely that the upper part had a different name from the lower part. See also Hammond *CAH* 25 and 29.

² Hesiod fr. 97, quoted above, p. 40; see the edition by A. Traversa, *Hesiodi Catalogi sive Eoeorum Fragmenta* (Naples, 1951) p. 112. Pindar *N.* 5. 10 for Zeus Hellanios. An eponymous Hellos was produced for the Helloi, for instance, by Hesychius who has a Dodonaean Hellos as well as the meaning of the word 'a young fawn' (perhaps a totem for the tribe). He also gives a derivation for Hella as the Laconian word for a seat. Friederich 8 f. has a full list of scholia and commentaries on these words.

³ Edited with commentary in R. Merkelbach, *Die Hesiodfragmente auf Papyrus* (Leipzig, 1957) p. 18.

⁴ See my arguments in *JHS* 70 (1950) 50 f.

⁵ See p. 471 below.

⁶ This is the reading of all the manuscripts in Plu. *Lyc.* 6. Meineke's emendation to Skyllanios has no better authority than Hesychius' note on *skyllanis*, which is not related by him to this context, and that of W. den Boer to Kyllanios is a further remove from any evidence (*Laconian Studies*, Amsterdam, 1954, 162); G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (Harvard, 1962) 46, looks further afield still to Skyllion in Crete. The worship of Athena in the Bronze Age is attested in the Linear B tablets.

⁷ Head *HN* 304 in the fifth-century coinage.

the Achelous, Acheron, Cocytus, Pyriphlegethon, and Sellecis; and we can add with confidence the Aias and the Arethon, which is the earlier form of the later Aratthus or Arachthus.

Herodotus (1. 56) reports the movements of a πολυπλάνητον ἔθνος which was given the name 'Dorian' at the final stage. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη. Reference is made to the final stages at 8. 43: ἐόντες οὗτοι πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἑρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλίων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες. The century before and the century after the Trojan War, which I date c. 1200 B.C., were marked by inter-state wars within the area of Mycenacan civilization and by the migrations of the less settled peoples—migrations which Thucydides (1. 2. 1) described so well—'when each tribe readily left its own land whenever they were forced to do so by any people that was more numerous'. These migrations were mentioned already in the *Iliad*. For instance, the aged Nestor, whose father Neleus had come from Thessaly to Pylus, recalled the wars with the Pheres who were driven out from the area of Mt. Pelion in Thessaly towards the Aethices, who were probably in the Khasia district of north-west Thessaly near the Peraebi.¹ The early traditions of the (later) Dorians were probably obtained by Herodotus from the Spartans, and the substance of them is clear and credible. They were probably once a settled people in Thessaly, similar to those people of Macedonia whom we mentioned above (pp. 307 f. and p. 313), and then were forced to adopt a nomadic pastoral life. Herodotus thinks of them as speaking the Hellenic tongue and being neighbours of barbarian Pelasgi in Thessaly (Hdt. 1. 57. 1). They were driven out of Thessaly into the Pindus range. At that stage the tribe took its name from the locality in which it lived, just as at a later stage it took its name from Doris. 'Makednia' was certainly in North Pindus by the valley of the Haliacmon river; for it was from this region that the name 'Macedonia' was carried by the invaders into the country which had been called Emathia and was renamed Macedonia.² The meaning of the name may be 'the high country'.³ That such a movement is likely has been shown by the

¹ *Iliad* 1. 268 and 2. 743; cf. T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* 129-30.

² Hdt. 8. 137 and Thuc. 2. 99; cf. Appian *Syr.* 63 and *Str.* 7 fr. 11.

³ Hsch. s. *makedne*; cf. A. B. Dascalakis, *Ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς τῆς ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας* (Athens, 1960) 35.

excavation at Boubousti, where a shepherd people with a style of pottery which had been influenced by Thessalian wares came to settle c. 1300 B.C.

There is a gap to be filled in the movements of the (later) Dorians between North Pindus and the district of Dryopis and Doris. The early traditions of the Enienes or Aenianes help to fill it. They were driven out of the Dotian plain in Thessaly by the Lapiths and joined the Aethices in North-west Thessaly on the Pindus range. In the Catalogue of Ships they live round Dodona. Plutarch, whose ultimate source is likely to have been the tradition of this tribe, says that they once lived in the northern district of Molossia where they were called Paraouai, then in 'Cassiopaea' in South Epirus and subsequently in the district of Cirrha near Delphi. The Aenianes of Plutarch's day still commemorated their early stay in 'Cassiopaea' by sending an ox there as a sacrifice to Zeus.¹ The Dryopes are another people whose traditions went back to a stay in South Epirus. Dryopis was once the name of the area round Dodona and Ambracia, then of Mt. Tymphrestus and part of Doris, then of the highlands of Mt. Parnassus; it is these Dryopes who were driven out by Heracles and the Malians and later settled at Hermione in the Peloponnese (Hdt. 8. 43, quoted above).² The Dryopes of Asine had a similar history and they maintained their worship of Dryops and Apollo.³ The people who were later to be called Dorians must have moved similarly through Epirus in order to have reached Doris. Some of them may have entered Doris and taken part in the first attempt to force a way into the Peloponnese under the leadership of Hyllus, son of Heracles, in the latter half of the thirteenth century.⁴ Another people who entered Central Greece at that time were the Boeoti. Their name is probably derived from a stay near Mt. Boïum in North Pindus.⁵

Hyllus and the Boeoti are probably to be connected with one another. As the attack was made by land against the Isthmus, the strength of Hyllus lay in his army; and the army could not have reached the Isthmus unless it had already overcome the resistance of some of the Mycenaean kingdoms of east Central Greece—in particular those of

¹ Plu. *GQ* 13 and 26. 293^f and 297^b; see W. R. Halliday, *Plutarch's Greek Questions* 73 f. and 129 f. Strabo 9. 5. 22, C 442 has a simplified version which lacks the authority given by religious practices to the account in Plutarch. Strabo refers the name Cyphus, from which Gouneus brought his contingent, to a mountain and place in Peraebia.

² Dicaearchus 5. 30. p. 459 (ed. Fuhr), Pliny *HN* 4. 1, Str. 9. 5. 10 f., Hdt. 8. 31 and 8. 43.

³ Paus. 4. 34. 9 f. and 5. 1. 2.

⁴ Hdt. 9. 26.

⁵ *Iliad* 2. 494 f.; Th. 1. 12. 3; see my remarks in *PE* 161 f. on the theory that there were at the time of the Trojan War two groups of Boiotoi, one in (later) Bocotia and the other within striking distance of South-west Thessaly. Strabo 7. fr. 6 and 7. 7. 9 (in the hellenized form Poion).

Boeotia and Phocis and perhaps those of western Attica, if we may draw analogies from the Persian invasion. In fact the Mycenaean stronghold of Gla in Boeotia and the fortifications of Crisa in Phocis—fortifications of wide extent which seem to have been devised to provide refuge from marauding mountaineers—were both destroyed in the latter part of L.H. III B; western Attica may also have suffered damage at this time; and a fortification wall was built at the Isthmus in the latter part of L.H. III B.¹ Whether or not these events are to be related to the campaign of Hyllus and his army, there is no doubt that the Boeoti could have established themselves in the aftermath of the destruction wrought in east Central Greece. So far as Epirus is concerned, Hyllus is likely to have come from Epirus and to have brought Epirotes with him—among them some of the Bocoti—and these invaders must have been well armed to achieve so much.

These traditions all refer to the period before the Trojan War. They show a movement of various tribes through Epirus, or more exactly through inland mountainous Epirus, and the emergence of these tribes on to the fringes of Mycenaean Greece in the area of Parnassus. The movement was no doubt due, as Plutarch says, to the pressure of 'dangerous neighbours'.² Archaeology has shown that two groups of people with a more developed pottery came probably from South-west Macedonia in the course of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries into the plain of Ioannina, and that weapons of a powerful kind were in use in that area during the latter part of the thirteenth century. Moreover, tradition alleges that a famous clan, the sons of Heracles, were driven out of Mycenaean Greece, and we shall see reason for supposing that the Heracleidae moved into Epirus and had a hand in organizing the vigorous, if primitive, people of that area. So far as the Mycenaean traditions of the *Iliad* are concerned, the famous clan of the Heracleidae had disappeared from the Mycenaean mainland at some time well before the Trojan War, that is to somewhere west of Phocis and Thessaly. For the western limits of the Mycenaean world in North-east Greece were those marked by the route of Apollo in the *Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo* 216 f. from Olympus to Pieria and then to the Enienes and Peraebi (perhaps by Mt. Lacmon), and also by the Aethices of Mt. Pindus and the Dolopes at the head of the upper Spercheus valley.³ Two peoples had settled within recent times in

¹ See the useful summary in V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans* 120 f. (Gla), 125 (Crisa), 113 f. (western Attica), and Hammond *CAH* 27 f. (Hyllus and the Isthmus fortification).

² Plu. *GQ* 26. 297B.

³ For Tholos tombs and for Mycenaean pottery of the thirteenth century in the areas of Kardhitsa, Trikkala, and Larissa see *BCH* 44. 395, *Thessalika* 2. 69, *Ergon* 1958, 79, and *Archaeological Reports for 1962-63* 24.

Mycenaean lands, namely the Hellenes of Achilles and the Boeoti, the latter having arrived some time after the Mycenaeans had themselves destroyed the citadel of Thebes. But in the traditions of the *Iliad* Dodona was far away and not a shrine of any importance to the Mycenaean peoples of the mainland.

The *Odyssey* presents a different picture. Its dramatic date is the period of the Nostoi, when the Mycenaean world was entering a more advanced stage of internal dissension and of weakness in facing its external enemies.¹ Its interest in the realm of Odysseus, the western coast of Greece and the distant countries of the west shows that it derived much of its material from an epic tradition which probably had its roots in the western part of the Mycenaean world. Dodona is no longer 'afar off' but 'quite close' (*Od.* 19. 301). It was in or near the kingdom of the Thesproti, who had a seaboard, owned ships and were a rich people trading with wheat-producing Dulichium, and Pheidon, the king, was given the respect due to a Mycenaean king. In the story which Odysseus tells, he pretends that Odysseus stopped in Thesprotia on his way home and that he came ahead to Ithaca via Dulichium, that is Leucas.² There is no doubt that Thesprotia includes the plain of the lower Acheron; for the description of the entry to the underworld is based upon the geography of the Acherusian Lake and the plain. The discovery of a Mycenaean Tholos tomb to the east of Parga and of a Mycenaean site near the Nekyomanteion provides valuable confirmation. The plain of the lower Acheron and the coast there were important in later times either when Corcyra was hostile to the southern Greeks, as in the years just preceding the Peloponnesian War, or when sea power was based on the Ionian islands in the times of Venetian or British occupation; for it has good harbours and it can be held in isolation, because it is cut off from the interior by mountains. It seems that this area was an isolated Mycenaean dependency in late Mycenaean times. For whether Corcyra was the home of the Phaeacians or not, it lay outside the Mycenaean sphere;³ the Gulf of Arta is not included in Homer's geography; and the mainland including Acarnania was regarded as a hostile land under the cruel king Echetus.⁴ The realm of Odysseus included some territory on the mainland opposite, but it is probable that even this was in Elis and not in Acarnania.⁵

¹ *Th.* 1. 12. 1-2.

² *Od.* 14. 327 f.; 16. 65 f.; 17. 525 f.; 19. 271 f. The reasons for identifying Leucas with Dulichium are given by T. W. Allen *op. cit.* 86 f.

³ Thucydides had no doubts that it was Scherie, the island of the Phaeacians, and the worship of Zeus in association with Alcinous may well mark a continuous tradition (*Thuc.* 1. 25. 4 and 3. 70. 4); but it was over the horizon, so far as Homer is concerned.

⁴ *Od.* 18. 84 f.; *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 1093 added to his atrocities.

⁵ T. W. Allen, *op. cit.* 91, places Odysseus' mainland territory in Elis.

The first danger which threatened Mycenaean power in the west came from pirates. Before the Trojan War Odysseus joined forces with the Thesproti against the Taphii, a people who traded as far as Cyprus and raided for slaves as far as Sidon in Phoenicia.¹ The Taphii were coupled with the Teleboai in Hesiod.² Those who raided so far afield must have been a menace also to the peoples of the western Peloponnese (like the later Corcyraeans, Illyrians, Franks, and Venetians). The effects of their raids on the Mycenaeans may be seen in the archaeological evidence for the last phase of L.H. III B and the beginning of L.H. III C; for the unfortified palace at Ano Englianos—which Blegen identifies with Nestor's Pylus—was sacked and abandoned late in L.H. III B, and some sites in Elis, Messenia, and southern Laconia, especially those near the coast, appear to have been deserted after the end of L.H. III B.³ It seems unlikely that the raiders were based only on the small group of islands, called the Taphiai in classical times, which lie off the coast of Acarnania; we may assume that the raiders had control of Corcyra and probably included maritime peoples from the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, for instance from the Bay of Valona and the area of Scutari. The name Taphii may be inspired by peculiar burial rites, perhaps even by the construction of large tumuli, such as those which have now been excavated inland of Valona at Vajzë, in the Devoli valley, and in the Mati valley. These pirates preyed on trade and also engaged in trade. They are the only people in the Homeric epics who trade in iron, 'red iron', as a raw material (*Od.* 1. 184); they carried their cargo to Temese and took in exchange the copper of Temese. As another article of their trade or piracy was slaves from Phoenicia, the Temese in question is evidently the later Tamassus in Cyprus, the great centre for maritime export of copper. The Taphians then were bringing iron from the west or from the Adriatic, as they called at Ithaca on their voyage to Temese. The rarity of iron in L.H. III gives this passage a special interest; for it affords a clue to the

¹ *Od.* 1. 180 f.; 15. 425 f.; 16. 426; T. W. Allen, *op. cit.* 97, points to the connexion between the Taphian name *Mentes* in *Od.* 1. 180 and the Illyrian tribe of *Mentores* in the Adriatic.

² Hesiod *Eoaea* fr. 55. 19 ed. Traversa.

³ See the useful summary in R. V. d'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans* 94 (Ano Englianos), 88–89 (southern Laconia where evidence is scanty), 92 (Kakovatos, Lepreon, and Klidhi on the coast of Elis). The suggestion made by Desborough that an army came by land from northern Greece, ravaged Greece as far as the tips of the Peloponnese and then withdrew *in toto* to the area from which it had come is very unlikely to be correct; for the motive of peoples who invaded by land at this time was, as Thucydides saw so clearly, to acquire the most fertile territory (1. 2. 2–4) and not to revert to the mountainous pastures from which they had won a meagre living. Nor does withdrawal account for the failure of the Mycenaeans to reoccupy coastal sites, whereas the presence or threat of piracy provides a satisfactory reason (see Thucydides 1. 7). Polybius 2. 5 explains why Elis and Messenia were so easily plundered by sea-raiders from Illyria.

earliest trade in iron for the area known to Homer. The fact that iron was used for pins and for weapons in the L.H. III graves of Vajzë and North Epirus suggests that the clue is a true one and that iron was first worked in a region which lay either in the north-western part of the Balkans or in Italy and the West. The range of Taphian trade is not surprising. The archaeological evidence from Vajzë shows that some articles of trade came to Vajzë from Cyprus and Crete in Middle Helladic times; and the existence of a Rhodian settlement at Scoglio del Tonno (near Tarentum) in L.H. III C, and the occurrence of rare objects in tombs of Crete and Cyprus in L.H. III C which are common in the L.H. III C tombs of North Epirus, show the strong current of trade and movement from the mouth of the Adriatic Sea to the Levant, and vice versa, via the southern islands of the Aegean and Cyprus (as in the Greek Colonial period and in the Frankish and Venetian periods).¹

The range of these ventures enables us to understand the presence of people in Rhodes, Casos, Carpathos, Nisyros, Cos, and East Crete, who had probably set sail from the coast of Epirus. The most interesting group is that situated in Rhodes in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2. 653 f.). The story of its leader, Tlepolemus, is told at some length. He was the son of Heracles and of Astyocheia. Heracles took as his wife Astyocheia 'from Ephyra, from the river Selleeis' after sacking many cities, and Tlepolemus was brought up in the well-built palace. On reaching maturity he killed his father's maternal uncle, Licymnius; he then built ships at once, collected many people and fled over the sea, because he was threatened by the other sons and the grandsons of Heracles. The object of including this story in the Catalogue is to tell us the origin of Tlepolemus and his followers, and this is evidently 'Ephyra by the river Selleeis'; the question whether Licymnius was killed there or elsewhere is irrelevant (the place of the killing was later said to be Tiryns or Argos).² It is also implied that Tlepolemus and his followers sailed from Ephyra by the river Selleeis. Now there were several cities of that name and several rivers called Selleeis. One Ephyra is fixed by Thucydides, 1. 46. 4, near the river Acheron, and we have seen that the upper Acheron was probably called the Selleeis. Homeric scholars were uncertain whether Ephyra and the Selleeis

¹ See H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* 121, for a discussion of iron and the Taphians. She is inclined to identify Temese with Tempsa in Bruttium; but these names are not very alike, and evidence of early copper-mining in Bruttium is lacking, and in any case a voyage of the Taphians to Bruttium from the region of Corcyra (where she puts them) would not take them to Ithaca.

² *Pi. O.* 7. 29; *Paus.* 2. 22. 8. The connexions between Argos and Rhodes led to a full elaboration of the Tlepolemus story, which appeared already in Pindar's account; he was said to have sailed from Lerna in the Argolid. See the full discussion by E. Wüst in *RE* 6 A 2. 1614 f.

river were to be placed in Thesprotia, Elis, or elsewhere.¹ The best clue lies not in later survivals of the names, but in the division of the settlers in three tribes in Rhodes. Whereas the Mycenaean inhabitants of Rhodes were already organized in three towns, the newcomers 'settled in three divisions by tribes' *τριχθὰ δ' ᾠκηθεν καταφυλαδόν*. This tribal division is the mark of the Dorians. At this time, before the Trojan War, the Dorians were in Epirus and Doris, and certainly not in Elis. I conclude then that Tlepolemus and his Dorian followers sailed from Ephyra in Thesprotia, and that the other sons and the grandsons of Heracles who threatened him were also in that region.²

The Catalogue of Ships names the leaders of the contingent from Casos, Carpathos, Nisyros, and Cos as two sons of Thessalus, who was himself a son of Heracles. Thessalus was so named after the Thessali, a tribe which is not mentioned in the *Iliad* but which later occupied the country that took its name, Thessaly; and Herodotus (7. 176) states that the tribe came from Thesprotia. The leaders of the settlers of this group of islands came then from Thesprotia too. There is no mention here of a tribal division; and this is correct, for the Thessali were not Dorians.³ On the other hand the *Odyssey* (19. 177), which is concerned with a slightly later period, mentions among the inhabitants of Crete *Δωριέες τριχάϊκες* with a dialect of their own, distinct from that of the Achaeans. This epithet evidently refers to the familiar division into three tribes. These Dorians are usually placed in East Crete.⁴ The group which extends from East Crete to Rhodes forms a continuous area which was penetrated by raiders or immigrants from north-west Greece in the decades before and just after the Trojan War. Tombs A and B at Moulia in East Crete may show the type of armament which their leaders had (see pp. 356 f. above).

The connexion between the Heracleidae and the people who were called Dorians is very strongly forged in the tradition. It is already there in the Catalogue of Ships, where the triple division affords an indicator. It is firmly fixed in the tradition of the Dorian invasion, when the Dorians came *ἐν Ἡρακλείδαις* (Thuc. 1. 12. 3). The origin of the connexion has come down to us through Diodorus and Strabo

¹ The *locus classicus* is Str. 8. 3. 5, C 338; cf. Friederich, 19.

² See Hammond *CAH* for further discussion, and F. H. Stubbings and G. S. Kirk in their chapters in the second edition of *CAH* vol. 2 for different views of this very controversial passage.

³ This is another controversial passage. T. W. Allen, *op. cit.* 103, confuses the visit of Heracles to Cos with the settlement of this group of islands; the connexion is not made by Homer.

⁴ Fragment 8 of Hesiod *Aegimius* in the Loeb ed. seems to refer to a division of land by three groups, which may be the tribal units of the Dorians, but if so it is wrongly applied in *Elym. Gen.* For East Crete cf. Str. 10. 4. 6, C 475; for the division of land see Szántó in *RE* 5. 2. 1875 s. Dymanes.

from Ephorus, whose authority is less valuable than that of the early authors whom we have been citing; but it may cast some light on the Dorian system of tribes and kings. The story in Diodorus 4. 37. 3 is that Heracles served the Dorian king Aegimius in Histiaeotis and that Heracles was promised for his services a third part of the Dorian land and the Dorian kingship. This must mean that the Dorians had three kings; in other words they were a group consisting of three tribes, each with its own king (like the four tribal kings of primitive Attica), and Heracles was promised the right to one of these kingships and to the land associated with that kingship. Heracles left his third of the Dorian land with Aegimius on trust, and it was later taken up by the son of Heracles, Hyllus. Strabo (9. 4. 10, C 427) states that Aegimius adopted Hyllus as his own son. Hyllus is probably a name which he took when he became king of the Hylleis. Later, when the Heraclids were established, the other two tribes, the Dymanes and the Pamphyli, came under the Heraclid kings, but the tribes always retained their identity before and after the invasion.¹ Territory won by the Dorians was divided among the tribes, which implies that they had a tribal system of communal ownership. The unification of the tribes under the Heraclid monarchy was evidently complete in the generation before the Trojan War, when Hyllus led the unsuccessful attack on the Peloponnese and when Tlepolemus led the colonists overseas to Rhodes.

The Heracleidae and the Dorians remained distinct also in terms of a wider ethnography; for the Heracleidae were Achaeans of the Mycenaean world, but the Dorians were of the group which came to be called Hellenikon. Herodotus (1. 56) drew the distinction between Sparta and Athens not only that one was Dorikon and the other Ionikon but also that one was Hellenikon and the other Pelasgikon. The comment made by How and Wells, that 'the only true Hellenes are the Dorians',² is, of course, as mistaken as it would be to suggest that the Athenians were the only true Pelasgians. The Dorians were indeed Hellenes; we find Hellanion as the name of a place at Sparta and worship of Zeus Hellanios on the mountain of Aegina, and the name is likely in both cases to go back to the early settlement by the Dorians.³ But the Hellenes included other tribes as well. Thucydides

¹ The connexion of the Heraclids and the Dorians is expressed in Tyrtaeus 2, 'Ηρακλείδαις . . . οἷσιν ἄμα . . . ἀφικόμεθα, and in Schol. Pi. P. 5. 92, οἱ Αἰγίμου παῖδες Δύμας καὶ Πάμφυλος συγκατῆλθον τοῖς 'Ηρακλείδαις. The three tribes are in Tyrtaeus 1. 12, on which see my article in *JHS* 70 (1950) 50; St. Byz. s. *Dymanes*, quoting Ephorus, Αἰγίμιος ἔσχε δύο παῖδας Πάμφυλον καὶ Δυμᾶνα καὶ τὸν 'Ηρακλέους ὕλλον ἐποίησατο τρίτον. Another example of Heracles sharing in the land of a people is in the legend of Epidamnus in App. BC 2. 39.

² *A Commentary on Herodotus* i. 444.

³ Paus. 3. 12. 6-8; A. Furtwängler, *Aegina* (Munich, 1906) 5 and 473 f. The Myrmidons are connected with Aegina in Pi. N. 3. 13 and St. Byz. s. *Myrmidonia*; it is impossible to

(1. 3. 3) contrasts with Pelasgians, Danaans, Argives, and Achaeans not the Dorians but the Hellenes, and he makes the point that the followers of Achilles in Phthiotis included those who 'first were Hellenes'. No ancient author described Achilles' followers as Dorians. We have already noticed the statement in Pseudo-Aristotle that 'ancient Hellas' was the area round Dodona and the Achelous, where the Selli, Graiki, and Hellenes used to live, and the claim of the king of the Athamanes that they had a special kinship with 'the Hellenes'. The Aenianes made a similar claim that their territory was ἀκριβῶς Ἑλληνικόν. Moreover, they sent a mission to the Pythian festival, which made sacrifice to Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, because the Thesalians conceded that the Aenianes were more closely related than themselves to the clan of Neoptolemus, the Achilleidae or the Aeacidae, to which Achilles had belonged.¹ In fact, such evidence as there is points to a group of peoples who extended from the area round Dodona to the Spercheus valley and included at least the Hellenes of Achilles, the Enienes (or Aenianes), the Athamanes and the Dorians as being of the original nucleus of the Hellenic tribes. A peculiar feature of this group is the ethnic termination in *-anes* or *-enes* (for the Dorians included the tribe Dymanes). This termination is a characteristic of North-west Greece, especially if, as we have seen to be likely, the Hellenes or Panhellenes of Achilles came from the region of Dodona. Apart from them the *Iliad* has the Enienes near Dodona and the Cephallenians in the realm of Odysseus on the coast and the islands. After the Dorian invasion we find the Cephallenians giving their name to Cephallenia; the Acarnanians; the Eitanes and the Eurytanes in Aetolia; the Cylicrenes in the Spercheus valley; the Aenianes; the Athamanes, the Atintanes, the Arctanes, and the Talaeans in Epirus; the Enchelians in South-east Illyria; and the Agrianes in North-west Macedonia. The familial meaning of the ethnic termination seems to be clear from the word for 'fish' which was used at Ambracia, ἀκεῖνες — 'the watery folk' or *squamigerum genus*.²

tell whether they were associated with Aeacus or with Dorian invaders. See J. P. Harland, *Prehistoric Aegina* (Paris, 1925) 63 f.; and S. L. Radt, *Pindars zweiter und sechster Paian* (Amsterdam, 1958) 133 and 175 on Pi. *Paeon* 6. 125.

¹ See p. 375 above, and Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* (ed. A. Colonna) 2. 34 for the Aenianes; Aeacides is an epithet of Achilles in the *Iliad*.

² Hsch. s.v. I have not discussed the genealogical tree or trees (for three exist), which were constructed to fit the eponymous ancestors of the Greek racial groups together, because they are clearly constructed for the purpose (see *RE* 8. 1. 170 f.). The spread of the name Hellenes (or Panhellenes) to comprise the Greeks was completed before Hesiod wrote *Eoiae* fr. 4 (ed. A. Traversa) and Archilochus wrote the fragment quoted in Str. 8. 6. 6, C 370, and Thucydides 1. 3. 2 regarded the spread and adoption as occurring inside Greece (an important point against J. B. Bury's view in *JHS* 15 (1895) 217 f.); it seems likely that a group of the invading peoples carried the Hellenic name in the so-called Dorian invasion, and that this led to its general adoption (see my *GH* 76-77).

The connexion of Achilles with Epirus was commemorated by the worship of Achilles under the name Aspetos.¹ He was worshipped not only in Thessaly but also in areas where invaders settled—at Tanagra, in Laconia, and in Elis, and this would be natural if they had come from Epirus, where he was the object of worship; it is therefore interesting to find that in Laconia Achilles was worshipped at Prasiae and that the shrine there was founded 'by Prax who set out from Epirus'.² Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, was even more closely connected in the epic tradition with Epirus. He and the Myrmidons were said to have founded Byllis on the coast (probably to be identified with the site at Plaka, where Mycenaean pottery was found).³ This foundation was no doubt connected with the coming of Neoptolemus to the Molossi before he reached Peleus in Phthia, an event which is recorded in Proclus, *Chrestomathia*, a summary of the Cyclic Epic by Hagias of Troezen (?seventh century).⁴ Proclus says that Neoptolemus made the journey from Troy by land (πεζῇ) via Maroneia; as the Molossi were in the northern part of inland Epirus until a time later than that of Hagias, it is probable that Neoptolemus was brought through South-west Macedonia to Koritsa or Konitsa and founded Byllis as well as the Molossian royal house. Pindar's versions vary: Neoptolemus came to 'Molossis near Mt. Tomarus' (*Paean* 6. 110), this being as near as he got to his home, but 'he did not cheat the winds';⁵ in *Nemean* 7 he sailed away from Troy, missed Scyros, went astray with his company, reached Ephyra (in Thesprotia), and ruled for a short time in Molossia. It seems likely that Pindar has introduced an innovation in bringing Neoptolemus not by land but by sea in the *Nemean* ode, which was composed later than the *Paean*.

Pindar gave offence to those who honoured Neoptolemus by saying in the *Paean* that the hero had been killed at Delphi by the god, Apollo. He corrects this in the *Nemean* ode by saying that Neoptolemus was killed by a man in a chance encounter (line 42) and that he fulfilled

¹ Hsch. s.v.; quoting Arist. *Opunt. Resp.* and Plu. *Pyrrh.* 1.

² Plu. *GQ* 37; Anaxagoras in Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 814; Paus. 3. 24. 5 and 6. 23. 3. For Prax see St. Byz. s. *Prakiai* and *Prakes*, and *Praktika tes Akademias Athenon* 30 (1955) 94 f.; for traces of other cults of Achilles at Sparta see S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig, 1893) 232 f.

³ St. Byz. s. *Byllis*.

⁴ Proclus in Oxford Classical Texts, Homer vol. 5 p. 108; Apollod. *Epit.* 6. 12; Eratosth. ap. Schol. *Od.* 3. 188.

⁵ The point of this remark is that Neoptolemus came by land on the advice of Thetis in order to avoid the winds (which in fact dispersed the Greek fleet); but the god brought him to his death all the same. Pindar therefore brought Neoptolemus by land, not by sea in this case. S. L. Radt, *Pindars zweiter und sechster Paian* (Amsterdam, 1958) 158, seems to miss the point of the remark and tries to find a coastal spot in place of Mt. Tomarus. If he is correct in thinking that an iota stood between the rho and the omicron of Tomarou, we must assume either a variant form or a corruption of Tomarus; for Pindar loved to mention Dodona or its holy mountain.

his destiny, which was to preside over the procession at the Delphian festival.¹ He had given offence not only to the Aeginetans, who worshipped the Aeacidae, but also to the descendants of Neoptolemus in Epirus. He therefore continued 'if an Achaean man who lives above the Ionian sea is at hand, he will not blame me; I rely on my position as *proxenos*' (ἐὼν δ' ἐγγὺς Ἀχαιὸς οὐ μέμφεται μ' ἀνὴρ Ἴονίης ὑπὲρ ἄλλος οἰκέων· προξενία πέποιθα). The allusion in 'an Achaean man' is to a member of the Molossian royal house; for a Molossian king, who claimed descent from Achilles, was as much an Achaean as a Spartan king, such as Cleomenes, who claimed descent from Heracles.² Pindar held the position of *proxenos* then in regard to the Molossian royal house and so to the Molossian state. In this ode he endorses the claim: 'Neoptolemus reigned a short time in Molossia; but his family holds this honour through him for ever.' In *Nemean* 4. 51 Pindar enumerates the kingdoms of the Aeacidae and among them 'Neoptolemus rules over the far-reaching mainland,³ where the jutting headlands give pasture to cattle and, starting from Dodona, slope down towards the Ionian strait':

Νεοπτόλεμος δ' ἀπείρω διαπρυσία,
βουβόται τόθι πρῶνες ἔξοχοι κατάκεινται
Δωδῶναθεν ἀρχόμενοι πρὸς Ἴόνιον πόρον.

The kingdom is here envisaged as stretching north-west from Dodona to the mouth of the Adriatic Sea, where the Ionian strait begins (as contrasted with the Sicilian Sea), and it may therefore include Byllis, the foundation of Neoptolemus and his Myrmidons.

The Gulf of Valona figured also in other legends of the Nostoi. The famous dedication of the Apolloniates at Olympia, which is described by Pausanias (5. 22. 2), is partly inspired by legends which were local to the district. The figures included Zeus, the god of the Acroceraunian mountains; Thetis and Achilles, whose son founded Byllis; Odysseus, who fought against the Brygi; Helenus and Aeneas, who passed along this coast; and Ajax or Aias, whose name was that of the great river by Apollonia. This is unlikely to be a coincidence. The epigram which was inscribed below the feet of Zeus mentioned Apollonia's conquest of the land of Abantis. Pausanias explains that the word Abantis is an allusion to a legend of the past. For when the ships were scattered on the return from Troy, Locrians from Thronium and Abantes from Euboea put in at the Ceraunian mountains, founded

¹ See Radt *op. cit.* 85 f. for the relationship between the two poems and a full bibliography; I agree with him in rejecting the interpretation of J. Perret in *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 48 (1946) 9 f.

² Hdt. 5. 72. 3.

³ The word ἀπείρος, like νᾶσος in line 50, has geographical, not political significance; see p. 476 below.

Thronium and called their territory Abantis. The same legend is given for the foundation of Oricum by Scymnus (442-3) and by later authors.¹ The visit of Helenus is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus and in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, both quoting Teucer of Cyzicus, in connexion with the foundation of Buthrotum by Helenus 'when he was sailing towards the west'.² Aeneas was taken, together with Andromache, as a prize of war by Neoptolemus on the return from Troy in the *Ilias Parva* (fr. 19 in the Oxford text of Homer's works), but he was liberated after the death of Neoptolemus and went to Macedonia; another version had Aeneas liberated at the time of the sack of Troy. Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 31 and F 84), whose account enabled Aeneas to escape defeat and negotiate his withdrawal from the Troad, brought him by sea to Pallene in Chalcidice and 'from the Molossians to Italy', where he met Odysseus and founded Rome. Belief in some such journey of Aeneas is shown by the sixth-century coins of Aeneia in Chalcidice and in sixth-century Athenian pottery imported to Etruria.³ The journey through the territory of the Molossians is probably part of the sixth-century belief. The route he took was evidently that of Neoptolemus, namely through South-west Macedonia into the northern part of mountainous Epirus.

The adventures of Odysseus after his return home were recorded in the *Telegony* of Eugammon, written c. 565 B.C. Odysseus went to Thesprotia, married the queen Callicte, and left the throne to his son by her, Polypoetes. During his stay in Thesprotia, Odysseus defeated the Brygi. These Brygi are presumably the same as the Briges in the legend of Epidamnus (App. *BC* 2. 39) who returned from Phrygia to Epidamnus, presumably on the overland route through South-west Macedonia. A similar fragment is found in the *Nostoi*,⁴ and 'Dodona in Thesprotia' may have occurred in the *Cypria*.⁵ Odysseus was also said to have founded Bounima, a city near Trampya, in accordance with an oracular order by the ghost of Teiresias (*Odyssey* 11. 121 f.), that he should go to a people who knew not the sea, ate food without salt, and mistook an oar for a winnowing fan (St. Byz. s. *Βούνιμα* and Tzetzes, *ad Lycophr.* 800). There was a cult of Odysseus among the Eurytanes (Aristotle fr. 508, Rose, from the *Politeia Ithacensis*) and at Trampya (Tzetzes, *ibid.*). In any case the legend brought

¹ Callimachus fr. 259 Schn. = *Astia* fr. 12 Tryp.; St. Byz. s. *Abantis*, *Amantia*, and *Euboea*; Et. Gen. (A B) s. *Amantes*; Lyc. 1042 f. and Tzetz. *ad loc.*; Schol. to Ap. Rhod. 4. 1175; Str. 10. 1. 15, C 449, bringing the Euboeans homewards from Illyria into Macedonia via Edessa.

² *FGrH* 274 F 1, with references to later sources.

³ Head *HN* 214.

⁴ O.C.T. Homer, vol. 5, p. 141 no. ix. The epic also dealt with Hades and its terrors, perhaps located by the Acheron. For the *Telegony* p. 109 and p. 143.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 117 no. 1.

Odysseus to the pastoral peoples of the Pindus range, where men can live on meat and milk without the use of salt. The legends which connected Odysseus with Epirus were fully established when Sophocles wrote *Odysseus Acanthoplex*, of which four fragments mention Dodona in the form Δωδών and the priestesses as Δωδωνίδες (frs. 455, 456, 460, 461).

It is tempting to relate these legends to political events of the classical period. Thus Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Pindaros*, p. 167, connected the claim of the Molossian kings to be descended from Neoptolemus with a supposed Molossian expansion c. 480 B.C. But, as Cross pointed out, he overlooked the earlier tradition in Hagias of Troezen that Neoptolemus visited the Molossi. Cross himself argued that the visit of Helenus to Chaonia was invented c. 380 B.C., when Alcetas wished to draw the Chaones and the Molossians together; but he overlooked in this connexion the earlier tradition in Hellanicus that Aeneas visited the Molossians on his way to Italy.¹ Moreover, it is difficult to believe that tribes which were judged by Thucydides to be barbarian could have imposed a new royal genealogy on the Greeks of the fifth and fourth centuries.

It is beyond doubt that some of these legends originated at a date much earlier than the classical period. Neoptolemus is placed in Molossia in the epic of Hagias (? seventh century), Aeneas is associated with Neoptolemus in the *Ilias Parva* (? seventh century) and Odysseus is active in Thesprotia in the *Nostoi* (? seventh century), the *Telegony* (sixth century), and perhaps the *Cypria* (? eighth century). We are told that Eugammon derived his *Thesprotis* from that of an earlier poet Musaeus,² and there is no doubt that Helenus played a prominent part in the earlier *Nostoi*.³ The most natural explanation of this early origin is that the epic singers of the twelfth century created the material for the composition of the *Nostoi*, and their successors transmitted this material down to the time of the final composition of the *Odyssey* and other *Nostoi* in the eighth and following centuries. The epic tradition is then of some historical value. It shows that after the Trojan War and after the dramatic date of the *Odyssey* there was some penetration of the darkness which had surrounded the areas beyond the Thesprotia of the *Odyssey*. It was achieved partly by movement along the overland route through South-west Macedonia and partly by movement from Thesprotia towards the interior. The Achaean adventurers were following the example of the Heracleidae, perhaps in a desire for loot or in an

¹ Cross 100 f.; he missed also the Apolloniatic dedication of the mid-fifth century showing Helenus and Aeneas.

² Oxford Classical Texts loc. cit. p. 143.

³ See W. Otto in *RE* 7. 2. 2844 f. The arbitration by Neoptolemus for Odysseus in *Plu. GQ* 14 may be derived from an account in the *Nostoi*.

attempt to win new followers of a warlike disposition.¹ The discovery of Mycenaean pottery mainly of L.H. III C at Kozani shows a further advance of Mycenaean influence towards South-west Macedonia in the period after 1200 B.C. (or after 1180 B.C. in terms of the Trojan War).² A similar development occurred on the coast of Asia Minor, where Achaean heroes entered areas which had been outside the Mycenaean sphere of action in the *Iliad* and founded new colonies and new dynasties. Archaeology has shown that some of the legends which concern Asia Minor are in accordance with historical fact.³ It is therefore likely that the legends which concern Epirus have a kernel of historical truth; and the excavations at Vajzë show the presence of a powerful dynasty inland of Valona and on the route from there to South-west Macedonia in L.H. III C.

At the time when the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed in their present form and the *Thesprotis* took shape, it is most unlikely that a poet had access to such remote areas as Thesprotia and Central Epirus. Nor could he have done so in the troubled centuries from 1100 to 700 B.C., if we put the composition of the *Odyssey* as late as the latter date. Yet there is some detailed information of places and customs in Thesprotia and Central Epirus in the two great epics, and there was presumably much more in the *Thesprotis*, now lost but ascribed to Musaeus. The presence of such information can be attributed either to invention, or to knowledge garnered in the Bronze Age. Invention is most improbable, because the element of pure fiction in Greek epic is small. Knowledge is probable on general grounds. The excavations at Vajzë and in the Drin valley go some way to show that knowledge underlies some points in the *Iliad*, while the excavations at Dodona and at the Nekyomanteion show that these oracles were religious centres in the Bronze Age. The forms of ritual described in the poems themselves may be derived from the practices of Bronze Age Epirus.

The burial of his cousin Patroclus by Achilles provides an example. It does not correspond with any known practice in the Mycenaean world, and it is perhaps peculiar to Achilles and his people, whose origins and traditions seem to have come from Central Epirus. Now we know that in the Bronze Age the most important burials in some of the tumuli of North Epirus were cremations; that such cremations, marked by a cairn of stones, became the centre of a large circle 20 m. or more in diameter, and that the circumference was marked sometimes by a single or a double layer of unworked stones; that jars for liquid

¹ The latter motive would be in accordance with the statement by Thucydides 1. 3. 2 that the name of the Hellenes spread because other states called the Hellenes in to help in their wars.

² See Ph. M. Petsas in *Eph. Arch.* 1953-4, 120. For the chronology see *CAH*² 1. 6. 75.

³ For Asia Minor, for instance, in the case of Mopsus see Hammond *CAH* 23 f.

(and at Vodhinë dippers) and weapons were placed beside the urn which contained the ashes; and that a tumulus of soil was raised over the circle to a height of at least 3 m. The burial of Patroclus as it is described is on an epic scale. Yet the details correspond remarkably closely with the silent evidence of the Epirote tumuli. Although the huge conflagration will destroy them in the epic account, the jars of liquid are set by the place where the ashes will lie:

ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος ἀμφιφορῆας
πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων. (Iliad 23. 170)

Indeed Homer has probably misunderstood the original ritual, in which the jars were added after the cremation. When the corpse is consumed, Achilles orders the construction of a mound immediately, a fitting mound (τύμβον . . . ἐπικέα τοῖον, 245). The ashes of Patroclus are put in a golden *phiale* and the urn is placed in his resting place (ἐν κλισίῃσι, 254) in the centre of the burnt-out pyre (ἐν μέσῃ γὰρ ἔκειτο πυρῇ, 241). Then the tumulus is constructed as follows:

τορνῶσαντο δὲ σῆμα θεμειλιά τε προβάλοντο
ἀμφὶ πύρην· εἴθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν.
χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα πάλιν κίων. (255 f.)

In paraphrase 'They marked out with a line (*tornus*) the circle of the tumulus and threw down the foundation (stones) around the pyre. And forthwith they heaped up loose earth, and they turned away when they had completed the tumulus.' The *θεμειλια* are evidently the stones of the circumference or *peribolos*, unworked and serving as markers for the limits of the mound, rather than as a floor of stones or pebbles. Homer's description comes so close to the practices of Vajzë and the sites in the Drin valley that it even enables us to see exactly how the tumuli of North Epirus were constructed. The tumulus for Patroclus is larger; for its diameter exceeded 40 m. (l. 164) as befitted an epic hero. There is one tumulus of this size at Pazhok in the Devoli valley;¹ and it is constructed with a view to a further interment (like the tumuli in Epirus), because the ashes of Achilles when he dies are to be placed in the same urn, a two-handled golden urn (*χρύσεος ἀμφιφορεύς*, 91), such as we see imitated in pottery in the cremation group at Vodhinë.

Another problem for the Homeric scholar has been the description of belts with metal plates, whether *ζωστήρες* or *μίτραι*, which were

¹ *Studia Albanica* 1 (1964) 96 fig. 2 and pl. 5; this tumulus, which was much the largest of some 25 tumuli, had a double circle of stones, and the head and bones of an ox were found by the central burial. The report is brief; it appears that the central burial here was of M.H. date and that the later burials in the extended mound were of L.H. date and included an imported Mycenaean vase (pl. 7, 1).

worn by Homeric warriors but have not been found in Mycenaean tombs. If my interpretation is correct, they were worn by the warriors of Vajzë and of the Drin valley in the latest period of the Bronze Age. The Homeric warrior sometimes has two spears, one being a javelin. Yet javelin-heads occur very seldom in Mycenaean tombs. Such javelin-heads have been found in the North Epirote tumuli, and Prendi observed that the warriors of the Mati valley tumuli were normally buried with two spear-heads each, one presumably being a javelin.

The most probable explanation of these features in Homeric Epic (they probably occurred also in the lost *Thesprotis*) is that they came down in the body of epic saga which derived from the twelfth century and was originally composed in that century. Such saga was drawn from various parts of the Greek world. It portrayed then the local customs of each area. Centuries later we have in the Homeric poems an amalgam of sagas which had become of general rather than local currency. It seems likely that in the twelfth century Epirus possessed its own local bards (as Central Albania did recently and may still do), and that their songs of Odysseus and even of Achilles, if they claimed him, passed later into the body of saga.

4. THE LAUNCHING OF THE SO-CALLED DORIAN INVASION

'The Dorian Invasion' is a simple catch-phrase, which is often used as the name of a complex and large-scale development. This development has three main aspects. First, there is the movement into Greece of a large number of tribes who spoke the West-Greek dialects; they occupied most of Central Greece on both sides of the watershed, the bulk of the Peloponnese, some Ionian islands, and some Aegean islands; they were so numerous that they displaced much of the Mycenaean population. Secondly, we have the overthrow of some Mycenaean centres of power and the destruction of Mycenaean civilization; and thirdly, the entry of new peoples into those areas of North Greece which had given off so large a number of invaders. There is no deadline from which this movement started, nor is there one at which it ended; but there was a point at which Mycenaean resistance was broken. Local infiltrations or local invasions preceded and succeeded this point, which is dated for convenience *c.* 1120 B.C. on the basis of the interval of eighty years set by Thucydides between the Trojan War and the entry of the Dorians into the Peloponnese.

If our conclusions are sound, the inland part of Epirus was occupied in the opening centuries of the second millennium by pastoral peoples who came from Western Macedonia and spoke Greek. They spoke the same language and perhaps at that time the same dialect as the

other Greek-speaking peoples who were then entering East Greece, the Peloponnese, the southern Ionian islands, and some Aegean islands.¹ During some 700 or 800 years they developed a dialect which differed from the dialects spoken in Mycenaean Greece. This was due partly to the much wetter climate of Epirus and partly to their isolation from other linguistic influences; for the only contact of these pastoral peoples was with other such peoples in the mountain pastures and occasionally in the plains of North-east Greece where there were winter pastures. Pastoral life conserves a tribal organization of society, as we can see also in modern Epirus; it keeps men hardy, warlike, and content with a low standard of living, but there are times when tribes abandon their nomadic existence and settle down in the valleys, as the Farsherote Vlachs have done in recent centuries. The area which these pastoral peoples occupied at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age seems from the distribution of their pottery to have extended from Western Macedonia to the Gulf of Valona, probably into Central Albania, along both sides of the Pindus highlands as far as the coast of Epirus on the west and as far as Lianokladhi on the east, throughout Acarnania, and in varying degrees into Corcyra, Leucas, and Ithaca.

In the thirteenth century these pastoral peoples received new stimuli. Seafaring increased in the Adriatic Sea and in Corcyra. It was associated both with trade down that sea and with piracy or sea raids at the expense of the Mycenaean peoples of the southern Ionian islands. Powerful weapons of bronze and new methods of fighting reached inland Epirus, partly because other peoples were pressing down from the north and partly because some articles of trade were following an overland route from the Gulf of Valona through inland Epirus to the Malian Gulf. During this century the dynasty of Peleus together with the Hellenes and the Myrmidons moved from inland Epirus into the Spercheus valley and maintained only loose ties with the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. Two tribes of pastoral people entered inland Epirus from South-west Macedonia, each bringing a better style of pottery and some knowledge of the Mycenaean world; one of these tribes came to be called the Dorian tribe later, when a part of it moved into Doris. The natural centre for the meeting together of the pastoral tribes in Central and South Epirus is the plain of Dodona, where there is good pasture for the migrating flocks of sheep in May and October, and here the oracular cult of Zeus and Dione had already existed for many centuries under the charge of the Helloi or Selloi.

¹ Their derivation from Macedonia and their pastoral way of life both suggest that the Greek-speaking peoples came down the Balkans, like the Vlachs in medieval times; their first contact with the then occupants of Greece was probably at Kritsaná in Chalcidice when Macedonia was still in the Neolithic period (see Hammond *GH*² 38).

It is a reasonable conjecture that a religious Amphictyony of pastoral peoples developed in this area and adopted the name of Hellenes.¹ At any rate it was later held that the Hellenes of Achilles' realm, the Athamanes, the Aenianes (or Enienes in the Catalogue of Ships) and the Dorians belonged in a special sense to τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γένος. The development of a Mycenaean realm in the self-contained lower Acheron valley provided another stimulus. This realm was probably that of the Heracleidae, an exiled Mycenaean clan, which (like the Bacchiadae later in Illyria) came into Thesprotia and inland Epirus, and some of its members became kings of some of the local tribes. One Heraclid, Tlepolemus, led a group of colonists with the Dorian system of three tribes to Rhodes; two other Heraclids, sons of Thessalus, who carried the name of a tribe then in Epirus, led colonists to the group of islands round Cos and Carpathos; and Hyllus, who was king at first of the Hylleis tribe and later of the Dorians as a whole, overran east Central Greece and was killed at the Isthmus c. 1220 B.C., when he and his followers were trying to break into the Peloponnese.

Meanwhile the Mycenaean kings continued to wage war against one another and to engage in adventures overseas. The destruction of the citadel of Thebes and the war of the Epigoni weakened the realm of Cadmeis so much that a West Greek people, called the Boeoti, occupied part of the plain. The long war against Troy, the revolutions at home which ensued upon it, and piratical raids, probably on the coasts of Elis, Messenia and Southern Laconia, weakened the fabric of the Mycenaean world still further. Other Boeoti established themselves in South-west Thessaly near Arne, and other Dorians gained a footing in East Crete. During the period of the Nostoi Neoptolemus came back to the land of his forefathers, became king of the Molossi in North Epirus, and founded Byllis on the coast of the Gulf of Valona—an area which possessed powerful weapons of bronze and some of iron. Then or later Aeneas and Helenus reached Epirus, probably following the overland route and in the company of Mycenaean adventurers. At this time Buthrotum was founded opposite Corcyra; and Argos was founded in the Gulf of Arta by Amphilochoi.² Odysseus came to Thesprotia and succeeded, after an initial defeat, in repelling the Brygi (probably in Southern Albania);³ his achievements led to the worship of him in inland Epirus. The pressure of peoples from the Central

¹ The Amphictyony of Anthela—which preceded the Delphic Amphictyony—probably existed in the Late Bronze Age; it included Thessali, Peraebi, Aenianes, Doriciis, Dolopes, Boeoti, and Phthiotae among its members, and these were in the vicinity of Anthela and Thermopylae at that time.

² Thuc. 2. 68. 3.

³ There were later Brygii and Bryges in West Macedonia (St. Byz. s. *Brygias* and *Bryx*) and Brygi near Epidamnus.

Balkans was a threat both to Macedonia and to Epirus. Macedonia was the stronger of the two, and the stream tended to flow west of Macedonia into Central Albania and press remorselessly upon Epirus. Some people with a Lausitz type of culture broke through the defences of Macedonia, occupied Vardaroftsa in the Vardar valley *c.* 1150 B.C.,¹ and pushed on as far as the northern border of Thessaly, which was the strong bastion of the Mycenaean world; other people, armed with a Hungarian type of battle-axe, threatened Epirus from Albania.

It was probably the pressure from the north and penetration by battle-axe warriors that set large waves of invasion in motion from the western side of North Greece. A tribe, called the Thessali and led by Heracleidae, occupied South-west Thessaly (which took its name from them). The Boeoti displaced from there invaded Cadmeis *c.* 1140 B.C., and on joining the Boeoti already in Cadmeis they called the country Boeotia. The Dorians, led by Heracleidae and accompanied by other peoples of West-Greek speech, crossed the Gulf of Corinth at Rhium—thus turning the walled defences at the Isthmus—and invaded the Peloponnese with success. Other West-Greek peoples, led by the Cephallenes, occupied the southern Ionian islands and gave Cephallenia its name. These invaders came with slashing swords, thrusting spears, a knowledge in some cases of seafaring, a strong tribal system under monarchy, a worship of Zeus of Dodona, Apollo Carneius (the god of the ram), and perhaps Athena,² and a standard of life far lower than that of the Mycenaeans. As their pottery was of the simplest and crudest type, they left few traces for the modern archaeologist except the signs of destruction and of a decline which followed from the general collapse of civilization throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.

We know very little of what happened in North Greece. There are some indications of the main lines of thrust southwards and eastwards. The area of North-east Pindus and Northern Thessaly seems to have held firm against invasion by the Lausitz people and against the first incursions of the West Greeks. The Mycenaean palace at Iolcus was destroyed relatively late. In classical times the Peraebi and the Aethices still occupied the areas they had occupied in the Catalogue of Ships, and the dialect of Northern Thessaly suffered less intrusion of West

¹ Heurtley *PM* 125 f., based on the 'granary' stage of pottery; Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans* 142, dates the invasion a century later, but he produces no valid argument against Heurtley.

² It is interesting that the Boeoti had the largest ships in the Catalogue and that the Myrmidons are described as close fighters (which the slashing swords and thrusting spears suggest); see *Classical Journal* 9. 9. 589. The early worship of Athena Syllania by the Spartans and of Athena Itonia by the Thessali and the Boeoti implies the worship of her in Epirus, from which all three came at the time of the invasion.

Greek speech than that of Southern Thessaly. The Athamanes occupied the upper Achelous valley, as they had probably done before the invasion. The Aenianes, who had been 'round Dodona' at the time of the Trojan War, were washed up on the side of the upper Spercheus valley by the wave of invasion into eastern Central Greece. The invaders of eastern Central Greece seem to have used the routes through Agrapha into the Spercheus valley and into Doris;¹ but the bulk of the invading tribes followed the western side of Greece and crossed at Rhium into the Peloponnese and from Acarnania into the southern Ionian islands. Battle-axe people made a short-lived appearance in Epirus, Leucas, and Acarnania. It is possible that new peoples pressed down into the lowlands of coastal Epirus in succeeding centuries. The Molossi and the tribes which came to be grouped under the Molossian name seem to have stayed firm in the mountainous area of inland Epirus, where Neoptolemus had founded or strengthened the dynasty of the Aeacid kings, and the same may be true of the Macedones, who occupied the South-west 'Macedonian' highlands. But the great emigration of peoples from the north-west area must have made room for new peoples to enter parts of Epirus and of Macedonia. We shall consider in the next chapter who they were.

Finally we should say something of the names of places and peoples which are found in the tradition of Bronze Age Epirus. The work of Fick in the matter of pre-Hellenic place names suffers from two defects in this area. He makes no distinction between earlier and later names, and he starts from the assumption that 'only a few place names are to be regarded as probably Lelegian in Epirus, which was flooded with Illyrian tribes very early'. For example, he takes 'Pandusia' to have been once the same as 'Bandusia' (on the border of Apulia and Lucania) and 'Bouneima' to be more correctly associated with 'Bounnos', a city of the Illyrians (Stephanus Byzantinus cites them next to one another in his alphabetical order). Now Pandusia is the name of an Elean colony and the natural explanation of the name is that it is Greek and originates with the Greek colonists; Bouneima is said by Stephanus to have been founded by Odysseus (probably following the epic tradition), and the name is Greek, as we should expect. Fick tends to regard any name in Epirus which begins with β as Illyrian; but the Laconian dialect and other dialects used β to express digamma.²

¹ During the war I walked from Viniani in Agrapha to Lidhoriki and on to Galaxidhi in May; the route to Lidhoriki was high but good going under foot.

² A. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* (Göttingen, 1905); the quotation is from p. 134. He also connects the names Bouthrotum with Butuntum near Bari, Larine with Larinum in the territory of the Frentani, Ephyra with Ebura by Salernum, and Bacace (which is considered below to be a corruption) with Bacae in Campania; he ranges far, but it is doubtful if these vague similarities are more than a coincidence of sounds.

I shall consider first those names which occur in traditions of which the dramatic date is the Bronze Age, and also the names of rivers and mountains which are likely to have been given at that time. Celydnus is considered to be pre-Hellenic;¹ this river is in the area of the Neolithic settlements near the Gulf of Valona. The names of other rivers in the early tradition are Aias or Araoua (for the later Aous), Acheron, Achelous, and in classical sources Arethon or Aratthus (later Arachthus), Aphas, and Inachus; these are all based on the Indo-European two vowel sounds for water, *aqua*, *eau*, etc., down to *ui* in modern Albanian, and they have every appearance of being Greek words. Charadros, Cocytus, and Pyriphlegethon appear to be Greek. Selleeis is connected with the Selli, which we shall consider shortly. Thyamis and Mt. Thyamus in Agraea, which appear in the classical sources, are considered to be pre-Hellenic. The names of mountains which are connected with early traditions are Pindus, Boïon, Ceraunia or Acroceraunia, and Lacmon; and it is probable that the other names are equally early—Tomarus or Tmarus, Asnaus, Meropus, Grammus, Citius, Craneia, Lyncon, Pteleum, and Tymphe. The pre-Hellenic names here are considered to be Pindus and Tomarus. Place-names which occur in early traditions or are said to have a Bronze Age ancestry are Ephyra, Trampya, Argos, Byllis, Bouthrotum, Bouneima, Bouchetium, and Dodona, or Dodon; and of these Ephyra and Trampya are held to be pre-Hellenic. The names of tribes or of areas which may take their names from tribes in the early tradition are quite numerous; Adaniën (for Molossia), Aenianes, Aethices, Athamanes, Boeoti, Cassiopaea (cf. the cult title Cassius of Zeus), Dryopes, Dymanes, Graei, Helli, or Selli, Hellenes and Hellas, Hylleis, Molossi, Pamphyli, Paraouai, Peraebi, Thesproti, and Thessali. Aesa is said to have been the earlier name of Epirus, Cronios Pontos of the Ionios Poros, and Epouia of Ambracia; and Aspetos was the local name of Achilles.²

The deductions to be made from these names are very conjectural. The pre-Hellenic names in Epirus seem to be Celydnus from the Neolithic area of settlement; Ephyra near the Oracle of the Dead, Tomarus and Thyamis near the Oracle of Dodona; and Pindus and the high village Trampya, which may have taken their names from pre-Hellenic peoples of Thessaly. Perhaps we should add Cassiope in connexion with Zeus Cassius and Cossus in an inscription from

¹ By J. B. Haley in *AJA* 32 (1928) 145, whom I am following in the next cases also.

² The references for most of these names have already been given (they can be obtained by using the index). Paraouai and Peraebi both seem to derive from the river Aesas or Aous. Adaniën in Hesych. s.v., Aesa in *EM*, and Epouia in St. Byz. s.v.; Ap. Rhod. 4. 327 and the Scholia give Cronios Pontos and Aesch. *Pr.* 836 has 'Péas κόλπος; he associated the change of name with the wanderings of Io. Arist. *fr.* 563 (ed. Rose) gives Aspetos.

Dodona, Assus and Comarus in South Epirus. These are compatible with the deductions drawn from archaeological and other evidence that the Neolithic settlers by the Gulf of Valona and the Early Helladic settlers in South Epirus and especially at the Oracles of the Dead and of Dodona were not Greek-speaking peoples. On the other hand, the great bulk of the names is compatible with our conclusion that the main settlement of Epirus in the Middle Bronze Age was by Greek-speaking peoples.¹

¹ The earlier names for Corcyra are Scheria and Phacacia which may be Greek, and it is interesting to find two of the three tribal names of the Dorians in the sailor Dymas of *Od.* 6. 22 and in the Hyllaic harbour of Thuc. 3. 72. 3 in Corcyra.

PART THREE

THE ORIGINS OF THE EPIROTE TRIBES AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREEK CITIES

IX

THE DARK AGE

c. 1120 TO 800 B.C.

I. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND THE LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR THE DARK AGE

THE so-called Dorian invasion covered several generations. The literary tradition tells us most about the tribes which formed the spear-heads of the migrations and broke their way into east Central Greece and into the Peloponnese; but the following centuries saw further migrations by land and by sea on the mainland and throughout the Aegean area. Epirus is not likely to have been immune. However, it was not cut off from the south after 1120 B.C. There are traditions which show that there was some contact of a religious character between Epirus and the rest of Greece in the Dark Age. The most striking point is that the oracle of Zeus at Dodona, which, to judge from the archaeological remains, had had only a local reputation in North-west Greece, became one of the leading oracles of the Greek world. Its fame was certainly spread by the spear-head tribes, whose victories established the power of Dodonaean Zeus and the wisdom of his oracle. The Athenians are said in the time of Codrus (c. 1050 B.C.) to have respected Lacedaemonian suppliants in obedience to an oracle issued by Dodona (Paus. 7. 25. 1-3); and Aletes, the founder of Dorian Corinth, was helped in his seizure of power by an oracle issued from Dodona (Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 7. 153; *FGrH* 70 (Ephorus) F 19, with Jacoby's comment). Some of the invading tribes maintained their ties with religious centres in Epirus throughout the Dark Age. The maidens of Aeniania and the men who drove the ox came to worship in Cassiopaea; and the Aenianes in their new home in the upper Spercheus valley sacrificed to Zeus as well as to Apollo, and they maintained their cult of Neoptolemus at Delphi.¹ The Boeotians sent tripods, wrapped in garments, to Dodona every year, and the envoys sang the traditional 'song of the tripods'; the origins of the custom are uncertain, but they probably lie in the period of warfare when the invading Boeotians were extending their conquests towards the borders of Attica.² The

¹ Plu. *GQ* 13 and 26. Arist. *Mir.* 133, 843^b15 connects Aeniania with Dodona and Heracles.

² Proclus, *Chrestomathia*, Phot. Bibl. cod. 239, p. 990; Str. 9. 2. 4 = *FGrH* 70 (Ephorus) F 119. See below, p. 407 for the institution of tripods in bronze at the end of the eighth century; there may have been tripods in a less durable material before that date.

reputation of Dodona not only stood high among the speakers of the West-Greek group of dialects but also spread in the archaic period, if not earlier, to Athens and Ionia.

Two features of Greek religion after the Dorian invasion were the spread of mantic cults and the worship of Pan. These may be due in part to the religious ideas which the invading peoples had acquired during their stay in Epirus. We have already mentioned the Oracle of Zeus at Dodona, the Oracle of the Dead at the Nekyomanteion in the Acheron valley and the Oracle of Odysseus at Trampya. There was also an ancient Oracle of Apollo in Epirus. The sacred snakes of Apollo, said to be descendants of the snake of Delphi, 'the Pytho', lived within his temenos and were fed by a virgin priestess. On a fixed day in the year the people of Epirus and any strangers who were present attended a great festival at which the priestess fed the snakes and determined from their reactions whether the coming year would be free from disease or not.¹ This has all the characteristics of an early cult, in which the snakes are survivals of the Earth goddess and Apollo is a newcomer. The same sequence is supposed to underlie the account in the *Homeric Hymn* (3. 214 f.) of Apollo's coming to Delphi, and it is probable that an early form of divination there not only resembled that at Dodona but was also derived from Dodona. The oracle at Delphi in archaic times was much concerned with apotropaic cults, which were intended to appease the powers behind such disasters as pestilence and drought.² Such cults were probably revivals of ideas or cults of the Bronze Age; their primitive characteristics may have been prominent at Dodona too, as we see from the case of Euenius of Apollonia, in which both Dodona and Delphi prescribed atonement to lift the curse of barrenness from the sheep of the Sun god. Another oracular centre in Epirus was the Nymphaeum at Selenicë, where the movements of the flames of gas were interpreted. The singing sounds of the trees there and the bubbling noise of the pitch on the surface of the lake may also have been regarded as oracular. Pan was worshipped as the god of the wood at the Nymphaeum at Selenicë and also at the Hieron Oros south of Ambracia. His name has the West Greek termination; so have 'Apollo Paian' and Zeus in the Doric form Ζάιν, in the Boeotian form Δήν, and in the Cretan form Τάιν. It is possible that the West Greek Pan and the Arcadian Paon had separate origins and were conflated by the later mythographers.³

¹ Acl. *NA* xi. 2.

² H. W. Parke, *The Delphic Oracle*, 6-12, goes further in saying of Apollo that 'his arrival (from the North) must have occurred in the dark interval between Mycenaean and Hellenic times' (p. 10). For the apotropaic powers of Apollo see M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*² 194 f., and for Euenius see H. W. Parke, *ibid.* 367 f.

³ Ampelius, *Liber Memorialis* 8. 1: 'in silva Panis symphonia in oppidum auditur ...'

The archaeological evidence from some Early Iron Age sites in North Greece tells us something about the people who were buried in the tumuli of North Epirus and in the cist graves of Kalbaki during the period which extended from the transition of L.H. III B and L.H. III C to the end of L.H. III C. We have described the contents of the tumuli and the cist graves in the last chapter, and we need only add a point about the spectacle-fibulae and related objects. One spectacle-fibula was found in Grave 12 at Vodhinë in the company of a long bronze pin and a pot of the same kind and decoration as one from Boubousti in South-west Macedōnia; the group may be dated to the end of L.H. III C.¹ Three spectacle-fibulae have been found at Dodona.² The spectacle-fibula, being made of two or four coils of spiralling bronze wire, is related to pins with spiralling ends, bracelets with spiralling ends, and lunate rings of bronze. The original development of all these articles was in the Danube basin.³ Three of the pins with spiralling ends have been found at Dodona.⁴ Bracelets with spiralling ends came from Graves 3 and 4 at Kalbaki; they are dated to the transition from L.H. III B to L.H. III C by S. I. Dakaris.⁵ Two fine bracelets of this kind come from Dodona, and three other pieces from Dodona are bits of such bracelets.⁶ The lunate rings are very common at Dodona and may have been in use down to classical times; there was one in Grave 6 of Tumulus A at Bodrishtë, but they were not found in the other graves of North Epirus or in those at Kalbaki.⁷

There are remarkable points of similarity between the burials in the tumuli of North Epirus and those of Vergina in North Pieria, just south of the Haliacmon river.⁸ The reports of the latter are still preliminary, but they are detailed enough to give a very general idea of the great cemetery. The two excavators, F. Prendi in Albania and M. Andronikos in Greece, make no reference at all to each other's

cum manibus subplodas, pix alte attollitur et quasi ab aqua bullescit.' Farnell, *Greek Cults* 5. 431 f., limits the origin of Pan to Arcadia and puts the spread of the cult in the fifth or fourth centuries; the situation seems to be much more complex (see C. Kerényi, *The Gods of the Greeks* 173 f. and the connexion with Dryops).

¹ BUSS 1956, 1. 184 and fig. 2 no. 4.

² Athens Nat. Mus. 223, 298, and 326.

³ See S. Foltiny, *Zur Chronologie der Bronzezeit des Karpatenbeckens* 40 with pl. 23 and 27 (fibulae) and pl. 5 nos. 3 and 4; and Blinkenberg 254 f.

⁴ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 21 a 13, pl. 22 b 4 and 14; cf. Jacobsthal 122.

⁵ *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 124 f. and fig. 2 with references to parallels in Hungary and elsewhere; *PAE* 1932, 49 fig. 3 below no. 3 and 51 fig. 6 in the top right-hand corner.

⁶ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 242 nos. 124 and 125 with pl. 22 b 2 and 3; also perhaps no. 126 and 127 with pl. 22 b 15 and 16.

⁷ Carapanos 94 mentions finding twenty-five of them; two are illustrated in pl. 50 nos. 11 and 12. *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 242 no. 128 with pl. 22 b 7, 9, 9a, 9b, 18; *PAE* 1932, 51 fig. 6. BUST 1959, 2. 198 fig. 9c.

⁸ *PAE* 1952, 211 f. and 1953, 141 f.; *Ergon* 1960, 87 f. and *Archaeological Reports* 1959–60, 1960–1, and 1961–2; see also p. 402 n. 1 and n. 6.

discoveries and reports. Burial-group Z at Vergina, for instance, was originally within a circular *peribolos* of stones, 20 m. in diameter, and a tumulus of soil 2 m. high was then raised above it. The tumulus was subsequently disturbed by the addition of a large Hellenistic tomb. The burials were in *pitthoi* or in pits; Protogeometric pottery decorated with concentric semicircles, jugs with cutaway necks, wide-mouthed bowls with raking handles, bronze spectacle-fibulae, bronze hair ornaments and weapons of iron—a sword, spear-heads, and curving-backed knives—were found in the mound, which had some thirteen burials apart from the Hellenistic one. In other tumuli bronze pins up to 30 cm. long were found and there were no spectacle-fibulae. A diadem of bronze plaque has a design in repoussé technique which is like that on the gold leaf at Vajzë (p. 348 above).¹ Cist graves occurred in some of the other tumuli. The resemblances between the group in North Epirus and the burials at Vergina lie in the *peribolos* of stones (in some cases only);² the raising of the tumulus (these vary at Vergina from 8 m. to 20 m. in diameter); the inclusion of weapons for the men and ornaments for the women and the presence of pottery, which seems to have been a jug and a bowl for each corpse at Vergina. The iron sword at Vergina is similar in type to the bronze sword from Kakavi, and the iron swords at Vergina are generally of a northern type. The bowl with raking handles at Kakavi is the same as the bowls at Vergina.³ The concentric circles on the bone plaque are similar in design to those on the Protogeometric pots at Vergina. The simple geometric designs in dark brown paint on many vases are compared to such wares at Boubousti.⁴ The thirty-seven mushroom-shaped bronze buttons at Vajzë A8, which I judged to be belt-studs (see p. 346 above), seem to be similar to very many bronze studs found in two graves at Vergina.⁵ In the latest report a bronze sword of Catling's Type II Group I with a heavy blade was discovered in Tomb C4.⁶

The differences are also important. In North Epirus there are relatively few tumuli: at Vergina there are 300 tumuli, and more than 200 graves were opened. In North Epirus the construction of tumuli seems to have ceased with the end of the Bronze Age or soon afterwards. At Vergina it continued down to c. 500 B.C. In North Epirus

¹ M. Andronikos in *Balkan Studies* 2 (1961) 94; for the diadem see pl. 4 no. 9.

² See plan of Vergina Tumulus A in *Balkan Studies* 91 fig. 3.

³ For the sword *Ergon* 1960, 91 and fig. 90. *PAE* 1952, 242 fig. 23 B 4 and 1953, 146 fig. 7 no. 5. For similar bowls from Pateli in West Macedonia see *PM* 105 with pl. 23 i, k, and n.

⁴ *Balkan Studies* 2 (1961) 95.

⁵ *Archaeological Reports* 1960-1, 18 and fig. 18 and 1961-2, 17 and fig. 21. In the former case the woman in the tomb had eighty studs.

⁶ *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961/62) pt. i. 297 and pl. 146.

the weapons are almost all of bronze; iron weapons are just beginning to appear. At Vergina the weapons are of iron and rarely of bronze. There is no Protogeometric pottery in North Epirus; there is some at Vergina, both locally made and imported. Only one spectacle-fibula comes from a North Epirote tumulus and no hair ornaments, whereas both were common at Vergina. The plaques which I take to be belt ornaments occur in North Epirus alone. Cist graves were common in North Epirus and rare at Vergina. The conclusions one may draw from the similarities are that the invaders came to Vergina probably from the north-western area (tumulus-burial being known also in the Devoli and Mati valleys,)¹ and from the differences that the Vergina burials are considerably later in date than those of North Epirus and that the people of Vergina were more in contact with Greece than those of Vajzë, for instance, in North Epirus had been. There is one group of burials in Vergina, group C—the earliest at Vergina—which contains no iron and no spectacle-fibulae but has a bronze sword of type II;² this group represents an earlier wave of settlers, probably before the end of the Bronze Age, that is before 1120 B.C. on my chronology. Two specimens of a type of *pyxis* which is characteristic of the latest Mycenaean phase support such a dating for the earliest burials at Vergina; and the common occurrence there of fluted ware of Lausitz style may go back to Lausitz influence at about the same date.³ The dates of the other burials at Vergina are well within the Iron Age, that is in the latter part of the eleventh century and subsequently, or as the excavator, M. Andronikos, reckons, from 1050 B.C. onwards.

When we look for a link in the chain north-westwards we note that burials in a tumulus are very numerous in West Serbia between the Drin and the Morava. Those of the Early Bronze Age do not concern us here, but those of the later group belong to Hallstatt C to D with the possibility that there was an earlier stage in Hallstatt B. The West Serbian tumuli are sometimes 20 m. wide and 2 m. high, like the largest tumuli at Vergina; some have a ring of stones as at Kakavi, and some have a cairn of stones inside the tumulus. Inhumation is usual, but there are cases of cremation (this is true also of the Vergina cemetery). The men are buried with weapons of iron and the women with ornaments in bronze such as fibulae, arm-rings, spiral bracelets, etc., and pottery was found in the tumuli. Cist graves inside tumuli of the large size and containing cremated remains were excavated at Dobrača;

¹ *Studia Albanica* 1 (1964) 101 f. reports groups of tumuli in the Zadrime plain which is south-east of Scutari on the right bank of the Drin; one was excavated at Mjeda.

² *BCH* 85. 792 f.; *Archaeological Reports* 1960–1, 19; and Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans* 145.

³ *Balkan Studies* 2 (1961) 96, where M. Andronikos dates the beginning of the tumuli to the last century of the Second Millennium.

but these are earlier and belong to the fully developed Bronze Age.¹ Large tumuli, about 20 m. in diameter, and also great numbers of small tumuli, only 4 m. in diameter, have been noted at different places in the neighbourhood of Scutari; but their date is not known (*AA* 1. 28, figs. 24 and 25). So far then as the evidence goes, it looks as if the people at Vergina came from the north-west into the Haliacmon valley. There they met other influences which quickly affected them; these influences came from the Lausitz invaders and from South Greece.

The Iron Age cemetery at Chauchitsa (Heurtley's Tsaoutsitza) contains some features which occur in North Epirus. A few slab-lined graves, that is cist graves, were found, and a cairn of stones covered some pit graves. Spectacle-fibulae, a bronze reel similar to one from Vajzë A2 (see p. 346 above), shield-bosses such as were found at Dodona and Leucas (see p. 355 above), pieces of gold leaf having the design and the technique which occur on gold leaf at Vajzë and on bronze plaque at Vergina, and small iron knives with rivetted handles are features at Chauchitsa which occur also in North Epirus. The differences, however, are far greater, and the date of the Chauchitsa cemetery is in general Geometric, although some burials may be Protogeometric.²

The tumulus at Halus in Achaea Phthiotis which was excavated by Wace and Thompson measured some 19 m. in diameter and stood some 2 m. high above the present level of the plain, and the original burials in it were cremations covered by a cairn of rough stones. The closest analogy geographically is in North Epirus. The contents of the graves, however, are entirely different; the only similarity I have noticed is between an iron knife from Vajzë A2 and one from Halus Pyre III. The tumulus at Halus, one of several, was dated by the excavators to the Geometric period. It was close to a contemporary cemetery of cist graves. The tumuli here are an oddity. The tumuli in North Epirus suggest that the tumuli at Halus were made by a related people; but there is a gap of several centuries between the two groups of tumuli.³

The cemeteries at Vergina, Chauchitsa, and Halus indicate that from 1050 to 800 B.C. or so there was a considerable movement of peoples in Northern Greece. The burial customs of the peoples who came to Vergina, Chauchitsa, and Halus have associations with the customs of some of the inhabitants of the north-west area, and it seems

¹ The preliminary report on these tumulus burials is by M. Garašanin and D. Garašanin in *Archaeologia Jugoslavica* 2 (1956) 11 f.

² Casson, *Macedonia* 145 f.

³ *BSA* 18 (1911-12) 8 f. The knife is illustrated in fig. 14d, and that from Vajzë in *BUSS* 1957, 2 fig. 3a.

likely that they came from that area themselves, whether directly or after a long interval. The north-west area in this sense is an extensive one. It includes West Serbia, the Mati valley, the Devoli valley and parts of Northern Epirus but not for a continuum of time; for, whereas tumuli appear in the Middle Helladic period in all four areas, they disappear from Epirus after the end of the Bronze Age and are more frequent thereafter in West Serbia. When we turn to the Adriatic coast of Italy, we find similar burial customs which appear there for the first time after 1000 B.C. In Peucetia small graves of rather irregular slabs were made for simple burials; the graves were grouped together and were sometimes enclosed with a circular ring of slabs; and the whole unit was covered with a low heap of stones, measuring 5 to 9 m. in diameter and about 1 m. high. A mound of earth was probably raised over the stones at the time, but has disappeared as a result of cultivation and erosion. Such features occurred at Bodrishtë. In Picenum the individual was laid in a trench, the grave was mounded over with stones to present the form of a low tumulus; and in some cases the tumulus was surrounded by a circular enclosure of unworked boulders. Some of these features occurred at Vodhinë. The probable date for the earliest burial of this kind in Peucetia is about 1000 B.C. and in Picenum is about 900 B.C.¹ The parallels with the earlier tumuli of Vajzë, Vodhinë, Kakavi, and Bodrishtë are close but not complete. There is no doubt that the settlers of Peucetia and Picenum came from across the Adriatic Sea. They are usually said to have been Illyrians. There is also strong evidence of an invasion, beginning c. 1000 B.C., of peoples moving round the head of the Adriatic Sea into Italy and settling on the north-west coast of the Adriatic Sea. These peoples are usually called the Illyrio-Venetic peoples, but their burial customs are different from those which we have been considering.

When we ask what was the race of all these people who practised burial in large tumuli of this kind, we move into deeper waters. The inhabitants of the Mati valley were certainly Illyrians in the latest part of the period when tumuli were being used for burials, that is in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.; and as these tumuli were in continuous use from the transitional period between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, it may be inferred with probability that the Illyrians had reached this area by 1100–1000 B.C. at the latest. *A fortiori* Illyrians occupied some at least of the areas north of Albania along the Dalmatian coast; and it is probably from these areas that Illyrians crossed the Adriatic Sea and practised similar burial customs in Peucetia and Picenum from 1000 to 900 B.C. onwards. When we go back to the

¹ See Ebert 6. 104 f. and Randall-MacIver, *The Iron Age in Italy* 241 f., for Peucetia and 144 for Picenum.

Middle Bronze Age, the evidence is more tenuous. We have objects of this period found in tumuli in the Mati and Devoli valleys, and we have one or perhaps two tumuli at Vajzë and probably one at Vodhinë of this period. The most we can say is that chieftains appeared here who were conversant with a method of burial which is practised centuries later by some Illyrian tribes. On the other hand, the area of North Epirus and most probably the area of Central Albania were occupied generally by Greek-speaking peoples; some moved south from there in the Middle Bronze Age period and others in the century after the collapse of Mycenae.

My conclusions, then, are as follows. Central Albania and North Epirus were occupied in the Middle Bronze Age predominantly by Greek-speaking peoples. There was some admixture of Illyrian-speaking peoples in these areas, just as there has been in succeeding centuries. In particular a ruling class, which held Vajzë, and related peoples, who were ruling in Leucas in the last phase of the Middle Helladic period, were notable for burial customs which are likely to have been of Illyrian origin. Furthermore, the earliest rulers of Mycenae may have come from the same group of peoples, perhaps from people who combined some Illyrian customs with Greek speech. Towards the end of the Bronze Age some chieftains of the same origins appeared again at Vajzë and in North Epirus. At the end of the Bronze Age they probably joined the movement southwards which is called 'the Dorian invasion'. They were not succeeded by any people of the same group. Meanwhile the Mati and the Devoli valleys were in the occupation of Illyrians by c. 1100—1000 B.C. at the latest, and peoples with Illyrian affinities, but perhaps with Greek speech, moved from Albania into Macedonia and settled at Vergina and Chauchitsa, and a few came to Halus in Thessaly in the course of the troubled centuries from 1000 to 800 B.C. The Illyrian tribes further north adopted a new culture, namely the Glasinac culture, in the ninth century—according to the view held, for instance, by R. Vulpe¹—and they maintained it until the first century B.C.

A common feature of the people we have mentioned—whether at Vajzë, Mycenae, and Leucas in Middle Helladic times, or later in North Epirus, the Devoli and Mati valleys, or Macedonia—is that they practised a form of burial in which family influence was very strong. M. Andronikos has pointed out not only that each tumulus is a family cemetery but also that the tumuli are in groups which indicate a system of clans (or *phratries*). This type of familial organization was a feature of the Dorian peoples who set out from Epirus and occupied parts of Greece at the end of the Bronze Age; it was also a feature of the

¹ *BUST* 1957, 2. 172 f.

Illyrians in the Classical period, who fought in small familial groups *κατὰ σπείρας* (Plb. 2. 3. 2).

Carapanos and Evangelides found numerous pieces of bronze plaque (probably from the legs of tripods). They were incised with concentric circles linked with one another by tangents, rows of semicircles, spiral maeanders, and concentric circles; and less often with geometric designs, hatching, crossed lines, and *tremolierstich*.¹ Some of these forms of ornamentation are found in the tombs at Marmariane, a place which lies in the foothills of north-east Thessaly below Mt. Kissavos (Mt. Ossa); these tombs date from 1000 to 800 B.C. The *tremolierstich* at Dodona and at Marmariane is inscribed in bronze; Heurtley considered that it entered Greece from Macedonia, where it occurs as a decoration on pottery in the Late Bronze Age, and that it is of Early Iron Age date at Marmariane.² Circles linked by tangents occur at Kilindir on pottery before 1050 B.C. and again in the incised style at Vardaroftsa after 1050 B.C. in period D,³ and here too a Macedonian origin seems to be likely for the motif of the similar circles joined by tangents at Dodona.⁴ The plaques themselves are probably of the eighth century, like the very similar ones at Olympia, where ornament in *tremolierstich* is also found.⁵

Carapanos reported that he had found twenty-three small votive axes at Dodona. He illustrated only four; of these three are flat axes with lateral projections, and one is incised with *tremolierstich* decoration. The twenty-three axes are all of bronze; they are thin and small (5 to 12 cm. long are the measurements given by Carapanos), so that they are certainly not for practical use.⁶ Evangelides found another (Fig. 28, 9) of bronze sheet, 12 cm. long; it was decorated with criss-cross lines in *tremolierstich*.⁷ This shape of axe originated in south-west Asia, and it was in vogue in western Asia Minor in the last centuries of the

¹ Carapanos 93 and pl. 49 nos. 16, 17, 18, and 21, pl. 54 no. 4, and pl. 19 no. 5; Evangelides in *PAE* 1931, 88 fig. 6, 1932, 50 fig. 5 no. 7; in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 23 a 1 and 7 and pl. 24 a 23 with details (including the *tremolierstich*) on pp. 235-6 and fig. 9, and in *Ergon* 1958, 95.

² *BSA* 31 (1930-1) especially p. 47; *tremolierstich* p. 35 no. 3 and fig. 14 no. 9. See also Jacobsthal 209 f., who puts the earliest datable examples of tremolo ornament in the eighth century in Greece; the axes at Dodona are probably earlier.

³ *BSA* 27 (1925-6) 27 and pl. 19 a and b (the latter = *PM* 232 fig. 105).

⁴ A. Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften* (Munich, 1912) i. 345, emphasized the importance of this decorative motif, which is more strongly marked at Dodona than at Olympia and is relatively uncommon elsewhere.

⁵ E. Kunze, *Neue Meisterwerke gr. Kunst aus Olympia* (Munich, no date) p. 5 no. 2 and p. 8, dates this material at Olympia to the first half of the eighth century B.C.

⁶ Carapanos 100-1 and pl. 54 nos. 6, 7, 9, and 10. Mr. S. Foltiny has seen some eight of these axes in the Carapanos collection in the National Museum recently and confirms that they are entirely votive in character; three or four have ornament in *tremolierstich*. I saw twelve on show in 1966.

⁷ *PAE* 1956, 155 pl. 59b.

second millennium. A mould for casting these axes was found at Troy, most probably in settlement VII B 2, that is in the settlement which ended with the desertion of the site c. 1100 B.C.¹ An axe from this mould is shown in Fig. 28, 1. The largest votive axe of those illustrated by Carapanos (Fig. 28, 2) is closer than most of the examples found in Europe to the shape of this mould. Axes of this kind in bronze have been found in Sicily, Sardinia, Campania (at Pozzuoli), Latium (at Monte Rovello near Aluniere), and Etruria (Fig. 28, 3-5), where they belong to the end of the Italian Bronze Age, that is around 1000 B.C.² One example in bronze has been found at Kisköszeg between the Drave and the Danube; an iron version of it was found at the same site, and axes of this type in iron occur in the north-west Balkans and in the eastern area of Hallstatt culture, especially in the period c. 800 to 600 B.C. An iron axe of this kind is published as 'from North Albania' (Fig. 28, 6).³ Two examples at Athens, one from the Kerameikos and the other from the Agora, have been dated by S. Foltiny to the ninth century B.C.⁴ It is likely that we have two separate channels of distribution from Asia Minor for the axe in bronze: one via the vicinity of Dodona to Sicily, Sardinia, Latium, and Etruria around 1000 B.C., and the other up the Danube to the area of Kisköszeg to be converted into iron and distributed from there to a wide area in east Central Europe, from which the two examples at Athens in the ninth century may be derived.

These small axes at Dodona are entirely votive. The offerings were

¹ The mould is published in W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* (Athens, 1902) 405 fig. 406; C. W. Blegen et al., *Troy* 4. 1 (Princeton, 1958) 144, says that the attribution to Troy VII B 2 is highly probable but not certain (otherwise it is of Troy VII A). One of Mycenaean or earlier times from Rhodes is illustrated in *Lindos* pl. 3 no. 27; another from Asine is of late L.H. III date (Frodin and Persson, *Asine* 311 fig. 214, 2).

² See A. Rieth, *Die Eisentechnik der Hallstattzeit* (Leipzig, 1942) 18 f. with a chart of distribution on p. 20; and *Iraq* 15 (1953) 79 fig. 3.

³ By F. Prendi in *BUST* 1958, 2. 118 and fig. 7.

⁴ S. Foltiny in *AJA* 1961, 285 f. The specimen from North Albania fills a gap in his distribution map on plate 96 and suggests that the Adriatic route may have been in use. See H. H. Von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük Seasons of 1930-32* Pt. c. 253 for a similar development at Alishar Hüyük in Central Anatolia c. 900-700 B.C. during the post-Hittite Phrygian period. The earlier and rather curving bronze axe of the previous period was succeeded by a larger iron axe more rectangular in shape; one specimen in bronze of the earlier type was ascribed to this period (fig. 497 d 2135), the others were in iron (fig. 448) and a mould was found at the site. See K. Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (Istanbul, 1942) 59 f. for the development of these axes. I express my gratitude to Dr. Bittel for drawing my attention to this parallel in Phrygia, which is too remote to have had any direct influence on Dodona. R. Maxwell-Hyslop in *Iraq* 15 (1953) 75 connects the Palestinian group of these axes with the activities of the Sea Raiders in the first part of the twelfth century; this article, which is primarily concerned with this type of axe in Asia, mentions only one example 'from Dodona in Macedonia' (p. 79) and assumes that the specimens in Italy were of Mycenaean date.

made by people who used this type of axe in its practical form, which has a length of 20 cm. or more; and they must have been in the vicinity of Dodona around 1000 B.C. The *tremolierstich* ornament on some of the axes at Dodona requires a special technique with a small gouge; it is not found at Troy VII but it occurs, as we have mentioned, on a bronze plaque and shield-boss at Dodona and also at Marmariene. Its use on some of the axes suggests that this form of ornament was adopted by the bearers of these axes in North Greece.¹ The fact that such axes in bronze are found further west means that these same people either traded this type of axe in that direction or moved with it themselves. If the bearers of this type of axe came from Troy or from the west coast of Asia Minor, they could have done so either by land along the later Via Egnatia route, including the southern variant used by Neoptolemus in the tradition of the Cyclic Epic, or by sea through the islands and round the Peloponnese.

A further indication that the dedicators of these axes came from the east may be seen in a looped spiral ornament—one of three such objects—which is illustrated by Carapanos (Fig. 28, 7). The association of this type of ornament with the flat axe with lateral projections has been established at Tepe Hissar (Fig. 28, 8) and in Phoenicia, where it is associated with the mother-goddess as an emblem of fertility well before the thirteenth century. Later it spread to Troy, and then to the Gargano peninsula and the cemeteries of Picenum, both being on the Adriatic coast of Italy. The example from Dodona fits into a pattern of distribution from Troy to Italy, just as the axes do.² We should mention also the jugs with the double handle from Vazjē which may date from the transition of the Bronze Age to the Iron Age (Fig. 17, 14); they are found also in Latium, Campania, and Calabria (Torre Galli on the west coast).³

Of thirty-seven iron spear-heads from Dodona Carapanos illustrates seventeen. Some have the pear-shaped blade and the long socket of the Hallstatt type (pl. 58 nos. 1, 3, 5 and 9). A large iron double axe from Dodona (Carapanos pl. 57 no. 6) is a version of the earlier one in bronze found near Terovo (see p. 335 above); two examples are reported from Kastritsa (*PAE* 1951, 175 and *Arch. Delt.* 17. 2. 195). A similar one in iron was found in the Mati valley (*BUSS* 1955, I. 114 pl. 1). These weapons show that Epirus was in touch with the influences of Hallstatt civilization in the Early Iron Age.

¹ I have not found any reference to it in *Troy* iv; for the technique see Heurtley in *BSA* 31 (1930-31) 35 n. 3 and *AJA* 15 (1911) 10.

² Carapanos 93 and pl. 50 no. 14. See R. Maxwell-Hyslop in *Iraq* 15 (1953) 77 f. and fig. 2 on p. 69; for the examples in Italy see *Bulletino di Paleontologia Italiana* 54 (1934) pl. 12 no. 7 and Dumitrescu, *L'età del ferro nel Piceno* pl. 6.

³ See p. 311 above and references in n. 3.

An interesting type of bronze fibula has been classified by Blinkenberg as the Epirote class. We know from Herodotus (5. 88) and from the inventory of a temple in Aegina (*IG* iv. 1588) that fibulae were votive offerings at some shrines, and this was the case at Dodona. Blinkenberg attributed this class to Epirus because it predominated among the fibulae at Dodona, although only five specimens were then known. Subsequent excavations have borne him out; for another eight examples have been found.¹ The bow of these fibulae is finely engraved with geometrical designs—zigzags (as on the long bronze pins of Vajžë), parallel lines, and hatching (as on the matt-painted wares K4, a and b of the Late Bronze Age)—and it is solid and heavy, designed probably for thick clothing, and usually has a small decorative button on either side. Some thirty specimens were found among a very large number of fibulae at the *temenos* of Zeus Thaulius near Pherae in Thessaly; one specimen was found at Elatea and one at Delphi. They were probably made near Dodona, and they have a relationship but not a close similarity with fibulae of Italy; this type was probably evolved in the ninth century B.C., was popular in the following century, and became less common thereafter.² Dodona has yielded three specimens of the contemporary Thessalian type (Blinkenberg's type 6); one of them comes from the acropolis of Dodona.³ It is apparent that there was communication between Dodona and Pherae at this time.

One survival of Mycenaean influence appears in the tall goblets of Mycenaean type, large numbers of which were unearthed during the excavations at Kastritsa; a few sherds of such goblets were found on the hill above the Nekyomanteion. These goblets are wheel-made, whereas the other pottery which is the rough domestic ware is hand-made; the coexistence of wheel-made and hand-made pottery occurs in Epirus in the fourth century, and the use of the wheel for the goblets does not necessarily make them of late date. Similar goblets, triangular in outline with conical feet and wheel-made, were found at Ithaca in the sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods, and it is possible that the goblets in Epirus represent a continuous tradition in the same periods and later.⁴ The coarse pottery, that is K 2 ware (see p. 298

¹ Blinkenberg 106 f.; specimens since he wrote are in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 240 f. nos. 97, 98, 99, and 100 with figs. 15–17 (with buttons and geometric ornamentation), *PAE* 1929, 119 with fig. 8 no. 8 (like Carapanos pl. 51. 1), 1931, 87 with figs. 4 and 5, and 1932, 49 with fig. 3 no. 3.

² So Blinkenberg 24 and 106.

³ Blinkenberg 110 and *PAE* 1931, 88 fig. 2 no. 1 (not 5 no. 1 as stated in the text), 1932, 49 fig. 3 no. 1 and fig. 3 no. 2 (the latter from the Dodona acropolis).

⁴ In Epirus see *PAE* 1951, 182 fig. 7 nos. 1 and 2 and 1952, fig. 3 nos. 1–4, and *Ergon* 1958, 97; for Ithaca, as S. I. Dakaris points out, see *BSA* 33. 38 and fig. 8; 35. 32 and fig. 27; 39. 13 and pl. 8; and for the chronology 44. 309 and fig. 1.

above), persists without change from the Bronze Age down to the fourth century in inland Epirus. It reflects a low standard of life in open settlements, which pursued a predominantly pastoral way of life.

The general picture which emerges from the evidence for the Dark Age is of continued contacts with the northern areas which affect the articles of peace and war. The weapons of Hallstatt type, the wearing of lunate ring bracelets and the love of circles joined by tangents, *tremolierstich*, and similar designs at Dodona are indications of contacts which persisted from the last phase of the Bronze Age. The tumulus burials at Vergina in Pieria suggest that a people passed from an area north of Epirus down the Haliacmon valley. This group of invaders became partly assimilated to Macedonian culture. Their intrusion may have promoted a wave of movement among the tribes already in North Epirus and South-west Macedonia. It is likely that some of the influences from the north came along the routes which were open in the last phase of the Bronze Age, that is from the Adriatic Sea via the Gulf of Valona and on the overland routes from Macedonia and South Albania. The distribution of the flat axes with lateral projections in bronze and the affinities of the Epirote type of fibula show that the two coasts of the southern Adriatic Sea were in touch with one another. The appearance of the Epirote fibulae at Pherae in Thessaly and of the Thessalian fibulae at Dodona is an indication of intercourse between Epirus and Thessaly, which is more marked than it had been during the Bronze Age. We find a parallel to this situation in the twelfth century A.D., when the Arab geographer Idrisi described the trade route from the mouth of the Adriatic through Epirus to Macedonia and to Thessaly. The participation of Molossians in the Ionian migration (c. 1020 to 900 B.C.),¹ which is recorded by Herodotus and was based on local and certifiable observation, fits into this general picture. There were peoples of the Molossian *ethnos* on both sides of the Pindus range at this time (see p. 462 below), and it was probably some of those on the Thessalian side who joined the colonizing movement, sailing from Thessaly or Euboea.

Contacts with the south seem to have been limited to pilgrimages overland by the Aenianes to Cassopaea and by the Boeotians to Dodona. There is no sign of any imports to Dodona or to Epirus from the south. This is in accord with the decline or cessation of sea-borne trade between peninsular Greece and the West during the Early Iron Age. So far as there was any intercourse with Epirus, it took place more by land than by sea, a characteristic, as Thucydides (1. 13. 5)

¹ For the chronology see Hammond *GH*² 84 f. The participation of Molossians would be difficult to understand, if there were no sign of intercourse between Epirus and Thessaly.

remarked, of the period before the revival of Greek maritime commerce. The first signs of westward movement by sea from the Gulf of Corinth appear in Ithaca at the end of the period, c. 800 B.C.¹

We have already referred to the traditions in the Epic Cycle which brought Helenus and Aeneas separately to Epirus (see pp. 384 f. above). Later tradition made them and their followers settle at Buthrotum, and this settlement probably extended into the Early Iron Age. Varro, who died soon after the battle of Actium, interested himself in this tradition and visited the district; he confirmed that the names of places which occurred in the tradition were actual names—Troia, Pergama, the rivers Simoeis and Xanthus, and Troiana Castra.² In a different context Varro mentioned Pergamis as a district in Epirus. Stephanus Byzantinus gives Troia as the name of a town in Cestria in Chaonia, and Dionysius Halicarnassius (1. 50. 4) mentions Troia as a peak on which the Trojans had a camp. It is possible that the names Adaniën, Kammania, and Cadmus in this district belong to the same 'Trojan' context.³ An inscription of the late third century B.C. from Radotovi mentions the Pergamii; this confirms the veracity of Varro in this particular and carries the evidence for the name back to a time when the influence of Rome in Epirus was too small to cause a tribe to adopt a name in deference to Rome's interest in the legend of Aeneas. In his excellent commentary on this inscription L. Robert suggested that the name of Pergama, with that of Troia, was one of the motives which caused the Trojan legend to be attached to this region.⁴ He may be correct; but this does not explain why this group of names occurred in Epirus. We have a similar problem with the claim of Olympias that she was descended from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, and from Helenus, son of Priam.⁵ Her father, Neoptolemus, was king of Molossia and therefore a descendant of Achilles, and her mother was no doubt a member of a royal family which claimed descent from Helenus; this is also implicit in the name of their elder daughter, Troas. Cross, following Koehler, has suggested that a Molossian king, Alcetas, in-

¹ W. Taylour, *Mycenaean Pottery in Italy* 185, makes the point that maritime trade on a restricted scale may have continued in the West Mediterranean in spite of being cut off from the Aegean at the end of the Bronze Age.

² Cited in Servius on *Aeneid* 3. 349 with the comment by Servius 'unde apparet haec non esse fabulata'.

³ Varro *RR* 2. 2. 1; Hsch. s. *Adanien*; St. Byz. s. *Kammania*; Adaniën or perhaps Adania, Kammania, and Cadmus may be non-Hellenic names, and two of them have the termination in -n- which Haley, loc. cit., believes to have Anatolian connexions; however, this termination is common in South Italy. Ptol. 3. 14 preserves another, Almene, for the coastal area south of the Thyamis. See Büchner in *RE* 7 (1914) 1065 and p. 696 below for an Ilium in Epirus.

⁴ *Hellenica* 1 (1940) 95 f.

⁵ *FGrH* 115 (Theopompus) F 355; Thetis, mother of Achilles, is shown on the coins of Pyrrhus.

vented this idea of descent from Helenus for the Chaonian royal family c. 380 B.C., when he 'was endeavouring to draw the two tribes together'.¹ It is difficult to imagine this invention as a practical proposition; for the Chaonian royal family must already have had a pedigree of considerable antiquity,² and it would need more than diplomacy to persuade the family and the Chaonians to scrap the established pedigree and adopt a new origin. After all, their neighbours the Molossi and the Thesproti had claimed for many years that their royal families were descended respectively from Achilles and Odysseus, and the Chaonians may be assumed to have had comparable claims. It is much more likely that the claim to descent from Helenus was an early one, based upon and perhaps even contained in the Epic Cycle.

The worship of Aphrodite Aeneias on a small island by Leucas, at Actium, and at Ambracia is reported by Dionysius Halicarnassius (1. 50. 4). It might be suggested that this worship started when Rome took control of Epirus after 167 B.C. Yet such a suggestion is refuted by the further information which Dionysius gives about a *heroon* of Aeneas at Ambracia; for he says that there was 'a small archaic *xoanon*, said to be that of Aeneas, and the priestesses called *amphipoloi* honoured it with sacrifices'. The cult-statue was evidently pre-classical, and the fact that there were priestesses in charge of the worship shows that it was connected with Aphrodite Aeneias.³ The origin of the cult of Aphrodite Aeneias might be sought in Corinth, the mother-city of Leucas, Actium, and Ambracia; but such a cult-title has not been found at Corinth, although many titles of Aphrodite are known there.⁴ It is more probable that the colonists found and adopted this cult in South Epirus than that they brought it with them early in the sixth century B.C.

When we consider these three pieces of evidence together—the group of Trojan names, the claim to descent from Helenus, and the worship of Aphrodite Aeneias—they point to a natural and simple explanation, namely that Trojans or at least followers of the Trojan leaders Helenus and Aeneas did settle in the vicinity of Buthrotum for a considerable period of time, long enough for their new place-names to stick and for the worship of their goddess and tutelary hero

¹ Cross 101; Koehler in *Sat. Phil. Sauppe* *obl.* 83.

² Str. 7. 7. 5, C 324 says that the Chaones ruled over all Epirus, before the Molossians did so.

³ J. Perret, *Les Origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (Paris, 1942) 59, thinks that Varro was credulous and incapable of recognizing an early statue; however that may be, the object of worship at these shrines was not a matter of speculation but of fact, and there is no reason to suppose that the priests or priestesses at these places conspired to hoodwink Varro or Varro's informants.

⁴ For the cult titles at Corinth see E. Will, *Korinthiaka* (Paris, 1955), index. A block inscribed ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ was seen at Apollonia by Praschnicker (p. 189).

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to be established.¹ The dedication of the flat axes with lateral projections at Dodona is a clear indication that some people who were familiar with this Trojan or Asiatic type of axe were in Epirus sufficiently long to accept the worship of Zeus and of Dione, the mother of Aphrodite in the *Iliad*, at the oracle of Dodona. The most likely people are the Trojans of the literary tradition.

It is interesting to note that Thucydides accepted the tradition of Trojans settling at Eryx and Segesta, which he had occasion to mention (6. 2. 3), and that flat axes in bronze with lateral projections have been found in central Sicily.

The continuity of worship at Dodona, at the Nekyomanteion, at Cassopaea, and probably at other centres of religion in Epirus, among which the grotto at Buthrotum may be included (see p. 110 above), carried with it a continuity of tradition. The priestesses at Dodona were the chief bearers of the tradition in Epirus, and they gave Herodotus their information about the early stages of Greek religion. They are probably responsible for the statement that Aeneas came to consult the oracle at Dodona, and it would be rash to reject this statement simply because Aeneas assumed such heroic proportions in the legends of Rome.²

2. THE COLONIZATION OF CORCYRA IN 733 B.C., AND THE EXTENT OF GREEK SPEECH IN EPIRUS

The exploration of the West, of which the first sign is the settlement of Ithaca probably by Corinthians c. 800 B.C., soon brought Epirus into contact with peninsular Greece. The earliest colony of Corinth off the coast of Epirus was founded in 733 B.C. by Chersicrates, a Bacchiad, at Corcyra as an all-important port of call on the way to the West. The traditional date has been confirmed by the results of recent excavations at Palaiopolis, where Late Geometric pottery of the last third of the eighth century was found. As this was on virgin soil, the site had not been occupied previously. The variety of Corcyra's contacts is shown by pottery at Palaiopolis of Proto-Corinthian, Attic, Laconian, and Rhodian or Milesian wares.³ The Corinthian settlers are said to have expelled some earlier occupants—Eretrians (Plu. *GQ* 11),⁴ Liburnians (Str. 6. 2. 4, C 269), and Colchians (Ap. Rhod.

¹ The legend was, of course, expanded and the stages speeded up in Roman versions; Aeneas, as the tutelary hero of the Aeneadae, is credited, like Heracles, with the doings of his people.

² The importance of the traditions of the shrines has been shown in the case of Mopsus in Asia Minor; see Hammond *CAH* 23 f.

³ *Ergon* 1955, 64; 1956, 69; 1958, 105.

⁴ W. R. Halliday, *Plutarch's Greek Questions* 64, refers the passage to Ephorus. There is no good ground for this; a fragment of Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 136) comes later in the

4. 1206 f.).¹ There is no certainty which, if any, of these earlier settlers were in Corcyra. The Colchians are certainly suspect; for they stem from the Argonaut tradition. The Eretrians are likely to have been there, because the Euboeans preceded the Corinthians in the settlement of the West, and Corcyra was an important staging-point. A. A. Blakeway pointed out that the presence of Euboeans at Corcyra is implied by the emblem of a cow suckling a calf on Corcyraean coins, which is a Euboean emblem; and it is noteworthy that the peninsula on which the Corinthian colony stood was called Macridie, a Euboean name, and that there was a place Euboea in the island.² The value of Strabo's statement that Liburnians were there depends on that of his source. The statement occurs in a passage, reported in the accusative and infinitive after *φασίν*, which says that Archias and Myscellus went to Delphi at the same time, received a response about health and wealth³ and so gave rise to a proverbial expression, 'the Syracusan title'; and that, after leaving Chersicrates *en route* to colonize what was formerly Scheria and is now Corcyra, Archias found some Dorians on their way home from founding Megara (Hyblaea) and colonized Syracuse together with them. The coincidence of the meetings of Archias with Myscellus and of Archias with the Dorians is paralleled by another coincidence, recorded in Strabo (6. 1. 12, C 262), namely that in founding Croton Myscellus was joined by Archias *προσπλεύσαντος κατὰ τύχην* on his way to found Syracuse. The quotation of a Delphic response and of a proverb is paralleled in this same passage of Strabo, where an oracular response is given and two proverbs are quoted about Croton, one being in connexion with the healthiness of Croton, and the other with Croton winning the first seven places in the stadion at Olympia, dated some time between 508 and 480 B.C. by Dunbabin.⁴ The similarities between the two passages in Strabo

chapter, and the named citation is more likely to mean that Strabo was following a different source just before he cited Ephorus.

¹ It is usual to ascribe the report of Colchians to Timaeus as well as to Apollonius Rhodius. So Jacoby in *FGH* 566 F 80 drawn from Schol. to Ap. Rhod. 4. 1216. But the Scholiast introduces the fragment with the words *Τίμαιος δὲ φησι*, and the accusative and infinitive which follows should mark the extent of the quotation. What follows next in direct speech in the Scholiast's text is a paraphrase of the words of Apollonius Rhodius and then a repetition with an additional point from the Scholiast's own words on Ap. Rhod. 4. 1212–14 a (ed. Wendel p. 310 lines 12–13). We do not know in fact whether the Scholiast had any other authority than that of Apollonius Rhodius for his remarks about the Colchians.

² *BSA* 33 (1932–3) 205 n. 4; Str. 10. 1. 15, C 449.

³ The response is quoted by Suidas s. *Archias* in the same context and evidently from the same source. P. B. Schmid, *Studien zu griechischen Klirissagen* (1947) 120 f., has shown that this response was adapted from a Scolion by Simonides or Epicharmus (*Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr.* 3 Scolia 8); H. W. Parke, *The Delphic Oracle* 71 f., had already seen that the oracle was a fiction, composed not earlier than in the fifth century, and T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* 63 and 444, thought it appropriate to the late sixth century.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 369.

are so pronounced that we can conclude that they are derived from the same author,¹ namely Antiochus of Syracuse, whom Strabo names in the second passage, at 6. 1. 12. He was slightly senior to Thucydides.

The mentions of earlier settlers in Corcyra have given rise to several speculations. Beaumont suggested that a joint colony of Euboeans and Locrians was planted on the mainland opposite Corcyra and/or at Oricum at the time when the Eretrians were expelled. There seem to be no solid grounds for this suggestion. In fact the statement in Plutarch *GQ* 11 is that the Eretrians went to Eretria and then to Methone in Macedonia.² The story of the Colchians in Corcyra was embroidered by Apollonius Rhodius (4. 1206 f.). Looking forward from the time of Jason's stay in Corcyra, he said that Colchians stayed among the Phaeacians until the coming of the Bacchiadae and then crossed over to 'the opposite island', from where they were destined to go to the Ceraunian mountains of the Abantes, to the Nestaei and to Oricum. The Scholiast repeats the substance of this but uses the phrase 'the nearby island'. The words of Apollonius Rhodius are very reminiscent of a story in Lycophron, *Al.* 1044 f., where Elpenor and his Abantes from Euboea (*Il.* 2. 536 f.) during their return from Troy went to the island of Othronos (Othonos) and were driven by swarms of snakes to go from there to the city Amantia. It seems most likely that Apollonius Rhodius meant the 'opposite island' to be Othonos, and that he adapted the story of Elpenor's company to fit the Colchians for his own purpose. His indication that the Phaeacians as well as the Colchians stayed there until the arrival of the Corinthians has no historical foundation; for the Phaeacians disappeared much earlier and only the memory of their seamanship remained for the Corinthian colonists to inherit (Th. 1. 25. 4).

The occurrence of the Liburnians in Strabo (6. 2. 4, C 269) has been variously interpreted and adapted. Beaumont, having transferred the Euboeans of Elpenor's company from the time of the Nostoi to the years before 733 B.C., asserted that the Euboeans in Corcyra treated the natives well, and that 'tradition called these natives Liburnians'.³

¹ Strabo has a cross-reference from the one passage to the other as he says *ὡς περ εἰρήκαμεν* at 6. 2. 4, when he mentions the healthiness of Croton. Schmid, Parke, and Dunbabin did not observe the similarities between the two passages in Strabo, and Dunbabin remarked on p. 444 that he could not determine the origin of the first of the two passages.

² Beaumont, *JHS* 56 (1936) 164 f. and 72 (1952) 68. He inferred also from the Scholiast to Ap. Rhod. 4. 1175 that there were Euboeans on the mainland opposite Corcyra; however, the Scholiast to 1174 and 1175 refers not to the island but to the town of Corcyra; 'the district opposite Corcyra' is, of course, on the peninsula of Palaiopolis in Corfu. Beaumont rejected the tradition of Elpenor's colonizing Oricum at the time of the Nostoi; but he then felt justified in retaining the idea and transferring it to a convenient date, such as 733 B.C. or so.

³ Beaumont, *JHS* 56 (1936) 165.

Philippson and Kirsten used this passage in Strabo twice, arguing in one case that the island was occupied previously by Liburnians, then by Eretrians, and then by Corinthians, and then in the other case that 'the Liburnian natives were reduced to serfdom on the analogy of the Spartan Helots'.¹ The actual words in Strabo—*φασίν. . . ἐκεῖνον (Χερσικράτη) μὲν οὖν ἐκβαλόντα Λιβυρνοὺς κατέχοντας οἰκίσαι τὴν νῆσον*—do not support these interpretations at all; for Chersicrates expelled the Liburnians and did not reduce them to serfdom. Now that we can ascribe this statement to Antiochus of Syracuse, we have more idea of its value. Antiochus used oracular responses and proverbs in an uncritical manner, but the traditions about the actual foundation of Corinthian colonies which he used seem to have been fairly trustworthy. I should therefore be inclined to accept his meaning as historical. Corcyra is a very large and rich island; it now supports a population of just over 100,000, and it supported about as large a population in 435 B.C.² The Corinthian colonists—and their Eretrian predecessors, if we accept that tradition, as I do—cannot have numbered more than a few hundred, but they took control of the Palaiopolis peninsula as a vigorous seafaring people. The Liburnians whom they expelled were evidently not the native population, which must have numbered tens of thousands, but a seafaring people who controlled part of the island and were rivals to the Corinthians in sea power. The Liburnians appear again in the early traditions of Epidamnus as having seized the place from the Taulantii and as being expelled by the Corcyraeans (c. 626 B.C.).³

We are still left with an important question, namely who the natives of Corcyra were in 733 B.C. and how they were treated. As early as 664 B.C. Corcyra fought a naval battle against Corinth (Th. 1. 13. 4); she was the chief sea power in the Southern Adriatic and provided colonists to occupy Epidamnus c. 626 B.C. (Appian *B.C.* 2. 39). The growth of Greek Corcyra in so short a time is almost incredible if it remained exclusively a Corinthian colony, and the best explanation for its development is that Corcyra incorporated many native people into the state and so had a large free population. The word which is used in Strabo 6. 2. 4, and was taken probably from Antiochus, for

¹ P-K 2. 208 and 450.

² Corcyra then had 120 triremes manned for boarding tactics, so that the crews and marines, numbering about 200 to a ship, would total 24,000 or so; this implies a total population of about 100,000 persons, if we take the ratio of 4 to 1 from A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* 75 f., in preference to Beloch, *Bevölkerung d. gr.-röm. Welt* 191, who used a lower ratio. Higher figures have also been suggested, cf. *RE* 11. 1406. The modern figures are given in P-K 2. 453 f.

³ Appian *BC* 2. 39. The word *κατέχοντας* in Strabo probably has the normal primary meaning 'to occupy, especially as rulers'; it is so used of the successive masters of Epidamnus in the passage in Appian.

founding the colony is *συνοικιοῦντα* (*Ἀρχίαν . . . καταλιπεῖν μετὰ μέρους τῆς στρατιᾶς . . . Χερσικράτη συνοικιοῦντα τὴν νῦν Κερκύραν καλουμένην*); this word should mean a joint settlement of Corinthians and natives, since the Eretrians and the Liburnians were expelled. The Corinthians made joint settlements with the native peoples at Anactorium and Epidamnus (see p. 425 below). If our conclusions about the occupation of Corcyra in the Bronze Age are correct (see p. 365 above), the natives were probably a Greek-speaking people. A joint settlement was thus more easily made. Certainly there is no indication of the native people in Corcyra speaking a foreign language.¹

As regards the status of the native people, it is most unlikely that they were made serfs like the Spartan Helots. The general mark of states with such institutions is that the citizen body remains small and overseas adventures are hazardous; Corcyra certainly did not bear this mark. We have several lists of places where native peoples were reduced to serfdom by Greek states, and Corcyra does not figure in any of them.² The suspicion that there were serfs in Corcyra has been engendered by the importance of slaves in the fleet as rowers and on the land as agricultural workers in the fifth and fourth centuries.³ Thucydides and Xenophon called them *δοῦλοι*, *οἰκέται*, and *ἀνδράποδα* in the countryside and in the town (Th. 1. 55. 1; 3. 73; X. *HG* 6. 2. 6, 15 and 23), which are terms normally used of personally owned slaves as opposed to state-owned serfs; the great number of them is a sign merely of the immense prosperity which is stressed for instance by Xenophon.⁴ Corcyra must have come close to Chios, which with the exception of Sparta had the highest number of *οἰκέται* (Th. 8. 40. 2). Chios owed this large number to her unusual wealth (Th. 8. 45. 4) and her convenient position on sea routes for slave-trading. Corcyra enjoyed the same advantages.

¹ The pre-Corinthian name of the island was Drepane, a Greek word; Corcyra, a non-Greek name, is probably Illyrian as it recurs at Corcyra Nigra in the Adriatic. The names may reflect a native Greek name and an Illyrian version of it, introduced by the Liburnians whom the Corinthians expelled; for Drepane means a sickle and *kjark* means a curve in modern Albanian, which is descended from ancient Illyrian. For the term *ἡ Κορκυραία* <γῆ> see p. 445 below. It implies the existence of other states in the island, whether independent or perioecic. The relationship of the Corinthian colony Leucas to the native people is also not known. See *RE* 12. 1400 and 1414 for the names of the island.

² Aristotle fr. 544 (Rose); Pollux 2. 83.

³ Beloch calculated that the Corcyraean fleet in 433 B.C. was manned by 6,000 free men and 18,000 slaves on the basis of the ratio of prisoners, which was 250 free men to 800 slaves. But the slaves were much more likely to be captured as being relatively or entirely unarmed and less able to swim, and it is therefore not a dependable ratio for any calculation of totals.

⁴ X. *HG* 6. 2. 6; at 6. 2. 15 he mentions the slaves inside the city as well as in the countryside. Epidamnus, a daughter colony of Corcyra, was noted for the class of *δημόσιοι δοῦλοι* (Arist. *Pol.* 1267^b18).

On the mainland there were already the cities founded during the Nostoi: Bylliace founded by Neoptolemus, Oricum by Elpenor, Buthrotum by Helenus, and Argos Amphilochicum by Amphilochus (see pp. 383 f. above). Bylliace, Buthrotum, and Argos were mentioned as πόλεις by Hecataeus at the end of the sixth century (see pp. 451 f. below), and the implication of this word and of the claim to have been founded during the Nostoi is that they were Greek city-states. There is no evidence at all of any settlement or reinforcement of these places in the colonizing period, and I think that the tradition of their foundation in the eleventh century should be accepted. In that case the citizens of them had presumably spoken Greek throughout the subsequent period but a Greek which was different in dialect from the Doric of the Corinthian colonists.

Thucydides (2. 68. 3) makes an important statement about the speech of the Argives and of the rest of the Amphilochians. He mentions the foundation of Argos Amphilochicum and of the rest of Amphilochia by Amphilochus and he remarks that Argos had 'the most powerful settlers' (οἰκήτορας),¹ which confirms the view that 'the rest of Amphilochia' also received settlers. 'Many generations later' the Argives brought in some Ambraciotes as fellow-citizens and 'they were made Hellenes in the matter of their present speech then for the first time as a result of the Ambraciotes living with them'² (καὶ ἡλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων); but the rest of the Amphilochi are barbarian' (οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσιν). If my argument in the last paragraph is correct, the Argives spoke a different dialect of Greek, no doubt a provincial dialect, and they adopted from the Ambraciotes the Doric dialect which they were speaking in 430 B.C. (τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν). The rest of the Amphilochi had not changed in this way; they were still 'barbarian'. The word ἐλληνίζεσθαι is found only here in fifth-century writings and its precise implications are uncertain. In the passive form it means literally 'to be made Hellene'.³

What Thucydides meant by Hellenes and by people being called Hellenes is clear enough from 1. 3. He thought of the Hellenes (1) as at first 'the Hellenes with Achilles' in Phthiotis; (2) as others who

¹ The word usually means 'settlers' in Thucydides; here it must do, because he is explaining why Amphilochus gave the name of Argos to this particular place in Amphilochia.

² The transitive meaning of ἐλληνίζω is given by L-S-J⁹ as 'make Greek', and the passive form in Thucydides postulates such a transitive meaning; but the translation of our passage in L-S-J⁹ 'acquire the Greek language from' is in fact a paraphrase and prejudices the issue.

³ In fourth-century writers an intransitive verb ἐλληνίζειν is used and means both 'to speak Greek' and 'to speak correct Greek' as opposed to speaking incorrect Greek. But this intransitive form has moved away from the passive use to which Thucydides put it.

severally became Hellenes 'by association' when they invited the first Hellenes into their states (ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις καθ' ἐκάστους μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἑλλήνας); and much later (3) as all peoples in Hellas.¹ Stages 2 and 3 of this process are summarized at the end of chapter 3, in accordance with the manner of circular expression which Thucydides used in the *Archaeologia*:² 'those who were severally Hellenes, both those who came to understand one another state by state and all who were later so called, achieved nothing on a united basis before the Trojan War' (οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἑλλήνες κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνέεσαν καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν . . . ἀθρόοι ἐπραξαν).³ The case of the Amphilochean Argives inviting the Ambraciotes into the *polis* and so 'being made Hellenes' is an excellent example of stage 2; it was no doubt from such examples that Thucydides evolved his theory about the original spread of the name 'Hellenes'. The phrase ἀλλήλων ξυνέεσαν resumes the idea of ὁμιλίᾳ. It is a synonymous expression, 'understanding' simply being an aspect of 'association'. It may or may not imply understanding one another's dialect; for one would have to know whether the parties spoke different dialects. It certainly does not imply understanding different languages in this case.⁴ For there can be no doubt that Thucydides believed 'the Danaoi, the Argeioi, and the Achaioi of the epic' and not just 'the Hellenes with Achilles' to have spoken Greek—especially as he refers to the inhabitants of Corinthia, for instance, as being 'Aeolians' at the time

¹ He says simply ἀπασιν but he is talking of joint action by ἡ Ἑλλάς and therefore means 'all peoples in Hellas'. The contrast between καθ' ἐκάστους and ἀπασιν is common in Thucydides (cf. 5. 68. 2 and 7. 64. 2).

² See Hammond in *CQ* 2 (1952) 127 f.

³ This sentence has caused difficulty to those who have not noticed that it summarizes the argument. A. W. Gomme, *Commentary* 1. 99, 'the subject is not Ἑλλήνες but οἱ ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἑλλήνες κληθέντες', abuses the word order and makes the sense confused. B. Jowett gives two translations. The expression ὡς ἕκαστοι is common in Thucydides (e.g. 1. 15. 2: κατ' ἀλλήλους δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ἕκαστοι οἱ ἀστυγείτονες ἐπολέμουν); it here resumes καθ' ἐκάστους and is contrasted with ἀθρόοι. The τε . . . καὶ links the two sentences κατὰ πόλεις . . . ξυνέεσαν and ξύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες, where we have a typical example of Thucydidean *variety* in linking a relative clause and a participial phrase with the contrasting κατὰ πόλεις and ξύμπαντες in emphatic positions; these two sentences resume the ideas expressed in τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ, etc., and in ἀπασιν ἐκινήσασιν.

⁴ The entry in L-S-J⁹ συνίημι ii. 3 'understand one another's language' Hdt. 4. 114, Th. 1. 9' is misleading. The word means 'perceive' or 'understand' with an accusative or genitive of the thing and a genitive of the person (S. *Anf.* 1217, τὸν Αἰμόνος φθόγγον συνίημι, shows the development in Attic of Thucydides' period). At 4. 113. 2 and 114. 2 Herodotus has told the reader that the Scythians and the Amazons did not know each other's language; at 1. 3 Thucydides has not told us that the groups of Hellenes (οἱ ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἑλλήνες) did not know one another's language. The cases therefore are not parallel; for while the expression in each case simply means 'understood one another', it is only in Herodotus that the further connotation 'understand one another's language' can be supplied from the context.

of the Dorian invasion (4. 42. 2) eighty years after the Trojan War (1. 12. 3).¹

In what sense did Thucydides mean his words 'the other Amphilochi are barbarian' to be taken? He must have meant in speech, either in point of dialect if they spoke an uncouth form of Greek or in point of language if they spoke, for example, Illyrian. Now we may assume that they could understand Greek in 430 B.C.; for they could not have avoided regular contact with the Doric-speaking Argives and Ambraciotes between whose territories they lay, and in 426 B.C. we have them happily making treaties jointly with the Acarnanians (Th. 3. 114. 3). If they spoke or understood Greek as well as speaking, for example, Illyrian, they might have been called bilingual. Thucydides, of course, had an expression for this: he called the occupants of Mt. Athos *ξύμμεικτα ἔθνη βαρβάρων διγλώσσων*, the Greek being supplied by the Chalcidian element and the other language by the Pelasgians or Bisaltae and others. When he was dealing with the fringe of a Greek-speaking area, Thucydides evidently drew a distinction in regard to speech (*γλῶσσα*) between *βάρβαροι διγλωσσοι* and *βάρβαροι*, and it is very likely that in calling the Amphilochi *βάρβαροι* he means that they were not bilingual but that they spoke an uncouth form of Greek.² On the other hand he says that the Eurytanes spoke a most unintelligible dialect of Greek, *ἀγνωστότατοι γλῶσσαν* (3. 94. 5), but he does not call them *βάρβαροι*. The evidence is in fact inconclusive.

The other occasions on which Thucydides applies the term *βάρβαροι* to tribes of Epirus and Macedonia have no specific reference to language or dialect. No doubt the term was used in Epirus by the Greek cities of the coast more perhaps in a pejorative sense than in a linguistic sense. The Ambraciotes, for instance, are reported as speaking in this way of *τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐχθίστων Ἀμφιλόχων* (Th. 3. 112. 7; cf. the implied scorn for the Segestans as *ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων* in the speech of

¹ For other instances of pre-Dorian Greeks being called Aeolians or of pre-Dorian areas being called Aeolian see Hammond *GH* 55–56. The whole essence of Greek thought in claiming descent from the heroes of the Trojan War and earlier heroes is that these heroes were Greek and spoke Greek—not Pelasgian, Crestonian, Illyrian, or the like. The point is worth labouring because A. W. Gomme, together with many others, has been misled by taking *οἱ ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν* as 'they came to understand each other', 'to learn a common language', 'as they learnt to understand each other's language' (*Commentary* 1. 96 and 99); he goes on to say on the basis of 2. 68. 3 that Thucydides seems to imply that the pre-Dorian peoples of the Peloponnese did not speak Greek (*Commentary* 1. 96; I can see no grounds for his view here); and he applies this in his comment on 2. 68 (*Commentary* 2. 202). But he is as always honest in expressing his doubts about the final conclusion (*ibid.*). 'Yet I still find it difficult to believe that Thucydides thought that Amphilochus, and with him Agamemnon, Achilles or Odysseus spoke "Pelasgian", and that Homer only spoke Greek through contact with Dorians.' I should say it is the *reductio ad absurdum* of an initial mistranslation.

² A. W. Gomme, *Commentary* 2. 202, 'οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμφιλόχοι—who are here said still not to speak Greek', shares the view of most commentators on this passage.

Nicias, 6. 11. 7). Thucydides had more personal knowledge of Macedonia, but here too he probably reflects the viewpoint of τῶν ἐνοικούντων Ἑλλήνων (4. 124).¹ He refers to the following as βάρβαροι: those in the vicinity of Cheimerium, i.e. Thesproti and perhaps Cestrini (1. 47. 3; 1. 50. 3); Chaones, Molossi, Atintanes, Parauaci, and Orestae (2. 68. 9; 2. 80. 5; 2. 81; 2. 82); and at least some 'Macedonian tribes' of Upper Macedonia (perhaps in 2. 80. 7 and certainly in 4. 124. 1 and 4. 126. 3).² Politically and culturally these tribes were certainly not 'Hellenic' in the sense in which Thucydides understood Hellenic politics and culture to be based on the city-state and civilized capitalism. As regards racial descent Thucydides had probably no criteria for judging whether they were of 'Hellenic' descent (if indeed the question ever occurred to him in that form). He himself says nothing of their language; but his mention in this same book of the βάρβαροι δίγλωσσοι on the Athos peninsula, so close to 'Macedonian' territory in Anthemus (2. 99. 6), makes me inclined to favour the view that those 'Macedonian tribes' of upper Macedonia which were βάρβαροι had only one language, and that a form of Greek.

The much-disputed question whether the Epirote tribes spoke Greek has already been touched upon earlier in this book. It is clear that Greek was spoken throughout the Dark Age at the oracle of Dodona and at the Nekyomanteion. The former was always regarded as one of the Greek oracles (e.g. Hdt. 1. 46. 3, enumerating τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήϊα) and the consultation of the latter by the envoys of Periander is described as a normal operation (Hdt. 5. 92). The Cassopaeans probably spoke Greek at that time, as the Aenianian maidens went to worship among them; and those Molossians who joined the Ionian migration were evidently Greek-speaking in the opinion of Herodotus.

¹ For a general discussion of Thucydides' attitude see A. B. Daskalakis, 'Ο Ἑλληνισμός τῆς ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας (Athens, 1960) 78 f.

² At 4. 124. 1 Thucydides gives the forces of Brasidas and Perdiccas first as separate commands and then as a combined force of hoplite infantry, cavalry, and ἄλλος ὄμιλος τῶν βαρβάρων πολὺς. No other troops are mentioned; therefore the last phrase must refer to ὧν ἐκράτει Μακεδόνων τὴν δύναμιν (excluding the cavalry, who are mentioned under the combined force of cavalry). Now 'the force of the Macedones over whom he ruled' was drawn from 'the Macedones proper' (2. 99-100 οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι, who captured Lower Macedonia under the leadership of the royal house) and from 'the Macedones tribes' such as the Elimiotae (2. 99. 2, of Upper Macedonia); one of these tribes was in revolt, namely the 'Lyncestae Macedones' (so called at 4. 83. 1). These 'Lyncestae Macedones' are described by implication in Brasidas' speech as βάρβαροι; for at 4. 126. 3 τοῖς Μακεδόσιν αὐτῶν (= τῶν βαρβάρων) refers to the Lyncestae as a part of the barbarian enemy. It seems clear then that the ἄλλος ὄμιλος τῶν βαρβάρων πολὺς refers to the troops of the Upper Macedonian tribes primarily and perhaps exclusively, because the infantry of Lower Macedonia may have stayed behind in fear of an Athenian attack. 'The Macedones proper' are evidently contrasted with these 'barbaroi' at 4. 125. 1 οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων, where οἱ Μακεδόνες are surely the immediate subjects of Perdiccas.

The royal family of the Molossians certainly spoke Greek, and its members were regarded as Greek by Pindar, Herodotus, and Thucydides, but they were not typical. These, however, are only straws in the wind. The real demonstration has come only with the recent discovery of the inscriptions of 370/368 B.C. (see p. 525 below). They are entirely in Greek, the names are Greek and the tribes which are represented in the inscriptions are Molossian and Thesprotian. The Greek language and the Greek names of the inscriptions were not suddenly adopted before the Peloponnesian War. These tribes certainly spoke Greek during and before the time of Thucydides.¹ We may conclude with confidence that Thucydides applied the term *βάρβαροι* to the tribes of South Epirus without any connotation of non-Greek speech at least. They may have spoken a backward form of Greek—like ‘the rest of the Amphilochi’, who can hardly have been a pocket of non-Greek-speaking peoples between the Greek-speaking tribes of South Epirus, North Aetolia, and Acarnania.

This conclusion is of great interest. The archaeological evidence shows that Greek culture, as revealed in pottery and other objects, did not penetrate into inland Epirus, except at Dodona and there only to a very limited extent, until the fourth century. The historical evidence in general and Thucydides’ description of the tribes of inland Epirus as *barbaroi* are in agreement with the archaeological evidence. Therefore the idea that Greek speech spread from the Greek cities on the coast and superseded an indigenous non-Greek language during the fifth or the sixth centuries cannot be seriously entertained. Central Illyria was geographically much more open to penetration from Epidamnus, Apollonia, and Bylliae, but Greek speech did not supersede Illyrian speech there in the fourth century, or later. The conclusion is, I think, unavoidable that a form of Greek was spoken by the Molossians and the Thesprotians and probably by some other tribes throughout the Dark Age. As we shall see when we come to consider the evidence supplied by Hecataeus, the Molossians included at one time some tribes on the northern face of Mt. Pindus, which were later included in Upper Macedonia. It follows then that the Greek-speaking group of tribes extended into a part of Upper Macedonia, and that the Macedones proper who came from that part of Upper Macedonia were most probably Greek-speaking also. Their dialect was probably a form of West Greek but not Doric. The Acarnanians too probably spoke West Greek, certainly not Doric.²

¹ A. B. Daskalakis, ‘Ο Ἑλληνισμὸς τῆς ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας 45, emphasizes the point that they spoke Greek.

² When Demosthenes wanted to deceive the Doric-speaking Ambraciotes, he sent his Messenians ahead—not the Acarnanians although they knew the terrain better (Th. 3. 112. 4: *Μεσσηνίους . . . Δωρίδα . . . γλῶσσαν ἰέντας*).

During the Late Bronze Age these same tribes must have been further north than they were in the classical period; for their classical habitat was then occupied by the Doric-speaking and the Northwest-Greek-speaking peoples, who moved out during the so-called Dorian invasion. We can thus see that there was in the Late Bronze Age a reservoir of Greek-speaking peoples in the area of what is now Southern Albania and southernmost Yugoslavia. When we look back into the mists of the Early Bronze Age, we may discern a probability that this area together with Upper Macedonia and Epirus was the cradle of the Greek-speaking peoples, who pressed down into 'Hellas' from the end of the Early Bronze Age to the early part of the Iron Age.

The expansion of the Illyrians from the north, on this hypothesis, did not reach Southern Albania in strength until early in the Iron Age, and it was only from 900 B.C. onwards that the Glasinac culture, which may be identified as that of the Illyrians, became fully established in Central Albania. We have already seen the archaeological signs of their expansion at some places in Macedonia and Thessaly, and especially in the Haliacmon valley. In each case they settled at a considerable distance from their presumed point of departure in Central Albania. Their advance was also by sea. They crossed the Adriatic and settled in Italy. The Liburnians gained control of a part at least of Corcyra and were still there in 733 B.C., and they held the site of Epidamnus in the seventh century. A similar advance of Illyrian peoples by land and by sea occurred in the fourth and the third centuries.¹

¹ Something similar may have happened in Central Macedonia where non-Greek-speaking peoples—Bisaltae, Crestones and Edones—established themselves; they were subsequently subdued or expelled by Macedones proper (Th. 2. 99 and 4. 109. 4).

X

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EPIRUS THROUGH CONTACT WITH SOUTHERN GREECE

I. THE GREEK COLONIES ON THE COAST OF EPIRUS, AND THE EXTENT OF GREEK INFLUENCE, c. 700-480 B.C.

A SECOND wave of Corinthian colonization in the north-west area is described in Strabo 10. 2. 8, C 452: 'Corinthians sent by Cypselus and Gorgus occupied this coast (the Acarnanian coast) and advanced as far as the Ambraciote Gulf, and Ambracia and Anactorium were colonized.' Ambracia itself was founded by Gorgus, son of Cypselus (Str. 7. 7. 6, C 325, reading *Γόργου* for *Γαργάσου*). The approximate date was 625 B.C., as Cypselus came to power about 657 B.C. and Gorgus was of mature age. The district in which the colony was founded was Dryopis, a canton of Thesprotia, and the name was said to have been taken from Ambrax, son of Thesprotus, son of Lycaon, or from Ambracia, daughter of Melaneus, which implies that the name Ambracia was local and not introduced by the Corinthians.¹ Anactorium may have been founded rather later than Ambracia, because Plutarch (*Moralia* 552E) implies that it was planted early in the tyranny of Periander, perhaps c. 620 B.C. The founder was Echiades, another son of Cypselus, and it was colonized jointly by the Corinthians and the Acarnanians. At a later date it was occupied jointly by Corinth and Corcyra (Th. 1. 55. 1).² Epidamnus was founded c. 626 B.C. The site was already occupied by Illyrians. The Corcyraeans were called in by some of the Taulantii, who had been expelled from the site by the Liburni, and the colony was at first a mixed one of Greeks and Illyrians. The Greek founder was Phalius, a Corinthian of Heraclid descent; the Greek colonists were Corcyraeans with some Corinthians and other Dorians. The alternative name, Dyrrachium, was taken probably from the name of the ridge

¹ Scymn. 453; Dion. Calliph. 30; *FGrH* 303 (Athanadas) F 1; St. Byz. s. *Ambracia*. Athanadas makes Gorgus a brother of Cypselus; I am using the so-called higher chronology for Cypselus, as in Hammond *GH* 146.

² *FGrH* 90 (Nic. Dam.) F 57; Scymn. 459; see E. Will, *Korinthiaka* (Paris, 1955) 518, on Th. 1. 55. 1; Gomme op. cit. 1. 195-6 relying on Str. 10. 2. 8 and not mentioning Scymnus, says it was founded by Corinthians 'only'. In 424 B.C., after the war with Corcyra, it was held by Corinthians (Th. 4. 49).

on which it stands.¹ Apollonia's foundation is known in more detail. The site was already occupied by Illyrians when a group of 200 Corinthians was sent there under the leadership of Gylax, who called it Gylaceia, in the tyranny of Periander.² Thucydides (1. 26. 2) describes it as a colony of Corinth, but some Corcyraeans probably participated in the settlement, since it is sometimes called a Corcyraean colony or a joint colony of Corinth and Corcyra. The small number of settlers suggests that it, too, began life as a mixed settlement of Greeks and Illyrians, and this is borne out by the presence of burials under tumuli as well as ordinary Greek burials. It took its final name from Apollo as the god of its foundation.³ The traditional date is 588 B.C.⁴ The first steps in founding it may have been c. 600 B.C. Another colony of the Cypselid period was Heraclea, situated on the south shore of the Ambraciote Gulf.⁵

Archaeological discoveries have so far tended to confirm the traditional dates for these colonies. Seventh-century reliefs have recently been found at Epidamnus, evidently from the first generation of colonists.⁶ A frieze showing warriors and some lead figurines dating from the early sixth century have been found at Apollonia; tombs which have been opened in a cemetery at Apollonia date from the second half of the sixth century, and imported pottery of Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, and Attic Black-Figure and Red-Figure styles has been found.⁷ There is pottery at Anactorium from the late seventh century (see p. 303 above), and the inscription on the gold cup from

¹ Euseb. 2. 89; ed. Schoene; Sync. 213b; Th. 1. 24; App. BC 2. 39. The last preserves the tradition of the Illyrian occupation of the site and of the joint settlement. Epidamnus is of the first importance to seafarers in the Adriatic, and there is therefore no doubt that it was used as a port before 626 B.C. For the Liburni at Corcyra see p. 416 above; for Appian's reference to Heracles as the original founder see Paus. 6. 19. 8, which supports Appian. Epidamnus was unlike Apollonia in welcoming strangers to reside, Aelian VH 13. 16.

² St. Byz. s. *Apollonia* and s. *Gylakeia*; Plu. *Mor.* 552E.

³ Scymn. 438; D.C. 4. 45 and fr. 42; Pliny HN 3. 145; Str. 7. 5. 8, C 316; Paus. 5. 22. 3 and 4 (the latter passage being corrupt). The tumuli are reported in the cemetery at Apollonia but not at Epidamnus or Buthrotum, where cemeteries have been excavated; see BUST 13 (1959) 2. 239.

⁴ The date is soon after the 'punishment' of Periander (Plu. *Mor.* 552E); see the discussion in *Antiquité Classique* 22 (1953) 50 f. by R. van Compernelle.

⁵ St. Byz. s. v.; a dedication by Cypselids from Heraclea is inscribed on a gold cup with letters of the seventh or the sixth century B.C. (*Boston Mus. Fine Arts* 20 (1922) 65 f.; *AJA* 1923, 108; see E. Will, *Korinthiaka* 517 n. 1).

⁶ BUST 16 (1962) 2. 70 f. and 111.

⁷ *Albania* 5 (1935) 4 f. pl. 15; see also E. Kunze, *Bericht über d. Ausgrab. in Olympia* 5 (1956) 149 f. Hopper in *BSA* 44 (1949) 176 f. discussed some of the earlier evidence from Apollonia. A résumé of all previous excavations at Apollonia is made in BUST 12 (1958), 4. 237 f.; BUST 13 (1959) 2. 239; Sestieri in *Rendiconti d. Acc. Naz. d. Lincei, Classe d. sci. morali, etc.*, 6 (1951) 324 f. Latest reports are in BUST 14 (1960), 1. 51 f.; a fine lead figurine is shown on p. 55 fig. 3. Evidence was found of Illyrian occupation before the Greeks came (p. 110). Metallurgy was practised early in the life of the colony, as slag was found.

Heraclea is of the seventh or sixth century.¹ Evidence is lacking for Ambracia alone. No tombs of the early period have been found there, but some terracottas from Arta² and from the cave on the Hieron Oros south of Ambracia are of the sixth century (see p. 140 above).

The literary sources tell us nothing of the date of the Elean colonies in South Epirus. As I shall explain later, these colonies are to be identified at Rogous as Buchetium, at Palioroforon as Elatria and at Trikastron as Pandosia. The site at Rogous is particularly suitable for a colony (see p. 57 above); the river Louros 'admits vessels with a draught of 10 to 12 feet' and is more easily navigable than the Arachthus, which has a bar at the mouth and sandy shallows farther upstream;³ the hill is more readily defensible than the larger site at Arta; and the port is much closer to the mouth of the Gulf than the port of Arta. Moreover, Rogous controls the excellent fisheries of the Tsoukalio Lagoon, has pasture for cattle and horses in the plain and is able to exploit the fine timber which grows on the peninsula of Preveza for shipbuilding and other purposes. These considerations make it fairly clear that the site had already been occupied by the Elean colonists when the Corinthians planted their colonies in the Gulf. Anactorium and Heraclea, for instance, were less attractive sites in regard to maritime commerce, fisheries, fertile land, and access to the interior. The Eleans did not plant any other colonies. They are likely to have been stimulated by their neighbours, the Achaeans, who planted colonies in South Italy from c. 720 to c. 650 B.C. I should therefore be inclined to date the colony of Buchetium at Rogous c. 700 B.C. and those of Elatria at Palioroforon and of Pandosia at Trikastron to the seventh century and the sixth century respectively. I found pottery of the mid-sixth century at Rogous and of the late sixth century at Palioroforon.⁴

The growth of maritime trade in the eighth and seventh centuries gave added importance to the few ports of call which are situated on the coast of Epirus. The mouth of the Acheron provided shelter and also access to the Nekyomanteion, where a dump of pottery was found by S. I. Dakaris which included sherds of Corinthian pottery of the sixth century;⁵ and Herodotus (5. 92) tells us that Periander of

¹ *SEG* 1 (1923) no. 94.

² F. Winter, *Die Typen d. fig. Terrakotten* i (Berlin, 1909) 38 p. 57, 2 c.

³ J. Wolfe in *JRGS* 3 (1833) 79.

⁴ See also Hammond *CC* 32 f. Franke *AME* 52 dates the Elean colonies 'probably' to the fifth century; he gives no reason for this view, which runs counter to the tide of Greek colonization. The supposition of S. I. Dakaris in *Arch. Delt.* 18 (1963) 2. 154, that Ephyra was colonized by Elis in the thirteenth century, is a matter of speculation.

⁵ *Ergon* 1960. Franke's idea in *AME* 47 that the identification of the Acheron in Thesprotia with the river of the dead was due mainly to the Elean colonies, which he dates

Corinth consulted the Nekyomanteion and that his wife Melissa appeared from the dead. Buthrotum is a convenient port of call opposite Corcyra; here Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian pottery of the seventh and sixth centuries and Attic pottery of the sixth century have been found in the Italian excavations of the site.¹ Oricum and Byllia were probably trading with South Italy and up the Adriatic Sea in the period before colonization began. Their importance must have grown rapidly, when the Greeks began to plant colonies in the West. The fact that the Corinthians settled at Apollonia and not on the shores of the Gulf of Valona, which affords the best choice of harbours, is an indication that this coast was already held. The primary interests of Apollonia and of Epidamnus were probably to tap the rich resources of Central Albania and its hinterland by Lake Ochrid, and to provide ports of call for the native peoples of the Adriatic Sea.

Although the opening of trade and the planting of colonies brought the southern Greeks closer to Epirus, the dedications at Dodona still continue to show relations with the Central Balkans. For instance, there are in the Carapanos collections some horse trappings, known as 'tutuli' (metal parts of the head harness), which are of the Thraco-Scythian class and are dated to the period *c.* 800 to 600 B.C.² Examples of them have been found at Pherae in Thessaly, at Olynthus in Chalcidice, and at Glasinac in Yugoslavia.³ The interval between Dodona and Glasinac is spanned partly by the spread of Glasinac culture into North and Central Albania from the ninth century onwards; this culture was very conservative and persisted down to the first century B.C.⁴ A special type of fibula, which Jacobsthal has suggested is a West Greek type, may have northern affinities. It has been found at Boubousti in South-west Macedonia, at Dodona, in Ithaca, and in Leucas, and it is remarkable for having a number of double cones and truncated cones. This type of pin has something in common with the *Mehrkopfnadel* of Central Europe and the knobs on pins at Glasinac.⁵

to the fifth century, is a good example of the approach backwards from later times. It overlooks the passage in Herodotus and the position of Thesprotia in the epic cycle.

¹ *Encicl. Ital.* Append. 2 (1938-48) 108-9; *Rendiconti Accad. d'Italia, Classe di Scienze Morali e Storiche* 2 (1941), 688.

² Carapanos pl. 54 no. 5 a ring-disk with a pierced tongue; cf. F. Vildomec in *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschr.* 27 (1940) 1. 27. Carapanos pl. 52 nos. 18, 19, and 22; cf. F. Maier in *Germania* 34 (1956) 66 with fig. 1 no. 7 (for no. 18) and *Wiener P.Z.* 21 (1934) 122 fig. 2. iii, a (for no. 19) and 2. 1. 3 (for no. 20); also *Germania*, *ibid.* fig. 1 no. 6 (for no. 20). Carapanos pl. 53 nos. 21 and 23 are horse trappings of the same class; cf. *Mainz RGZM Jahrbuch I.* (1954) 157 (Ankerknebel) and figs. 22 B 12 and 24 B 9.

³ A. Benac and B. Covic, *Glasinac* 2 pl. 26 nos. 2 and 3 and 31 nos. 18 and 20.

⁴ *BUST* 11 (1957), 2. 181, according to R. Vulpe.

⁵ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 19 nos. 12 and 25; Jacobsthal 16 fig. 47 and n. 3 on p. 2; *BSA* 28. 182 fig. 29, 4 with addendum in *BSA* 29. 186. R. Pittioni, *Urgeschichte des österreichischen Raumes* (Vienna, 1954) 613 and fig. 433 (*Mehrkopfnadel*); *Glasinac* 2 pl. 41 nos. 5 and 6.

Two-shanked hairpins of bronze, of which there are two examples from Dodona, are found on the west side of Greece (including Corcyra, Ithaca, and Cephallenia) and at Epidamnus; they too are frequent at Glasinac and are widespread in the Balkans.¹ A finger-ring of unusual shape from Dodona is of a Hungarian type.²

Influence from the south appears at Dodona in the Geometric period, probably in the latter part of the eighth century. Spits are dedicated there (as at the Argive Heraeum).³ A magnificent example of Blinkenberg's class VI of fibulae with a large rectangular plate has been found at Dodona; the design of the four fish is so exactly similar to one from Olympia that it must be due to close contact between the two sanctuaries. This type was still being made late in the eighth century and was being worn slightly after that date, according to Jacobsthal.⁴ The most important sign of southern influence is the enclosure of the sacred area at Dodona with bronze cauldrons on tripods, a development which is dated by S. I. Dakaris about the end of the eighth century B.C.⁵ This peribolos of cauldrons was continuous. As the cauldrons touched one another, any sound was transmitted by them all and magnified.⁶ The name Dodon or Dodone is probably onomatopoeic, like the word *kodon* in Greek. It might occur in any language for the noise of a deep, resounding echo. The peribolos of cauldrons probably translated an earlier reverence for the echo into bronze. While these cauldrons were described by writers of the fourth century B.C. and later, the earliest remains of them are dated to the end of the Geometric period. There are also some votive bronzes of the same period, in particular a warrior who once had a spear and a shield—he resembles closely one from Olympia—and a second warrior; also four horses, of which one is evidently from the rim of a bronze vessel. A similar horse from the handle of a tripod was found at Olympia.⁷

In the orientalizing period there are five examples from Dodona of Blinkenberg's class XII of fibulae (*Bogenscharnierfibel*); the main centre from which this type of fibula spread to North Greece in particular

¹ Carapanos pl. 51 no. 11 and *Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 21, 8; Jacobsthal 136 (where the reference to Dodona should be 11 not 17) and 137; *BUSS* 1957, 1. 58 and 59 with illustrations; *Glasinac* 2 pl. 8 nos. 3 and 13, pl. 9 nos. 3 and 4; *Arheološko Društvo Jugoslavije, Praistorijska Sekcija* (Ochrid, 1960) pl. 2 nos. 9 and 10 and pl. 14. 4.

² Carapanos pl. 50 no. 14; Jacobsthal 136.

³ Jacobsthal 14.

⁴ *PAE* 1931, 86 Fig. 3; Jacobsthal 9 and fig. 24a; Blinkenberg 131 figs. 161 and 162; A. Furtwängler, *Kleine Schriften* 1. 366.

⁵ *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 14 f.

⁶ Philostr. 388. 22.

⁷ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 220 and pl. 12; *Ergon* 1955, 58 fig. 55; *Ergon* 1958, 95 fig. 99 and Athens Nat. Museum 640, 645, and 646. For the warrior from Olympia see Lamb *GRB* pl. 15b; for the horse see E. Kunze, *Neue Meisterwerke gr. Kunst aus Olympia* (Munich, no date) p. 5 no. 2 and p. 8. J. Charbonneau, *Les Bronzes grecs* (Paris, 1958) 62, suggests that one of the so-called warriors represents Zeus, but this seems most unlikely.

was the Balkan area.¹ A pendant with a ball-shaped centre is of the same origin; it may be later in date.² Jacobsthal has drawn attention to the beading on the handles of some bronze vases from Dodona, which resembles the technique of the fibulae of class XII.³ A pear-headed pin and a bronze plaque with three stippled 'cactus' leaves are derived from the south. Jacobsthal calls the latter 'an Attic votive offering to Zeus Dodonaïos';⁴ a fragment of a centaur with two human feet and two equine feet is stippled in the same way on a plaque, which has the same use of circles joined by tangents and of wavy lines, so that it too is probably Attic.⁵

There are relatively few bronze statuettes, whether from the rim of bronze vessels or free-standing, which are dated to the seventh century; but there are very many from the sixth century. It is evidently this century which marks a fuller use of the oracle by dedicators of this type of object. Of figures from the rims of bronze vessels one goat is dated to the seventh century, and another to the early sixth century by Evangelides; two goats found by Carapanos are probably later in the sixth century.⁶ The heads of lions, rams, and serpents occur on the handles of such vessels,⁷ and a row of three doves was found at Kastritsa by S. I. Dakaris. A marching warrior and a young man are from a bronze vessel.⁸ There are a winged Gorgon from the foot of a cauldron, a running Gorgon on a bronze plaque, and two sphinxes.⁹ A reveller with a horn in his hand was attached to a bronze *crater*.¹⁰ A fine *kouros* is from a mirror; there is a plate with riveted handles which carry

¹ Carapanos 94 and pl. 51 no. 5; Berlin Antiquarium nos. 10650 and 10651; Blinkenberg Class XII nos. 14 k, 15 a, and 16 a; Jacobsthal 205; F. Maier in *Germania* 34 (1956) 71 f.

² Carapanos pl. 52 no. 17 and *Glirinac* 2 pl. 9 no. 2. A similar one from North Albania in *BUST* 12 (1958), 2. 126 fig. 12c.

³ Jacobsthal 46; Carapanos pl. 45 nos. 5 and 6.

⁴ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 236 and pl. 19 a 2 = Jacobsthal fig. 219 and p. 48. The pin is in Carapanos pl. 51 no. 14 = Jacobsthal fig. 114 and p. 28.

⁵ Carapanos pl. 19 no. 5. This piece was compared long ago, before the discovery of the 'cactus' leaves, with a leopard found at Athens of the early orientalizing period (see Lamb *GRB* 59 fig. 1 and reference to *JHS* 13. 244 fig. 17).

⁶ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 228 and pl. 18 a; *PAE* 1955, 170 and pl. 57 b; Kekule 1 and 43; Carapanos pl. 21. 2.

⁷ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 230 f., pl. 18, pl. 20 a 4 and 8, pl. 20 b and fig. 7. For Kastritsa see *PAE* 1952, 383 and fig. 20.

⁸ K. A. Neugebauer, *Die minoischen u. archaischen gr. Bronzen* (Berlin, 1931) 110 pl. 40 no. 216 = Berlin Inventory no. 7470 'from the environment of Dodona'; and pl. 36 no. 217 for the young man reclining.

⁹ *PAE* 1929, 113-14 and figs. 5 and 6; *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 227; *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 229 and pl. 19 a 4; *PAE* 1956, 154 and Carapanos 195 and pl. 20 no. 1.

¹⁰ *PAE* 1953, 163. There are also numerous parts of handles from such vessels, e.g. 'rolls of vessels with bead-and-reels' (Jacobsthal 44) illustrated in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 233 and pl. 21 b 12-17 and 20-21; *PAE* 1929, 120 and fig. 10, 1 and 2; *PAE* 1931, 85 fig. 2 nos. 4, 7, and 9; *Ergon* 1957, 45 fig. 46.

the foreparts of horses; and Evangelides found a horse's head and neck which probably came from a similar plate.¹ The free-standing statuettes are very fine. A small horse, which once had a rider, a standing goat, a satyr with equine feet, a flute player, a dog (perhaps a Molossian hunting-dog) with a small animal in its mouth, a severe *kouros*, and a youth with a bow (perhaps Apollo) are good examples, and the last has an important inscription.² A striding Artemis 'from Thesprotia' is likely to come from Dodona.³ There are two splendid warriors (these are fully discussed by Evangelides), and a third one in Oxford.⁴ Two horses with riders, a fragment of another, and two running girls (one was purchased in Albania, but was no doubt found at Dodona) are dedications made by victors in some Games.⁵ A decorative plaque with a winged driver in a four-horsed chariot bears a fairly close resemblance to a famous piece from Athens;⁶ it is a thanksgiving for victory. A few pieces may refer particularly to the cult at Dodona: namely a statuette of Zeus hurling a thunderbolt and holding a dove in his left hand, a votive double axe beautifully finished in bronze, originally 10 cm. long (Fig. 22, F), a Kore Kanephoros with a jug and *skyphos*, and other female statuettes which may represent a goddess or a priestess.⁷ A seated figure wearing a pointed bonnet and

¹ H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931) pl. 46, 2; Lamb *GRB* pl. 47 b; Charbonneaux 48; and *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 230 pl. 19 b 14.

² Lamb *GRB* 97 and pl. 38 b; Charbonneaux pl. 19, 1 and 2 (in colour); Carapanos pl. 9 and pl. 10; Lamb 97 and K. A. Neugebauer, *ibid.* pl. 38 no. 213 = Berlin Inventory no. 7976 and *Arch. Anz.* 1888, 249 (a severe *kouros*); Lamb pl. 32 c (flautist = Charbonneaux 83) p. 88 and pl. 34 d = Charbonneaux pl. 11, 1. K. A. Neugebauer, *ibid.* 6 and pl. 3 no. 9 = Inventory no. 30823.

³ K. A. Neugebauer, *ibid.* 107 with pl. 35 no. 214 = Berlin Inventory no. 7971, received in 1886; dated by Neugebauer to the first half of the sixth century.

⁴ *PAE* 1930, 65 and pl. 2 and pl. 3 and *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 226 and pl. 14; *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 222 and pl. 13. The Oxford one is illustrated in *JHS* 1910, pl. 12, 2.

⁵ Lamb 97 and pl. 33; Carapanos pl. 19, 1; pl. 11, 3 (cf. Lamb pl. 32 b); *PAE* 1956, pl. 58 b and 59 a; Carapanos pl. 12, 2 is in a jockey's position, is almost naked like the jockey on pl. 13, 1 and has a dowel hole in the same position as in pl. 11, 3. The girls are illustrated in Lamb 97 and pl. 33.

⁶ Carapanos pl. 19, 4 and Lamb 120 and pl. 42 b; the muscles on the chests of the horses and the breasts of the Victories are very similar in each case. The examples from Olympia are less close in such details.

⁷ *PAE* 1952, 290 fig. 12 (axe; there is an error in the measurements of the bore). Charbonneaux p. 75 with pl. 22 1 and p. 77 with pl. 20. 1 (Zeus and kore). A Kore Kanephoros numbered 140 in the Louvre comes from Gourizi near Scutari (*Rev. Arch.* 24 (1872) 1 pl. 15; *AA* 1 pl. 14; E. Langlotz, *Frühgr. Bildhauerschulen* pl. 18 a; A. de Ridder, *Les Bronzes antiques* 47 fig. 12). A goddess with a bud in her hand, called the Albanian Aphrodite by A. de Ridder, *op. cit.* 47 fig. 13 = Louvre 141, may have come from Dodona, as 'Albania' in Turkish times included Dodona; she holds her skirt out sideways with her left hand. The stand of a bronze mirror from Kryegjata near Apollonia is in the form of a kore holding a bud in her hand, and she has a hieratic pose (*AA* 3 (1928) 31 f.; *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 43 (1930) 90). U. Jantzen, *Bronzwerkstätten* (Berlin, 1937) 49, notes resemblances between nos. 140 and 141 from the Louvre and statuettes from Croton, but the resemblances do not seem to me very close.

carrying a sword is described by Carapanos as a royal personage; it may represent a Molossian king, because it is of crude and probably local workmanship.¹ The treatment of the hair resembles that of the hair of a fish-tailed male deity on a clasp which has open-mouthed dragons on the sides; this unusual piece is perhaps a portrayal of the local river-god Acheron, as Carapanos suggests.²

A detailed description of the very remarkable collection of bronzes from Dodona would be out of place in this book, but there are a number of questions to be considered in connexion with them. Who made them and who dedicated them? We can begin by eliminating the native Epirotes from consideration as makers of most of them, because their pottery was of the lowest order and the physical remains of their settlements shows little or no advance in culture until the fourth century. Some of the native chieftains might have been able to dedicate bronze statuettes and bronze vessels, but the standard of life was generally very low. Therefore most of the statuettes and bronze vessels are likely to have been made and dedicated by southern Greeks. These could have been Greeks in the north-western colonies or Greeks of the homeland. One interesting clue is provided by the sixth-century statuettes of the girl athletes and the horses with riders. In what games were they victorious? The epigraphical evidence for the games at Dodona—the Naïa—is of the third century B.C. at the earliest, and it is inconceivable that such games existed in the sixth century B.C., when Epirus was far from hellenized in its culture and when Pindar—special representative as he was of the oracle—made no reference to any games at Dodona. As Miss Lamb pointed out,³ the dress of one girl athlete is exactly that described by Pausanias (5. 16) as worn in the girls' race in honour of Hera at Olympia: 'their hair hangs down, they wear a skirt that reaches to a little above the knee, the right shoulder is bare to the breast'; and he adds 'the winners are allowed to dedicate statues of themselves'. If these girls won their victories at Olympia, the only reason for dedicating statues of themselves at Dodona is that they lived locally, that is in an Elean or Corinthian colony. The victors in the horse race were evidently in the same situation. The north shore of the Gulf of Arta with its rich marshy pasture is certainly well suited to horse-breeding.

There are some reasons for thinking that the Elean colonies had a particularly close connexion with Dodona and with Olympia in the sixth century and later. A bronze statuette of a golden eagle from 'North

¹ Carapanos 180 and pl. 10. 2 and 2 *bis*.

² Carapanos 183 and pl. 13. 2 and 2 *bis*. The statuette, which Carapanos 181 and pl. 11 no. 4 describes as Pallas Athena in a helmet with raised cheek-pieces and dates to the sixth or fifth century, has a provincial look and may represent some local goddess.

³ *GRB* p. 98.

Epirus', which Neugebauer regards as the finest portrayal of a bird in Greek art, has a very close resemblance, especially in the hooded eye, to the eagles on the coins of Elis which are dated by Head to the period 471–421 B.C. and by Seltman to as early as 520 B.C.¹ A Nike in the archaic running attitude on a coin of Elis resembles in attitude the girl athletes we have been considering.² When Apollonia won a victory over Thronium c. 475–450 B.C., a dedication was made at Olympia, and the inscription has been found.³ In the opinion of Miss Jeffery the script is more like that of Elis than that of any other place, but it is still not the normal Elean script which was used at Olympia.⁴ The explanation is probably that Apollonia employed a craftsman from one of the Elean colonies in Epirus, which had regular contacts with Olympia but individual characteristics. The general similarity between dedications at Dodona and dedications at Olympia, which has often been noted, is no doubt due to the fashion of the times, which was reflected in the great centres of religion. But the beginning of southern influence at Dodona must have followed a definite channel. We have some indication what the channel was. The enclosure of the shrine at Dodona with bronze cauldrons on tripods towards the end of the eighth century was inspired almost certainly by the example of Olympia, where bronze cauldrons on tripods of the same period and with almost exactly similar ornamentation have been found. It has also been noted that two types of nails—one of bronze and the other of iron with bronze caps—are found at both sites, probably from the cauldrons on tripods.⁵ The Elean colony at Buchetium provides the obvious channel. It lies at the beginning of the best route for pilgrims who came by sea from the south and proceeded to Dodona. The large rectangular plate with four fish at Dodona (see p. 429 above) was probably dedicated at this time by a colonist who was familiar with similar dedications at Olympia.

Another but subsidiary channel of influence was from Corinth via Corcyra, and then, after 625 B.C., via Ambracia. Corcyra, however, is situated at a considerable distance from Dodona, and the overland routes are arduous as they traverse ranges running parallel to the coast; moreover, the island is much out of the way for traffic from the south to the Oracle. Corcyra herself made dedications at Dodona; but

¹ K. A. Neugebauer, *Die gr. Bronzen d. klass. Zeit* (Berlin, 1951) 51 and pl. 24 = Berlin Inv. no. ro590. The eagle is dated by archaic traits to the first half of the fifth century. Louvre, *Catalogue* pl. 16; Head *HN*² 419–21; Seltman *GC* 96.

² Seltman *GC* pl. 13 no. 11.

³ E. Kunze, *Bericht über die Ausgrab. in Olympia* 5 (1956) 149 f.

⁴ L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford, 1961) 228.

⁵ The nails are illustrated in Carapanos pl. 52, 13 and pl. 43, 8 and 9; *PAE* 1929 119 and pl. 11; and *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 239 and pl. 24 a.

the connexion between Corcyra and the Dodonaean tripods was important only in the latter part of the fourth century, when the *μάστιξ Κορκυραίων* replaced the earlier system of juxtaposed cauldrons.¹ The influence of Corinth was paramount in the manufacture of bronze vessels in the sixth century B.C. As we should expect, a number of dedications at Dodona of this period show Corinthian influence (for example the bronze dish with the foreparts of winged horses),² but nothing specifically Corinthian has been found. It used to be thought that 'a rough little figure' of a youth with a bow bore 'an inscription in Corinthian characters',³ but Miss Jeffery has shown recently that the inscription is in the local Dodonaean script, which is in some respects a variant of the Corinthian script but contains other elements.⁴ This script is also found in the earliest inscription on lead at Dodona, which is dated to the second half of the sixth century.⁵ It seems likely then, that Dodona acquired the non-Corinthian elements in its script before the influence of Corinth was strong, that is, before the foundation of Ambracia c. 625 B.C.; and here again we may suggest that the Elean colony at Buchetium placed a part. An inscribed silver ring of the sixth century has the name 'Antiochus' in lettering of the Western alphabet.⁶ A lead strip has the name 'Dionysio'.⁷

While many bronzes at Dodona show the influence of Peloponnesian styles, Miss Lamb remarked that many of them 'have in common an individuality of style which suggests a local origin' in the sixth century, and she noted in particular a heaviness of form and features;⁸ this is very marked in the girl athletes, the victors in the horse-race, the flute-player, the *kouros* dedicated by Etymokledas, and the small horse in the Louvre. A local centre of this kind in Epirus is likely to have been either at an Elean colony or at Ambracia. The latter has not yielded any archaic statuettes in bronze, and the only objects of the archaic period which I saw in a shop there were some griffin heads in bronze of Corinthian style. On the other hand Paliorosforon, the suggested site of an Elean colony, Elatria, has produced a fine mirror-stand of

¹ Str. 7 fr. 3, St. Byz. s. *Dodona*; cf. S. I. Dakaris in *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 1. 14 f. D.H. 1. 50 connected the cauldrons with the time of Aeneas and Helenus, and he mentioned very early inscriptions on them.

² Kekule 28 f. and pl. 6; Lamb *GRB* 136 and pl. 47 b.

³ The dedicator was Etymokledas; I am quoting Lamb 88 and pl. 34 d; Louvre, *Catalogue* 108 pl. 12.

⁴ Op. cit. 228; cf. *BSA* 43 (1948) 206.

⁵ L. H. Jeffery in *BSA* 43 (1948) 206 as against Evangelides in *PAE* 1931, 89. The inscription records a request by Hermon.

⁶ *PAE* 1929, 122.

⁷ *PAE* 1932, 52 no. 4.

⁸ Lamb 97; Evangelides in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 227 disputed her view, but later discoveries seem to support her case strongly. At an earlier date K. A. Neugebauer noted a 'north Greek style' in the Artemis and the young man reclining (*Die gr. Bronzen d. klass. Zeit* 107 and 110).

the late archaic period c. 500–475 B.C., which shows a *kore* wearing a *peplos* and holding a dove; it has two magnificent cocks on the rim (Pl. XXa). Miss J. Constantinou thought this bronze was 'of a provincial workshop in touch with a Peloponnesian centre'. She suggested Corinth and Ambracia; but she noted that the closest parallel in heaviness of style and the dressing of the hair is a statuette found at Olympia, which she considered not to be pure Corinthian work but a product of some provincial centre dependent on Corinthian models.¹ An Elean colony in touch with Olympia is therefore more likely. The dove is important at Dodona, where one fragment of a statuette has a hand under a dove with wings spread, and the *kore* may well be Dione herself. A cock in bronze, originally fitted to a mirror or a rim, which is very similar indeed to those on the Palioroforon mirror, has been found at Dodona (see Pl. XXb).² A mirror-stand in the Louvre, said to come from Albania, and probably in fact from Dodona, is similar to that from Palioroforon; and another was found at Kryegjata near Apollonia, which is dated to the period 525–475 B.C.³ Two *patera* handles were found at Dodona by Carapanos; the figures there have the heaviness of form and feature which Miss Lamb noticed as the mark of a local school.⁴

There are, of course, other influences visible in the orientalizing and archaic dedications at Dodona—Attic influence in the reliefs on plaques (see p. 430 above), the influence of the Spartan style in the warriors and the reveller with a horn, and perhaps Italiote influence in the rams on the handles of bronze vessels, which Evangelides thinks are from an Italian workshop, perhaps Taras.⁵ Few though they are, they show that Dodona was an oracle of some international reputation among the Greek states of this time. But they are outweighed by the large number of humbler objects including rough cut-outs of animals in bronze sheet and clay necklaces.⁶ Most of these show a connexion not with the Greek states but with the Central Balkan area.

We have already seen that in the period c. 1120 to 800 B.C. Dodona was in touch with the northern areas only and that she belonged then to the Balkan *milieu*. Close relations with the north continued from 800 to 500 B.C. They are indicated particularly by the fibulae which

¹ *Arch. Anz.* 1938, 543 f.; the plate fails to show the upper part of the stand. It is no. 15214 in Athens Nat. Museum. For the parallel see *ibid.* and *Olympia* 4 pl. 9 no. 56.

² *PAE* 1929, 116 fig. 7 and fig. 8 no. 11.

³ For a similar cock from Dodona see *PAE* 1929, fig. 7 = fig. 8, 11. Louvre, *Catalogue* pl. 16 = E. Langlotz, *Frühgr. Bildhauerschulen* (1927) pl. 18 a; *Albania* 3 (1928) 33 figs. 29 and 30.

⁴ Carapanos pl. 21 nos. 4 and 5 (doves) and pl. 12 nos. 1 and 3 (*patera* handles).

⁵ Evangelides in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 226 and 231.

⁶ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 19 b 21, cf. Lamb 124; Carapanos 112 and pl. 61, 13 and Evangelides in *PAE* 1953, 161.

were offerings probably together with garments, from humbler people who consulted the oracle; and by their hairpins, rings, and horse-trappings. They indicate that the native Epirotes belonged culturally in matters of dress, hair style, and ornament, and in humbler standard of life, to the north and particularly to Macedonia. Indeed the words of Strabo (7. 7. 8, C 327) would be true of this period too that 'in tonsure, language, short cloak (*chlamys*) and other such things the usages of the inhabitants (of Epirus and Macedonia) are similar'. In addition the long tradition of contacts with the north throughout the history of Dodona shows that the oracle won its fame first in the north, not only in Epirus and Macedonia but probably in the Central Balkans. Its fame was carried southwards by invaders in the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. Later, the colonial enterprise of Elis brought Dodona and Olympia into fairly close relations from the late eighth century onwards. The Greeks of the second wave of the colonizing period brought the oracle into some prominence for the Greek states of the peninsula. But this was well on in the seventh century. The entry *Oraculo Dodonaeo primum Graecia usa est* in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (96. 10, ed. Helm) under the year 639 B.C. is evidently not wide of the mark, that is, in the sense that *Graecia* began south of Epirus. For it is after this date that the number of Greek dedications at Dodona became really considerable. However, the coming and going of the pilgrims seems to have made little impression on the native Epirotes of the interior. The record of southern pottery found even at Dodona stood in 1935 at one Proto-Corinthian sherd, one orientalizing sherd and one Corinthian *aryballos*.¹ There is much more evidence of southern pottery of this period at the coastal sites—Ambracia, Buchetium (Rogous), the Nekyomanteion, Buthrotum, Kalivo, Oricum, and perhaps Kanina²—and there are dedications of terracotta statuettes in the cave of Ambracia's Hieron Oros and at the Nekyomanteion which show more regular worship by people of southern taste than is noticeable at Dodona.

When we turn to the north a fine bronze statuette of a striding Silenus, which is of the archaic period, came from Valona. Neugebauer compared it to the striding warrior from Dodona (both are in Berlin) and called it slightly provincial in style. The Silenus may have been dedicated at the Nymphaeum.³ But the most striking discovery in the Southern Balkan area has been made far inland at Trebenishte, which is near Ochrida and on the north side of Lake Ochrid. Ten

¹ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 212 and pl. 25 b 5 and 6.

² For details and references see the descriptions in Chapters II, III, and IV.

³ *Die minoischen u. archaischen gr. Bronzen* (Berlin, 1931) 109 and pl. 39 no. 215. Berlin Inventory no. 6252.

graves were those of warriors, each buried with an iron sword, iron spears, helmet, pins for garments, and ornaments; and three were of women with their pins and ornaments. The graves are to be dated around 520 B.C. and the objects are generally of the preceding part of the sixth century. Statuettes from bronze vessels are Corinthian in style and have been compared with examples at Dodona; and both places have the same taste for 'rolls of vessels with bead and reels'.¹ The northern features of the finds at Trebenishte have been compared too with examples of northern influence at Dodona. These include the types of pin and fibula which are indicative of similar dress and hair style in each area.² Unusual objects such as armlets and plastic clay fruits occur at both places.³

The strong similarities between objects at Trebenishte and at Dodona could be explained simply on the grounds that both places were subject to the same mixture of Greek and northern influences. Indeed some of Casson's phrases in his review of the first publication of finds from Trebenishte might apply equally well to Dodona in the period 800–600 B.C.:

The bronze work . . . exhibits bronze vessels or ornaments of pure Greek style and of the finest quality. . . . In the style and treatment of many of the objects there is much that indicates influences other than those of the civilized mainland of Greece. . . . There are in some cases forms of decoration which are specifically un-Hellenic, at any rate for the sixth century . . . and there is a small class of objects—a mere handful of pins and small ornaments of that type—which cannot be called Greek at all. They are specifically north Balkan.⁴

But there are some indications of a more direct contact. The Trebenishte graves are rich in gold and silver. Both these metals are rare

¹ Numerous comparisons have been made, e.g. *PAE* 1929, 113–14 figs. 5 and 6, a winged Gorgon from a *lebes* like those at Trebenishte; *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 228, goats on rim of bronze vessel, cf. Trebenishte no. 69 figs. 52 and 53; *ibid.* 229, bronze plaque with a running Gorgon, cf. Trebenishte pl. 8, 1 and pl. 9, 1; *ibid.* 231, a semi-circular handle with ornamentation as at Trebenishte fig. 89; a winged Sphinx, *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 236 fig. 10 and pl. 23 b 1. For bead-and-reels, *PAE* 1929, fig. 10 nos. 1 and 2; Carapanos pl. 45 4, 5, and 9; *PAE* 1931, fig. 2, 7 and 9; *PAE* 1932, fig. 5, 4; *Ep. Chr.* 1935, fig. 20 a 1 and fig. 21 b 9–21; *Ergon* 1957, fig. 46 no. 1; and Filow fig. 28, 5–10; fig. 50.

² Since the publication by Filow reports of further excavations are in *Arch. Anz.* 45 (1930) 276 f.; 48 (1933) 459 f.; *Rev. Arch.* 34, 26 f.; *OstJ* 27 (1932) 1 f. and 28 (1933) 164 f.; and L. Popović *Katalog Nalaza iz Nekropole Kod Trebenista* (Belgrade, 1956). Jacobsthal 201 f. has an excellent summary of the material from Trebenishte. For pin and fibula see Jacobsthal 46 comparing Carapanos 45, 6 with Filow 31 fig. 28, 9 and 10; Carapanos 45, 5 with Filow 68 fig. 72 and 70 fig. 76; for Blinkenberg's class XII of fibulae see Jacobsthal 46 and 205 and above, p. 430. Double-shanked pins of northern type occur at both places, as do pear-headed pins of southern type (Jacobsthal 28–29).

³ Carapanos 93 f. and pl. 50 nos. 1–5 and 9 (the last is a typically northern armlet); Filow 93 fig. 111 and *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 244 and pl. 10 a 5 (plastic bunch of grapes).

⁴ *JHS* 48 (1928) 268 f.

at Dodona. A gold ornament in openwork which portrays lions climbing a tree came from Dodona, and a gold medallion portraying lions climbing on a stylized or symbolical representation of a tree was found at Trebenishte (another gold ornament there had a variant of this design).¹ Two silver pins, one with a piece of silver chain, were found at Dodona by Evangelides, who compared them to silver pins, one with a silver chain, at Trebenishte. Three silver fibulae of Blinkenberg's class XII came from Ioannina (presumably from Dodona). This material is rarely used for these purposes, but Trebenishte has produced nine silver pins and six silver fibulae.² The use of silver wire and of silver filling on bronze is another link between the two places, and also with the north.³ It seems likely that the area of Ochrid, where objects of gold and silver were plentiful, may be the source of these rare materials at Dodona and of the objects made in them. Silver was used for fibulae also in the Mati valley. A double-shanked fibula in silver from a burial there is illustrated in Fig. 25, 6; a similar one at Pateli in West Macedonia is of bronze.⁴ The silver of the Mati valley came presumably from Damastium. The two places also share an extraordinary fondness for snakes; Jacobsthal commented on this feature at Trebenishte, and it is just as conspicuous at Dodona. In some cases Evangelides compared the detailed representation of snakes at Dodona with those at Trebenishte.⁵ At both sites too there is a fondness for beads of blue glass with white spots.⁶ There is a bronze cheek-piece of a helmet from Dodona which is moulded to portray the wearer who has moustaches; it is dated by Carapanos to the archaic period. Portraiture is rare at this time. The death-mask of a man with moustaches at Trebenishte is inspired by the same idea.⁷

The great wealth of the graves at Trebenishte has raised some interesting speculations. Some have argued that the bronzes, being predominantly Corinthian in style (more so than at Dodona), came from the Adriatic coast, where the Corinthian colonies of Epidamnus and Apollonia lay at the end of the route through Ochrida which leads to

¹ Berlin Inv. 10772 and *Boston Bulletin* 40 (1942) 53 fig. 9; a similar heraldic design with griffins in bronze in Carapanos pl. 18. 2. Filow 14 fig. 10. These pieces are described by Jacobsthal 78.

² *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 241 pl. 19 b 12 and 25; Filow fig. 29, 4. Jacobsthal 137 and 204-5.

³ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 234 pl. 21 b 25 and 26; Jacobsthal 137, mentioning an example at Glasinac in *WMBH* 3, 21 fig. 56.

⁴ *BUSS* 1955, 1. 137 (Mati); *Albania* 4 (1932) 59 and fig. 11.

⁵ Jacobsthal 203: 'By the way, these people seem to have been very fond of snakes', with references to sixteen examples. Evangelides makes comparisons in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 230 to Filow nos. 64-66. Snakes at Dodona in Carapanos pls. 21, 7-10; 45, 9; 48, 1; 50, 2-5 and 19; and 21, 3 a hawk holding a snake (on a medallion); *PAE* 1931, 84 fig. 1, 2; *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 230 and pls. 19 b 16, 20 a 8 and fig. 7; 233 and fig. 2, pl. 21 b 9.

⁶ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 243 compared with Filow p. 95.

⁷ Carapanos pl. 55 no. 4 and pp. 101 and 233.

the head of the Thermaic Gulf; others have favoured transit from the eastern end of this route. It is clear, as Jacobsthal shows, that objects came from both ends of it.¹ But the existence of this route alone does not explain the source of the wealth which is revealed by the graves; for it became an important trade route only when Italy or Western Europe provided an important market as in the days of the Via Egnatia. This was not the case in the sixth century. The importance of Ochrida was also that it lay near or on a route leading from the Danubian area into the environment of the Greek peninsula. The route southwards from Skoplje enters Macedonia either via the Vardar valley which is easily blocked by a defending force (Str. 7, fr. 4) or east of Ochrida via Monastir and Kaliniki, and the best route westwards to Central Albania and the Adriatic Sea passes through Ochrida. So far as Epirus is concerned, the most direct route from Skoplje passes between Lake Ochrid and Lake Prespa via Koritsa and Mesoyefira to Dodona.² It is this position on the routes from Central Europe to the Greek peninsula which chiefly enabled the people of the area to grow rich and powerful. The abundance of silver which led to its use in place of bronze for pins and fibulae may be due to a local source of silver (for the later mines of Damastium were probably in this district), but the gold is most likely to have come from Transylvania as an article of trade.³ The gold death-masks at Trebenishte, so reminiscent of those at Mycenae, are evidently the mark of royalty. One royal house was particularly famous in this region. It claimed descent from Cadmus and Harmonia and ruled over the Enchelii. The Lyncestae, who took a descendant of the Corinthian Bacchiadae as king c. 450 B.C., were a wealthy tribe; for they were more advanced in hoplite warfare than the people of Lower Macedonia at the time of Brasidas' second campaign in Upper Macedonia, which was an indication of prosperity as well as of contact with Greek ideas.⁴ Both were no doubt interested in maintaining cultural and trading relations with Corinth and her colonies.⁵ The position of Trebenishte and the date make it likely that the graves are those of the kings of the Enchelii.

¹ Filow favoured the Adriatic; so did Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 217 n. 2. Casson *JHS* 48 (1928) 269 and Jacobsthal 203 saw that traffic came from both directions, as there are also objects of Ionian origin at Trebenishte.

² The geography of this area is described below, p. 616, in connexion with the Second Macedonian War.

³ Jacobsthal 206 favours a northern origin for the silver. Str. 7 fr. 34 records the saying that gold nuggets were found in ploughing the fields of Paconia. J. M. F. May, *The Coinage of Damastion* (Oxford, 1939) 28, places Damastium northwards of Lake Ochrid.

⁴ Th. 4. 124. 3: τῶν Λυγκηστῶν ὁπλιτῶν; the Macedonians proper had no hoplites on this campaign (see p. 422 n. 2, above) and Thucydides attributes the great advance in ὁπλοῖς to the son of Perdiccas, Archelaus.

⁵ Str. 7. 7. 8, C 326. The passage is discussed on pp. 463 f. below.

An interesting find was made in 1939 near the village of Voutonosi.¹ A number of bronze vessels, of which the smaller were placed inside the larger ones, had evidently been buried at one time as a hoard.² The vessels are dated from the first half of the sixth century B.C. down to as late as the third century B.C., and one of the earliest ones had been repaired in ancient times. The vessels are of almost all kinds—cups, strainers, *skyphoi*, water-jars, jugs, tripods, *oenochoi*, and *alabastra*—and they were evidently owned by people who did not use pottery. It is clear that such people were nomadic, like the Vlach shepherds today, and it is probably no coincidence that Voutonosi is the site of the ancient settlement which corresponds to the modern capital of the Vlachs, Metsovon. Voutonosi is not far away from Sirrakou and Kalarritai, which were once famous for making vessels of all kinds in copper. Part of an inscription on the rim of a water-jar was read by Ph. M. Petsas. It is in the (western) 'Chalcidic alphabet', and the water-jar to which this rim probably belongs was dated by N. M. Verdelis to the first half of the fifth century B.C.³ Petsas published the inscription as -]ERA[-]O[-]ΕΣ ΘΕΣΠΙΑΣ, without indicating the number of missing letters, and he connected the inscription with the worship of Heracles at Thespieae in Boeotia. This conjecture may be sound; in any case the use of the Chalcidic alphabet shows that the *hydria* was not inscribed by a native of Epirus but came originally from outside Epirus. Petsas suggested that the other vessels were of the same origin. This seems most unlikely, because they are not inscribed and because they are vessels for ordinary every-day use. My own opinion is that the hoard of vessels was the property of a well-to-do family and that the earlier ones had been in use since the early sixth century B.C.

The sixth-century pieces from the hoard at Voutonosi include a spouted *oenochoe* with a handle, which ends in the *protome* of a woman wearing a *pilos*, and with fine rosettes;⁴ a one-handled jug; an *alabastron* (the only example in bronze known to Verdelis); and round handles with palmette attachments and bobbin decorations. The *oenochoe* handle is compared by Verdelis with one found at Dodona;⁵ one-handled jugs were common at Trebenishte;⁶ and the round handles have close parallels at Trebenishte and at Dodona. Three pieces are dated by Verdelis to the end of the archaic period: an *oenochoe* handle with the head of a Silenus, with beard and long moustaches,

¹ Described by N. M. Verdelis, 'Vases en bronze de Metsovo' in *BCH* 73 (1499) 19 f.; further points are made by Ph. M. Petsas in *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 7 f.

² *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 9.

³ *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 9 no. xvii; *BCH* 73, 27 no. xvii, 2 with 23 no. viii.

⁴ Verdelis no. 1 and fig. 1, cf. Petsas fig. 14, 3; Verdelis compares it with those illustrated in Lamb 136 and fig. 46 a and in Payne, *Necrocorinthia* fig. 45, 6.

⁵ Carapanos pl. 44 nos. 1 and 2.

⁶ Filow nos. 74-78.

a tripod *oenochoe*, and a *hydria* handle with a winged Siren and a palm-ette. This type of *oenochoe* was found at Trebenishte, and the handles are similar in kind though not in detail to some at Trebenishte.¹ There are six large *lebetes*; these are not described or illustrated, but they are probably like those from Trebenishte and Dodona. Two objects were found at Voutonosi but not in the hoard. These are a mirror handle with a winged Siren which Verdelis dates to the end of the sixth century and compares with works of the north-east Peloponnese;² and a strainer (such as is used for straining milk) with a handle at each end which is in the form of a swan's head, perhaps also of the sixth century and comparable with a swan's head handle at Trebenishte.³

Voutonosi occupies a strategic position on the chief route across the Pindus range in North Greece, just as Trebenishte is close to the chief route across the Balkan range further north. Voutonosi as well as Trebenishte probably played a part in the trade which involved bronze vessels of Peloponnesian workmanship and which probably came up the west coast of Greece under Corinthian auspices. The occurrence of similar objects at Trebenishte and Voutonosi is in accordance with our earlier deduction that the peoples of Western Macedonia and Epirus had close affinities. The two individual finds at Voutonosi, which were not connected with the hoard, suggest that Voutonosi was inhabited in the late sixth century. The small Corinthian *aryballos* which was shown to me at Kipouryio is probably of the same period. Voutonosi and Kipouryio are both Vlach villages; their occupation in antiquity suggests that people then followed a similar way of life, which centred on the keeping of sheep and on movement from summer to winter pastures. A piece of a rim, to which three birds were attached, was found at Kastritsa by S. I. Dakaris; it came from a bronze cauldron of the late seventh or sixth century B.C.⁴ The plain of Ioannina, in which Kastritsa lies, is the chief halting place for the flocks during their migration, and Kastritsa lies on the route to Voutonosi.

Thus a general picture emerges of the native peoples in Epirus and of those in the high country of Western Macedonia, extending to and perhaps beyond Lake Ochrid. In the sixth century they certainly had a marked affinity with one another in their way of life, their hair style, their dress, and their general taste for some Greek products. This affinity is probably to be carried back into the Dark Age. The tribes in this wide area were susceptible not only to Greek taste in art but to the merits of being ruled by more civilized families. The Molossi,

¹ Verdelis nos. 6, 7 and 8 fig. 8; Filow no. 73.

² Verdelis, no. 5, fig. 5.

³ Verdelis no. 15 and pl. 1; Filow no. 80, fig. 71 and pl. 12, 3.

⁴ *PAE* 1952, 382 fig. 20.

Thesproti, Chaones, Enchelii, Lyncestae, and Macedones proper derived their royal houses not from local chieftains but from foreign dynasties. Earlier too, when tribes of Dorian stock were in this area, they had accepted the Achaean Heracleidae as their dynastic leaders; and the descendants of the Heracleidae in turn provided royal houses or leaders for a number of Greek states.¹ The affinity between the native peoples of Epirus and those of Western Macedonia is likely to have been based on a racial affinity. Does the term *Griechisch-barbarisch*, which was used by Filow to describe one class of objects at Trebenishte, apply also to the racial origins of these peoples? Or is Pseudo-Scymnus² describing race when he refers to the peoples of the hinterland of the oracle as 'a mixture of barbarian peoples'?

ἐν τῇ μεσσηρίῳ δ' εἰσὶ μυγάδες βάρβαροι,
οὓς καὶ προσοικεῖν φασὶ τῷ χρηστηρίῳ.

Fortunately we have some literary evidence which is earlier than that of Scymnus (or that of Thucydides) and is indeed contemporary with the late archaic period. We shall inquire into it in the next section.

The Greek colonies which lay on the sea lanes belonged to a different world in the seventh and sixth centuries. They were engaged in the struggle for commercial supremacy in the expanding trade with the Western Mediterranean. Corcyra fought a naval battle against Corinth c. 680–660 (Th. 1. 13. 4) and then fell under the control of Periander about the turn of the century (Hdt. 3. 52. 6). But she was free again in the sixth century, and she reached a very high level of prosperity by the time of the Persian Wars. Her coinage shows the range of her influence. Commencing with coins of Corinthian weight at the beginning of the sixth century she was striking coins on her own standard by 550 B.C. It is likely that a form of the Corcyraean standard was adopted by Himera, Naxos, and Zancle in Sicily and by Rhegium in Italy for their first coinages in the latter half of the century,³ when there was an economic breakaway from Corinth. There is no doubt that Corcyra then held a leading place in the exchange of goods between the West and Greece, and her dominance is shown by the fact that her navy of sixty triremes was second only to that of Athens at the time of Xerxes' invasion (Hdt. 7. 168. 3).

¹ The example of establishing a Greek dynasty among natives of which we know most is that of the Miltiadae in the Chersonese; see my article in *CQ* 6 (1956) 113 f. for references.

² Scymn. 451. The expression means 'barbarians mixed up together', and not half-breeds or mixed Greeks and barbarians as it came to mean later (see L-S-J⁹).

³ C. Seltman *GC* 70 f.; T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948) 245 f., doubts Seltman's view, but his own suggestion that it was a local standard seems unlikely, if, as he believes, the coinages were first issued 'for large-scale overseas transactions, not for local use' (p. 246).

The rivalry of Corcyra was mainly with Corinth (Hdt. 3. 49. 1) and with Corinth's loyal daughter Ambracia: one of the earliest Greek inscriptions records the death of a Corcyraean in a battle 'by the ships at the waters of the Araththos', which Tod dates c. 600 B.C.¹ Corcyra was less concerned at this time than Ambracia with trade in Epirus, which turns an inhospitable coast towards the island. The main outlets for Epirote produce were rather in the Gulfs of Valona and Ambracia, and it is noticeable that Buthrotum on the mainland was an independent city at the turn of the sixth century.

2. THE SOURCES OF STRABO'S ACCOUNT OF EPIRUS²

(a) *Strabo's General Method*

Strabo's account, which has survived almost in its entirety, forms the foundation of our knowledge of ancient Epirus. Strabo did not write from any personal experience of the country. He lived at Alexandria in the principates of Augustus and Tiberius, and he did not travel in Balkan lands. He sailed from Corinth to Rome and he may therefore have called at Nicopolis, which he describes with some contemporary allusions as a city founded by Augustus (7. 7. 6); but he did not land at Actium, because he remarks that the ships dedicated by Augustus and the docks there 'are said' to have been burnt (7. 7. 6). However, it is possible that he did not go to Nicopolis at all but had the details from a friend.³ For his interests were not in contemporary geography. He was an antiquarian. He made frequent quotations from Homer and Hesiod. He gave much attention to the oracle of Dodona, though he noted that it was about as deserted and desolate as the countryside of Epirus in his own day (7. 7. 9 *fin.*). He described cities and tribes which had long ago disappeared under Roman rule, as he himself said (7. 7. 3; 7. 7. 6; 7. 7. 9 *fin.*), and he wrote a considerable section on the Pelasgians. We are therefore faced with the important questions: which period in the geography of Epirus did Strabo intend to describe and what sources of information did he use?

Strabo gave a general list of writers at the beginning of his *Geographica* and again at the beginning of Book 8, where his account of Greece proper started. We may assume either that he used these writers

¹ *GHI* 1 no. 2.

² I am grateful to Mr. P. M. Fraser and Mr. G. T. Griffith for reading a draft of this section and making helpful comments. This chapter was written before Lepore published his views (Lepore pp. 16-33); we agree in many respects, but my study is more detailed. All references to Strabo in this section are to the chapters in the Loeb text.

³ W. Aly, *Strabonis Geographica* 4 (Bonn, 1957) 331 f., refers to Strabo's voyage but does not mention the possibility of autopsy at Actium and Nicopolis.

himself or that he knew them at second hand through using some Hellenistic geography. The writings he gives include treatises entitled *Harbours*, *Account of a Coasting Voyage (Periplous)*, *Descriptive Geography (Periodos Ges)*, topographical sections in general works such as the histories of Ephorus and Polybius, and geographical details in scientific treatises such as those by Poseidonius and Hipparchus.

The general method which he followed in writing of the Balkan area is clear from 7. 5. 1 and 7. 6. 1. He has divided Europe into zones, and the zone with which we are concerned is the area between the Danube and the surrounding sea, beginning from the head of the Adriatic Sea and extending to 'the Sacred Mouth of the Danube' (7. 5. 1), that is, the entire peninsula between the Adriatic and the Black Sea south of the river Danube. Next he divides the zone into sectors. He begins with a vague account of the mountains, rivers, and tribes of the Northern Balkan area (7. 5. 1-7. 5. 3 *init.*). Then he describes the coast of Illyria from the head of the Adriatic to the Ceraunian Mountains in a systematic manner (τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιητέον τῆς συνεχοῦς περιδείας, 7. 5. 3), and he adds details of the inland peoples as he proceeds along the coast. He summarizes this method at 7. 6. 1: τὴν Ἰλλυρικὴν παραλίαν ἐπιόντες μέχρι τῶν Κεραυνίων ὄρων προὔβημεν ἔξω τῆς Ἰλλυρικῆς πιπτόντων ὀρεινῆς ἐχόντων δέ τι οἰκεῖον πέρας, τὰ μεσόγαια δὲ ἔθνη τοῦτοις ἀφωρίσμεθα, νομίζοντες σημειωδεστέρας ἔσεσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας παραγραφάς. 'In following the coast of Illyria we have advanced to the Ceraunian Mountains, which do indeed fall outside the Illyrian mountain-system but form an appropriate point of division, and we have defined the tribes of the interior in relation to these (i.e. the mountains) because we believe such points of demarcation to be a better guide.' The next sector which he describes is the coast from the Sacred Mouth of the Danube to the mouth of the Black Sea at Byzantium (7. 6. 1-7. 6. 2), the latter being 'a well known point of division' (γνωριμώτερον πέρας). For this coast he drew directly on a *Periplous*, that is an account of a coasting voyage, which gave details of distance, stony beaches, rocks, etc., and notes on the origins of cities, e.g. 'Istrus, a foundation of Miletus'. Strabo has evidently added to it a few points from his own reading, such as references to Philip II of Macedon, Lysimachus, and Marcus Lucullus.

(b) *The Description of the Coast of Epirus.*

When Strabo went on to deal with Epirus, he described the coast from the viewpoint of the sea, and he added details which certainly came from a mariner's guide. The following passage (7. 7. 5) makes this obvious, particularly when we remember that he described Corcyra later in the same book (fragments 7 and 8).

If one sets out from the Chaonians towards the rising sun and towards the Ambracian Gulf and the Corinthian Gulf, with the Ausonian Sea on the right and Epirus on the left, the voyage is one of 1,300 stades from the Ceraunia to the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf. On this stretch is Panormus, a great harbour in the midst of the Ceraunian Mountains, and afterwards Onchesmus, another harbour, faced by the western tips of Corcyraean territory, and again another, Cassiope, from which it is 1,700 stades to Brentesium; and an equal number to Taras from another cape, further south than Cassiope, which they call Phalacrum. After Onchesmus Poseidium and Buthrotum at the mouth of the so-called Pelodes Limen, built on a peninsula, with Roman settlers,¹ and the Sybota. The Sybota are islets a little off Epirus and lying off the eastern tip of Corcyraean territory, Leucimma.² There are on the coasting voyage also other islets not worth mentioning.

The mention of the Chaonians links this passage with the preceding account of the Epirote tribes. Otherwise he is giving a mariner's view of the coast and he adds instructions for a voyage from the Ceraunia through the Corfu Channel, for which landmarks such as 'in the midst of the Ceraunian Mountains', the bearings on the western and eastern tips of Corcyra and the islets, even those not worth Strabo's while to enumerate, were important. The records of distances to Taras (Taranto) and Brentesium (Brindisi) from points in Corcyra are irrelevant to Strabo's description of the Epirote coast. He has clearly copied out these and other details from a mariner's guide and left it uncertain, so far as the text goes, whether Cassiope is in Epirus or (as it is in fact) in Corcyra.³

It is difficult to date a description of this kind except by its diction. The name 'Ausonian Sea' rather than 'Sicilian Sea', which Strabo used generally and indeed twice in the preceding chapter (7. 7. 4), is said by Strabo to be archaic: (2. 5. 20) τὸ Αὐσόνιον μὲν πάλαι, νῦν δὲ καλούμενον Σικελικόν. Now Thucydides always used the expression 'the Sicilian Sea' (4. 24. 5; 4. 53. 3; 6. 13. 1); therefore the term 'Ausonian Sea' probably came from a writer who was earlier than Thucydides. Similarly the phrase 'of Corcyraean territory' (τῆς Κορκυραίας) is surprising instead of the usual 'Corcyra'. We find the phrase again in fragment 6 of this book, where Mount Pteleum is mentioned: περικείμενον τῷ Ἀμβρακικῷ κόλπῳ, τῇ μὲν ἐκτεινόμενον μέχρι τῆς Κορκυραίας, τῇ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ Λευκάδα θάλασσαν. The

¹ Added by Strabo from his own knowledge.

² Strabo's orientation of the Epirus coast is west by east, not NNW. by SSE., and Leucimma is therefore the SSE. point of the island.

³ He does not mention here the island of Sason. He referred to it in 6. 3. 5, a passage which G. Hunrath, *Die Quellen Strabo's im sechsten Buche* (1879, Cassel), attributed to Artemidorus, and therefore Strabo's source here should be a different one.

description of the mountain is correct for a mariner sailing offshore from the north but it is incorrect for anyone on land, who sees at once that there is no such continuous range. The only other example of ἡ Κορκυραία which I can trace refers also to Cape Leucimma; it occurs in Thucydides 1. 30. 1: ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ τῆς Κορκυραίας ἀκρωτηρίῳ, a passage to which we shall return later. The phrase ἡ Κορκυραία was an appropriate phrase to use at a time when the *polis* Corcyra did not hold the entire island; later the territory of Corcyra and the island itself became synonymous, and Thucydides otherwise speaks always of 'Corcyra'. Thus these two pieces of diction make it probable that Strabo was using a source who was earlier than Thucydides.

The next sentence in Strabo 7. 7. 5 takes us further down the coast of Epirus, but then we make a surprising and rather confusing detour inland and northwards.

Then Cape Cheimerium and Glycys Limen, into which the river Acheron falls, flowing from the Acherusian Lake and receiving several rivers, so as to sweeten the Gulf; the Thyamis too flows nearby. Inland of this Gulf is Cichyrus, the former Ephyra, a city of Thesprotians, and inland of the Gulf by Buthrotum is Phoenice. Near Cichyrus is Buchetium, a small city of Cassopaeans, a little inland from the sea, and Elatria and Pandosia and Batiae in the interior; and their territory (i.e. that of the Cassopaeans) extends down to the Gulf. Next after Glycys Limen are two other harbours. . . .

This passage has a strange order. Strabo has already mentioned Buthrotum in the place where it belonged for anyone sailing along the coast from north to south. He refers here three times to 'the Gulf', but it seems to be a different Gulf each time; and he is hazy about the river Thyamis 'nearby'. Yet the strangeness of this digression is equalled in the following passage from Thucydides (1. 46. 3-4):

When they approached the mainland opposite Corcyra as they were sailing from Leucas, they put in at Cheimerium in Thesprotian territory. Cheimerium is a harbour, and inland of it, away from the sea, is Ephyra in Elaeatis of Thesprotis. Beside it (Ephyra) the Acherusian Lake issues towards the sea. A river Acheron flowing through Thesprotis enters it (the Lake), and it (the Lake) is named after it (the river). A river Thyamis also flows, dividing Thesprotis from Cestrine. Between these rivers Cape Cheimerium projects. Here then the Corinthians put in. . . .

As Leake noticed,¹ the passages in Strabo and Thucydides echo one another in style and partly in content. Yet Strabo is not drawing on Thucydides, because Strabo has points which are not in Thucydides. It is therefore clear that both were using a common source.

¹ NG 3. 7 n. 1.

The most famous work of descriptive geography before the time of Thucydides was that of Hecataeus. It has indeed been suggested by L. Pearson¹ that the source of Thucydides 1. 46. 4 (the passage we have just considered) was some *Periegesis*, 'perhaps even Hecataeus'. His suggestion is confirmed if we take into account our passage from Strabo and three other passages in Strabo, where information about the hinterland of Epirus is likewise attached to a river. The first (7. 7. 6) is a note on Ambracia: *παραρρεῖ δ' αὐτὴν ὁ Ἄροθος ποταμός, ἀναπλοῦν ἔχων ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς αὐτὴν ὀλίγων σταδίων, ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Τύμφης ὄρους καὶ τῆς Παρωραίας*. The word *Ἄροθος*, which is the only certain reading,² is usually emended to the normal forms *Ἀραχθος* or *Ἀρατθος*, but *Ἄροθθος* is found in an inscription dated c. 600.³ Therefore *Ἄροθος* should be retained as a correct archaic form, like *Ἀυσονιον*, and its occurrence here should be ascribed to Strabo's use of Hecataeus. The second passage (7. 5. 8) names Hecataeus as Strabo's source: 'The Aous is called Aeas by Hecataeus; he says that the same district round Lacmus, indeed the same recess, is the source of the Inachus which flows southwards towards Argos, and of the Aeas which flows westwards towards the Adriatic.' The third passage (6. 2. 4) also quotes Hecataeus: 'Hecataeus says the Inachus in Amphilochia, flowing from Lacmus, whence also the Aeas flows, is different from the Argolic Inachus and was named by Amphilochus, who also called the city Argos Amphilochicum; this river, he says, joins the Achelous, whereas the Aeas flows westwards towards Apollonia.' In view of these three passages we may also ascribe to Hecataeus another passage in Strabo (7. 7. 8 *fin.*): 'rivers emptying into the Ionian Gulf and rivers entering southerly parts—the Inachus, the Arachthus, the Achelous and the Euenus, formerly called the Lycormas—the one (the Arachthus) entering the Ambracian Gulf, the other (the Inachus) entering the Achelous, then the Achelous itself and the Euenus entering the sea.'

We conclude then that the common source of Thucydides 1. 46. 4 and Strabo 7. 7. 5 (for the same area) was Hecataeus. There are two other cases where the same source probably underlies passages in Thucydides and Strabo. Thucydides digressed at 2. 68. 3 to pronounce on the question who founded Argos Amphilochicum: 'Argos Amphilochicum and the rest of Amphilochia were founded on the Ambracian Gulf by Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus, when he returned home after the Trojan War and was displeased with the situation at Argos, and he named the city Argos after his own fatherland.' In a passage

¹ CQ 33 (1939) 52, and *Early Ionian Historians* (1939) 50.

² The reading is in E; that in C is doubtful according to Kramer.

³ Tod GHI 2. The form *Ἀραυθος* in all codices of Callimachus fr. 646 is probably a genuine variant of the name, although Pfeiffer and others emend to *Ἀρατθος*.

which we have just quoted (Strabo 6. 2. 4) Hecataeus is cited as saying that Amphilochoi called the city Argos Amphilochoicum. It is therefore probable that Thucydides was supporting Hecataeus in a controversy about the founder of Amphilochoicum Argos. The rival theory is preserved in Strabo 7. 7. 7, quoting Ephorus (= *FGrH* 70 F 123) as follows:

After Ambracia there is Amphilochoicum Argos, founded by Alcmaeon and his sons. At any rate Ephorus says that after the expedition of the Epigoni to Thebes Alcmaeon was invited by Diomedes, accompanied him to Aetolia, and joined him in acquiring Aetolia and Acarnania; when Agamemnon summoned them to the Trojan War, Diomedes went, but Alcmaeon stayed in Acarnania, founded Argos and called it Amphilochoicum after his brother, and also gave to the river which flows through its territory into the Gulf the name Inachus after the river in the Argeia. But Thucydides says that Amphilochoi himself after the return from Troy was displeased with affairs at Argos, came to Acarnania, succeeded to his brother's dominion¹ and founded the city with his own name.

Ephorus evidently inherited this theory from a rival of Hecataeus, and such a rival may be responsible also for the erroneous belief that the Inachus flowed into the Ambracian Gulf (a view refuted by Hecataeus, who stated correctly that the Inachus joined the Achelous).

The second passage is less conclusive, but it suggests that Thucydides and Strabo may have used a common source in describing Epidamnus. For both of them (Th. 1. 24; Str. 7. 5. 8 and 7. 7. 8) mention it from the point of view of a coasting voyager, call it a colony of Corcyra, and put the Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe, in its vicinity. If they did have a common source, it was probably Hecataeus; for he mentioned the Taulantii (*FGrH* 1 F 99 and 101).

We have now seen that Strabo in describing Epirus used some archaic terms, such as 'the Ausonian Sea', ἡ Κορκυραία, and the river Ἀποθός, which came from a source earlier in date than Thucydides. An archaic term for this area was used by Hecataeus, 'Aeas' for 'Aous', and Strabo also has Thoas for Achelous and Lycormas for Euenus (Str. 10. 2. 1 and 7. 7. 8). Then there are passages in Thucydides and Strabo which are due to a common source, and in some of these passages Strabo names Hecataeus as his source. We therefore reach the conclusion that in describing Epirus Strabo drew on Hecataeus for a number of points and especially for the river-system. But the situation is more complicated than that, since Strabo also accepted views from Ephorus and added details of harbours, directions, and distances from a late source. We shall therefore run through Strabo's description of the

¹ Th. 2. 102. 6 refers to the dominion of Alcmaeon, but the succession by Amphilochoi is mentioned not by Thucydides but by Strabo, quoting the view of 'some' (Str. 10. 2. 26).

coast, noting that each piece of description is separated from the next by a digression¹ and that each piece begins with a repeated name or phrase, which I have italicized. Points added by Strabo for the interest of his contemporaries have been placed in angled brackets.

1. (7. 5. 8) 'After the *Rhizonic Gulf* [cf. 7. 5. 7] there are Lissus, a city, and Acrolissus and Epidamnus, a Corcyraean foundation (now called Dyrachium like the peninsula on which it stands). Then the river Apsus, and the Aous, on which is *Apollonia*, a very well governed city, founded by Corinth and Corcyra, 10 stades distant from the river and 60 from the sea. The Aous is called Aeas by Hecataeus, and he says that the same district round Lacmus, indeed the same recess, is the source of the Inachus which flows southwards towards Argos, and of the Aeas which flows westwards towards the Adriatic.'

The staccato style of the two opening sentences fits a book of descriptive geography, and the references here to Epidamnus and to the Taulantii in a later chapter resemble Thucydides 1. 24. The common source of these sentences may be Hecataeus. The source of the third sentence is Hecataeus, and some of its matter is again cited from Hecataeus in Strabo 6. 2. 4, where we learn that the Inachus was named by Amphilochoi, who also named Argos Amphilochoicum; this passage links up with Strabo 7. 7. 7 and 7. 7. 8 *fin.* and with Thucydides 2. 68. 3 *fin.* The source behind this group of passages was Hecataeus. The number of stades may have been added from a later mariner's guide.

2. (7. 5. 8 *fin.*) 'After *Apollonia* come Bylliake, and Oricum, and its roadstead *Panormus*, and the *Ceraunian Mountains*, the beginning of the mouth of the *Ionian Gulf* and the *Adriatic*.'

The style is as in 1.

3. (7. 7. 3 *fin.*) 'We shall begin with the coast by the *Ionian Gulf*, that is the coast where the voyage from the *Adriatic* ends. Of this the first parts are those by Epidamnus and Apollonia.'

These are resumptive phrases before Strabo swings off along the Via Egnatia.

4. (7. 7. 5-6) 'If one sets out from the *Chaonians* [mentioned in the previous sentence] towards the rising sun and towards the Ambracian Gulf and the Corinthian Gulf, with the Ausonian Sea on the right and Epirus on the

¹ This is typical of Strabo's method. So W. Aly op. cit. 101. 'Die Küstenbeschreibung, die man überall bei Strabon von der Beschreibung des Binnenlandes streng zu trennen hat, läßt sich gewöhnlich aus verschiedenen Stückchen leidlich zusammensetzen, die durch eingelegte Mitteilungen verschiedenen Ursprungs z. T. weit voneinander getrennt sind.'

left, the voyage from the Ceraunia to the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf is one of 1300 stades. On this stretch is *Panormus*, a great harbour in the midst of the *Ceraunian Mountains*, and afterwards *Onchesmus*, another harbour, faced by the western¹ tips of Corcyraean territory, and again another, Cassiope, from which it is 1,700 stades to Brentesium; and an equal number to Taras from another cape, farther south than Cassiope, which they call *Phalacrum*. After *Onchesmus* Poseidium, and Buthrotum at the mouth of the so-called *Pelodes Limen*, built on a peninsula (with Roman settlers), and the Sybota. The Sybota are islets, a little off Epirus and lying opposite the eastern² tip of Corcyraean territory, Leucimma. There are also other islets not worth mentioning on the coasting voyage. Then Cape Cheimerium and *Glycys Limen*, into which falls the river Acheron, flowing from the Acherusian Lake and receiving several rivers, so as to sweeten the Gulf; the Thyamis flows nearby. Inland of this Gulf is Cichyrus, the former Ephyra, a city of Thesprotians (*πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν*), and inland of the Gulf by Buthrotum Phoenice. Near Cichyrus Buchetium, a small city of Cassopaeans (*πολίχ- νιον Κασσωπαίων*), a little inland from the sea, and Elatria and Pandosia and Batiae in the interior; and their territory extends down to the Gulf. Next after *Glycys Limen* are two other harbours: the closer and smaller, Comarus, making an isthmus of 60 stades to the Ambracian Gulf (and Nicopolis, founded by Augustus Caesar), and the more distant, larger, and better, near the mouth of the Gulf, (distant from Nicopolis some 12 stades). Next the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf. And of this Gulf the mouth is a little more than 4 stades wide and the circumference 300 stades, all well harboured. As you sail in, the right-hand shore is inhabited by Acarnanians, a Greek people, and a temple of Actian Apollo³ is there near the mouth, (a hill crowned by the temple, and below it a plain with a grove and docks where Caesar dedicated the squadron of ten ships . . . said to have been destroyed by fire). And on the left (Nicopolis and) the Cassopaeans, an Epirote people, up to the recess by Ambracia. *Ambracia* lies a little inland of the recess, a foundation of Gorgus, son of Cypselus. Past it flows the Arothus river, affording a voyage of a few stades to the town from the sea, beginning from Mount Tymphe and the Paroraea.'

As we have seen, the first part down to the first mention of *Glycys Limen* is based on a geographical description of the fifth century or earlier, to which have been added some distances and some routes to Italy. Then comes a digression inland, similar to the digression in Thucydides 1. 46. 3-4; and the source of both digressions is probably Hecataeus. The digression in Strabo goes down to the second mention of *Glycys Limen*. Then come the harbours and the approaches to Nicopolis, drawn perhaps from a contemporary source. The passage from the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf down to the Paroraea is based

¹ By our orientation the northern tips; see p. 445 n. 2 above.

² By our orientation the southern tip.

³ Cf. Str. 10. 2. 1, where the temple marks the limit of the Acarnanians.

on a descriptive geography and has the archaic form Arothus; Strabo has made contemporary additions concerning Actium and Nicopolis. The description of the source of the Arothus is typical of Hecataeus, as quoted for instance in Strabo 7. 5. 8 (cf. 6. 2. 4 and 7. 7. 8 *fin.*).

5. (7. 7. 7.) 'After *Ambracia* there is Argos Amphiloichicum, founded by Alcmaeon and his sons.'

Strabo goes on to give the views of Ephorus and Thucydides 2. 68. 3, the latter agreeing with the view of Hecataeus as quoted by Strabo at 6. 2. 4; Strabo evidently had the work of Ephorus at hand and preferred the view given by Ephorus.

As we have attributed the bulk of this description to Hecataeus, it is appropriate to look at the fragments of Hecataeus—except those contained in this description—which deal with our area. References are to F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 1, and the new edition of the commentary.

F 102a. St. Byz. s. Λάκμων· ἄκρα τοῦ Πίνδου ὄρους ἐξ ἧς ὁ Ἰναχὸς καὶ ὁ Αἴας ῥεῖ ποταμός, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος ἐν Ἀ. ἔστι δὲ παρώνυμον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Λάκμος. This fragment shows that Strabo was faithful to the diction of Hecataeus in writing Aeas for Aous and the 'bye-form' Lakmos for Lakmon. Herodotus 9. 93. 1 used Lakmon; Sophocles as quoted in Strabo 6. 2. 4 had Lakmos, probably from Hecataeus (see p. 458 below).

F 103. St. Byz. s. Δεξάροι· ἔθνος Χαόνων, τοῖς Ἐγχελέαις προσεχεῖς. Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπη· ὑπὸ Ἄμυρον ὄρος οἰκουν. The Enchelei appear twice in Strabo 7. 7. 8, a passage with a cluster of names which are mentioned also in the fragments of Hecataeus: Athamanes (F 133), Orestae (F 107), Taulantii (F 99 and F 101), Sesarethii (F 100), and Molossi (F 108). The same passage in Strabo has the Tymphaei and the Paroraei, and we have suggested that Hecataeus is the source of Strabo 7. 7. 6 which mentions the Arothus rising in Mt. Tympe and the Paroraea. The name Amyron is also in F 372 = St. Byz. s. Ἄμυρος (a probable restoration), which mentions the Eordi who also figure in Strabo 7. 7. 8. This remarkable collection of names in common shows that Strabo in this chapter was drawing on Hecataeus.

F 104. St. Byz. s. Βαϊάκη· πόλις τῆς Χαονίας. Ἑκαταῖος. The name is otherwise unknown. As we shall suggest later (p. 471), it may be the same as the *Βυλλιακή* of Strabo 7. 5. 8 *fin.*

F 105. St. Byz. s. Χαονία . . . Ἑκαταῖος Εὐρώπη· ὁ δὲ κόλπος Κιραῖος καὶ τὸ πεδῖον ἐν τῇ Χαονικῇ. This is a verbatim quotation, being made to illustrate the adjectival form *Χαονικός*. The only plain on the coast of Chaonia is that behind Buthrotum; therefore the Ciraeian Gulf refers to the *κόλπος κατὰ Βουθρωτόν* which Strabo mentioned at 7. 7. 5.

F 106. St. Byz. s. 'Ωρικός· πόλις ἐν τῷ 'Ιονίῳ κόλπῳ· 'Εκαταῖος λιμένα καλεῖ 'Ηπείρου τὸν 'Ωρικὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· μετὰ δὲ Βουθρωτὸς πόλις, μετὰ δὲ 'Ωρικός λιμὴν. Strabo 7. 5. 8 *fin.* and 7. 7. 5 mentioned Oricum and Buthrotum both in the neuter form, which was normal in his own day. The verbatim quotation *μετὰ δὲ Βουθρωτὸς πόλις μετὰ δὲ 'Ωρικός λιμὴν* establishes two points: that Hecataeus described this coast from south to north, and that he mentioned no place between Buthrotum and Oricum. We shall resume these points later.

F 90. St. Byz. s. Ἀδρία· πόλις καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν κόλπος Ἀδρίας καὶ ποταμὸς ὁμοίως, ὡς 'Εκαταῖος and F 93. St. Byz. s. Λιβυρνοί· ἔθνος προσεχὲς τῷ ἐνδοτέρῳ μέρει τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ κόλπου. 'Εκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. These fragments show that Hecataeus called the northern part of our Adriatic 'the Adrias' and drew the limit of this 'inner part' at the Liburni. They were the first people of the 'outer part', which Stephanus and we call the Adriatic but which Hecataeus called the 'Ionian Gulf'.¹ Now as Strabo was proceeding from north to south when he reached the Ceraunian Mountains at 7. 5. 8 *fin.*, we should expect him to mark this point as the *exit* from the Adriatic, as he in fact does at 7. 7. 3 *fin.* ὁ ἐκπλους. But instead he describes the Ceraunian Mountains as *the beginning* of the Ionian Gulf, that is to say from the viewpoint of someone proceeding from south to north, as Hecataeus did. The passage in Strabo runs thus: *μετὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίαν Βυλλιακὴ καὶ 'Ωρικὸν καὶ ἐπίνειον αὐτοῦ ὁ Πάνορμος καὶ τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ 'Ιονίου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Ἀδρίου. τὸ μὲν οὖν στόμα κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν ἐστὶ, διαφέρει δὲ ὁ 'Ιόνιος διότι τοῦ πρώτου μέρους τῆς θαλάττης ταύτης ὄνομα τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὁ δ' Ἀδρίας τῆς ἐντὸς μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς συμπάσης· φησὶ δὲ ὁ Θεόπομπος τῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ μὲν ἦκειν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἡγησαμένου τῶν τόπων, ἐξ Ἰσσης τὸ γένος, τὸν Ἀδρίαν δὲ ποταμοῦ ἐπώνυμον γεγονέναι. στάδιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Λιβυρνῶν ἐπὶ τὰ Κεραύνια μικρῷ πλείους ἢ δισχιλίοι. Θεόπομπος δὲ τὸν πάντα ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ πλοῦν ἡμερῶν ἑξ εἴρηκε.* The statement that the Ceraunian Mountains mark the beginning of the Ionian Gulf must be due to Strabo's use of a source who was proceeding from south to north, as Hecataeus did. And the remark at 7. 7. 4 *init.*,

¹ This is not the place to discuss the vexed question of the names 'Ionian Gulf' and 'the Adrias', for which see Jacoby's commentary on Hecataeus, Patsch in *RE s. Adrias* and Beaumont in *JHS* 56 (1936) 203. Herodotus 1. 163, 4. 33, and 5. 9 used 'the Adrias' only for the head of our Adriatic Sea, while Aeschylus *PV* 839 f. and Thucydides 2. 97. 5 used the Ionian Gulf to mean the bulk of our Adriatic Sea; but Scylax, writing in the fourth century, treated the names as synonymous (14 and 27: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ Ἀδρίας ἐστὶ καὶ 'Ιόνιος). These are our best guides to fifth- and fourth-century usage. It is a mistake to argue closely, as Beaumont did, from the fragments which are not verbatim quotations. Stephanus, for example, uses ὁ Ἀδριατικὸς κόλπος, not ὁ Ἀδρίας in *F 93*, and the two passages in Strabo (6. 2. 4 and 7. 5. 8) show that one statement by Hecataeus can be paraphrased in two different ways: 'Hecataeus says the Inachus issues into the Achelous, and the Acas flows to Apollonia to the west' (cf. *Hdt.* 9. 93. 1), and 'Hecataeus says . . . the Inachus flows towards Argos to the south and the Acas flows to the west and the Adrias'.

that 'the first parts of the coast of the Ionian Gulf are by Epidamnus and Apollonia', points to the same conclusion. The division into a first part and an inner part is prior to Theopompus and is found in Hecataeus; and the measurement in Strabo from the Liburni to the Ceraunia accepts the point of division made by Hecataeus in F 93. It is probable then that Strabo was following Hecataeus as his main source here and added a note from Theopompus, who incidentally gave the same explanation of the name Adrias as did Hecataeus.

F 108. St. Byz. s. Δωδώνη . . . Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ· Μολοσσῶν πρὸς μεσημβρίας οἰκέουσι Δωδωναῖοι. Strabo at 7. 7. 11 may have had this passage in mind; for he remarks that Dodona was controlled in early times by the Thesprotians but later by the Molossians.

The fragments of Hecataeus which we have now given are the only ones which concern Epirus. It is remarkable that every single one of them has a connexion with Strabo's account and most of them a close connexion. Taken together they lend a very strong support to our earlier conclusion that Strabo was drawing on Hecataeus as his main source of information. In addition some fragments which do not concern Epirus support the view that Strabo was using Hecataeus for this part of Book 7. In F 145 Hecataeus has the spelling *Λοιδίας* for the river in Macedonia; the usual form, e.g. in Hdt. 7. 127. 1, was *Λυδίας*. Strabo 7, frag. 20 and frag. 22 has *Λουδίας*, which is closer to Hecataeus. In F 146 Hecataeus has the spelling *Χαλάστρη* and Strabo frags. 20, 21, and 24 has *Χαλάστρα*, whereas Herodotus 7. 123 has *Χαλέστρη*. In F 167 the mountain *Αἶμον* is neuter, whereas in most authors it is masculine and so it is in Strabo 7. 5. 1, 7. 6. 1 *init.*, and 7, frag. 36—passages clearly not based on Hecataeus. But the neuter is used in 7. 5. 1 (before he quotes Polybius), in 7. 5. 12, and in the middle of 7. 6. 1 (i.e. from the account of the Black Sea coast *εἴτα τὸ Αἶμον ὄρος μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο θαλάττης διήκον*), and these are passages where Hecataeus was probably being used by Strabo. In F 204, F 207, and F 292 Hecataeus uses the phrase *πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα*, and Strabo describes the journey from the Chaones to the Ambracian Gulf as *πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα*. In F 332 and F 342 Hecataeus mentions small islands such as those which Strabo 7. 7. 5 mentions as being near Sybota. In F 217 we have a quotation from Hecataeus, *Periodos Ges*: *ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλαζία πόλι ποταμὸς Ὀδρύσσης ῥέων διὰ Μυγδόνης πεδίου ἀπὸ δύσιος ἐκ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος ἐς Ῥύνδακον ἐσβάλλει*. This fragment is similar in style and form of expression to those passages in Thucydides 1. 46. 4 and Strabo 7. 7. 5 which concern the river Acheron and the Acherusian Lake (quoted on p. 456 below). In F 129, for instance, an earlier name is given, as it is in Strabo 7. 7. 5 and 7. 7. 8; and in F 292, where the Chorasmians are said to have plain-lands and

mountains, we have a parallel to the remark that the Chaonians, Thesprotians, and Cassopaeans 'have a fertile country'.

The strong connexions between the fragments of Hecataeus and the account of Epirus in Strabo become even more significant when we turn to the fragments of Hellanicus, Ephorus, and Theopompus as authors whom Strabo might have used for a description of the coast of Epirus. The two fragments of Hellanicus which mention Epirus (*FGrH* 4 F 83 and F 84) have no echo in this part of Strabo. Ephorus is quoted, as we have mentioned, in Strabo 7. 7. 7 on Alcmaeon and again in Strabo 7. 7. 10 on Dodona (*FGrH* 70 F 123 b and F 142), but there are no other fragments which deal with Epirus except two referring to Dodona (F 20 and F 206). Theopompus is quoted by Strabo at 7. 5. 9 for the origin of the name 'Ionian Gulf' and for details of Adriatic islands and coasts (*FGrH* 115 F 128), and at 7. 7. 5 for the fourteen Epirote tribes (F 382).¹ The other fragments which deal with Epirus are as follows. F 161 a city Drys and F 229 Craneia, a place in Ambracia's territory—neither being mentioned by Strabo. F 316 some remarks on Nymphaeum, which are not used by Strabo 7. 5. 8 who quotes from Poseidonius. F 319 Tmarus (emended from Talarus) 'mons centum fontibus circa radices Theopompo celebratus' has the mountain's name which Strabo 7. 7. 11 gives as *Τόμαρος ἢ Τμάρος* (E has *Τόμουρος*); but the springs are not mentioned by Strabo, who concerned himself with the word *τόμουροι*, which 'they say' was associated with the mountain. It is therefore more likely that Strabo drew here on Homeric scholars, such as Apollodorus, whom he cites in 7. 7. 10, than on Theopompus. F 206 and F 207, mentioning the capture by Philip of the cities in Cassopaea, gives the names as *Βούκετα*, *Ἐλάτρια*, *Πανδοσία*, and *Βιτία*. Strabo mentioned the cities in Cassopaea in relation to Cichyrus and Glycys Limen, when he was describing the coast, and he gave the names as *Βουχαίτιον*, *Ἐλάτεια*, *Πανδοσία*, and *Βατία*. It is therefore unlikely that Strabo here used Theopompus.

In fact Hecataeus far outranks Hellanicus, Ephorus, and Theopompus on the evidence of the fragments alone as a candidate for use by Strabo in his description of the coast. Equally if we turn to the fourth-century geographer Pseudo-Scylax (hereinafter called Scylax), it is clear that he does not underlie Strabo. Scylax gives the following names: Encheleis, Bouthoe, Epidamnus, Taulantii, river Palamnus, Apollonia, river Aeas, Amantia, and Oricus, each with its own strip of coast, Atintanes inland, Ceraunia, mouth of Ionian Gulf ('Adrias and the Ionian Gulf are the same'), Chaones, Thesproti,

¹ The fragment consists of the *oratio obliqua* only and does not include what follows in *oratio recta*.

Elea (codd. Ἐλεῖδ) at the mouth of the river Acheron, which flows from the Acherusian Lake, Cassopi, Anactorian Gulf, Molossian strip of coast, Ambracia with a fortification and a locked harbour on the coast, and then Argos Amphilochicum. The differences between Scylax and Strabo are remarkable. The most important are that Scylax has an Amantian strip of coast where Strabo has Bylliake; Scylax has the port Elea where Strabo has Glycys Limen; Scylax has a Molossian strip of coast where Strabo has none; Scylax has a fortification and a locked harbour on the coast by Ambracia, where Strabo comments simply on the ἀνάπλους up the river to Ambracia. We may conclude with confidence that the source of Strabo was earlier in date than Scylax himself and than Scylax' source.

The entries of distances in stades which occur in Strabo's account were not in Hecataeus, who measured in terms of a day's sailing (e.g. F 332 τριῶν ἡμερῶν πλοῦς) nor in Theopompus, who is quoted in Strabo 6. 3. 10 and 7. 5. 9 as reckoning the voyage from the Ceraunia to the head of the Adriatic as six days' sailing. Entries by stades are found in Scylax, and also in Polybius and Artemidorus, who reckoned the six days of Theopompus as more than 6,000 stades. It seems therefore that Strabo used Hecataeus, *Periodos Ges*, as his chief source and added to it some distances and details from a later mariner's guide and some points from Ephorus and Theopompus.

This conclusion is in accordance with the theories which have been advanced for Strabo's sources in other parts of the *Geography*. G. Hunrath,¹ for instance, summarizing the results of earlier research said in 1879 that Strabo used a number of authorities in certain books; and he concluded that for the coast of South Italy in Book 6 Strabo used a *Periplous* by Artemidorus (*floruit* c. 100 B.C.) as his chief source and checked it by reference to Polybius and the *Chorographia* of Augustus, that the chief source for historical matter was Timaeus and checks were made from Ephorus and Antiochus, and that usually he cited a subsidiary source by name when he found his main source inadequate or doubtful. Hunrath could not identify the geographical source for Sicily in Book 6, but he thought Ephorus to be the chief historical source. W. Aly, writing in 1957, has identified Artemidorus' *Periplous* as the geographical source for the coast of Africa, and an early Ionian *Periplous* for the coast of the Cimmerian Bosphorus ('ein kostbares Stück eines alten jonischen Periplus, der freilich allerhand Schicksale durchgemacht hat, bis er zu Strabon gelangte'). He believes that Strabo sometimes used two different geographical or *Periplous* accounts at the same time and produced some confusion thereby in the sections on the

¹ *Die Quellen Strabo's im sechsten Buche* (1879, Cassel).

Troad and Aeolis.¹ As regards the Greek mainland Aly holds that Strabo's main historical sources were Homer, Ephorus, Polybius, and Apollodorus; that Strabo did not himself use Herodotus and Thucydides, but quoted from them at second hand; and that he used Aristotle's *Constitutions* a great deal for political matters.²

Before we leave Strabo's use of Hecataeus for the account of the Epirote coast, it is desirable to clear up a difficult point in Strabo 7. 7. 5. As we have already seen, Hecataeus wrote his account of this coast from south to north, but Strabo had to reverse the order to fit his general plan. On some occasions Strabo failed to reverse the order thoroughly, and his failure led to obscurity. The passages in Thucydides 1. 46. 4 and Strabo 7. 7. 5 afford an instructive example (p. 446 above). Now Thucydides, probably using Hecataeus, proceeded from south to north in his descriptions at 1. 24. 1: 'Επιδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον and at 1. 46. 3: ὁρμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς. ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κείται ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ Ἐλαιάτιδι τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἐφύρη. ἐξίησι δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν Ἀχερουσία λίμνη ἐς θάλασσαν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτήν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμὸς ὀρίζων τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ὧν ἐντὸς ἡ ἄκρα ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέριον. Strabo 7. 7. 5, proceeding from north to south in his general description but using Hecataeus as his source for this part, wrote ἔπειτα ἄκρα Χειμέριον καὶ Γλυκὺς Λιμὴν, εἰς ὃν ἐμβάλλει ὁ Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχερουσίας λίμνης καὶ δεχόμενος πλείους ποταμούς, ὥστε καὶ γλυκαίνειν τὸν κόλπον· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Θύαμις πλησίον. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτου μὲν τοῦ κόλπου Κίχυρος, ἡ πρότερον Ἐφύρα, πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ Βουθρωτὸν ἡ Φοινίκη. Strabo keeps his southerly direction until he reaches Glycys Limen; then he turns back northwards to mention first the river Thyamis and second the inland cities (a) Cichyrus, inland of the Gulf by Glycys Limen, and (b) Phoenice, inland of the Gulf by Buthrotum (the last having been mentioned in the proper north-to-south sequence a few sentences before). In this passage Strabo has copied the south-to-north order of his original—Hecataeus.

On continuing his description Strabo apparently resumes the north-to-south order: ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Κιχύρου πολίχνην Βουχαίτιον Κασσωπαίων μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ὄν, καὶ Ἐλάτεια καὶ Πανδοσία καὶ Βατία ἐν μεσογαίᾳ· καθήκει δ' αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα μέχρι τοῦ κόλπου. μετὰ δὲ Γλυκὺν Λιμένα ἐφεξῆς εἰσι δύο ἄλλοι λιμένες, ὁ μὲν ἐγγυτέρω καὶ ἐλάττων Κόμαρος, ἰσθμὸν ποιῶν ἐξήκοντα σταδίων πρὸς τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν κόλπον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος κτίσμα, τὴν Νικόπολιν· ὁ δὲ ἀπωτέρω καὶ μείζων καὶ ἀμείνων πλησίον τοῦ στόματος τοῦ κόλπου, διέχων τῆς

¹ p. 318: 'Strabon mindestens hier, vielleicht auch sonst, mehrere Periplusen zusammengearbeitet hat.'

² pp. 334 f.

Νικοπόλεως ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίου. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου. In this passage we enter the territory of the Cassopaei, who, as we were told earlier in Strabo 7. 7. 5, follow next in order after the Thesproti as one sails from the Ceraunian Mountains to the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf (Χάονες μὲν οὖν καὶ Θεσπρωτοὶ καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐφεξῆς Κασσωπαῖοι). We are in fact given only two harbours on the coast between Glycys Limen and the Ambracian Gulf: Comarus and an unnamed harbour, both being defined in relation to Nicopolis by distance in stades and being compared with one another in terms of accessibility and shelter; these details are due to a late source, which was interested in Nicopolis, or even to Strabo himself, if he visited Nicopolis on his voyage to Rome. Even Scylax has no port between Elea at the mouth of the Acheron and the Ambracian or, as he calls it, the Anactorian Gulf. On the other hand the opening sentences, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Κιχύρου κτλ., are in the style of Hecataeus and resemble the previous sentences, which were based on Hecataeus. Moreover, they contain an obscurity which is evidently due to Strabo's clumsiness in inverting the south-to-north order of Hecataeus;¹ for the meaning of the phrase 'their² territory extends down to the Gulf' (καθήκει δ' αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα μέχρι τοῦ κόλπου) is not clear. To which gulf does Strabo refer? He has mentioned three gulfs in this chapter: (1) the gulf by Buthrotum, (2) the gulf by the Glycys Limen, and (3) the Ambracian gulf. The coast of the first belonged to the Chaones; that of the second to the Thesproti, with Cichyrus as their chief city inland; and that of the third to the Cassopaei as we learn in 7. 7. 6: οἰκοῦσι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀκαρνᾶνες . . . ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἡ Νικόπολις καὶ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν οἱ Κασσωπαῖοι μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀμβρακίαν. It is therefore certain that the territory of the Cassopaei extended down to the Gulf of Ambracia, as well as perhaps to the west coast of the Nicopolis peninsula. Strabo has caused confusion by inserting information about the harbours for Nicopolis into an excerpt from Hecataeus, and he has made matters worse by keeping within the excerpt the south-to-north order of Hecataeus, just as he did in the preceding sentences about Cichyrus and Phoenice. I take it, then, that Hecataeus gave in his south-to-north order the Arothus river; Ambracia; the Cassopaei, with Buchetium a little inland of the sea, and Elatria,³ Pandosia and Batiae in the interior; the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf; the Glycys Limen with Thesprotis and Ephyra inland; the Acheron river and the Acherusian Lake; Cape Cheimerium; the

¹ Strabo therefore uses ἐγγὺς and πλησίον merely as a loose term; for the Thyamis is some 30 miles distant from the Glycys Limen.

² Their, i.e. of the Cassopaeans; for αὐτῶν resumes not the cities but Κασσωπαίων.

³ The town was known both as 'Elateia' and 'Elatria' according to St. Byz. s. 'Ελάτεια.

river Thyamis; the Ciraeon Gulf (F 105), with Phoenice and the Chaonian plain inland; Buthrotus; Oricus, and so on. It should be noted incidentally that the difference between the towns 'in the interior' and Buchetium 'a little inland of the sea' (μικρόν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ὄν) is probably that Buchetium, like Ambracia, could be reached by boat.

(c) *The Description of the Interior of Epirus.*

We have already seen that Hecataeus described at least part of the interior of Epirus in terms of rivers and mountains and that Strabo took such points from Hecataeus for his own account. For example, Hecataeus stated that Mt. Lacmus was a peak in the Pindus range and from it flowed the rivers Inachus and Aeas (F 102 a), the former joining the Achelous (F 102 c = Strabo 6. 2. 4) and the latter flowing westwards towards Apollonia (ibid.). The extent of Hecataeus' work on the interior of Epirus can be traced. It is very likely that Hecataeus mentioned the sources of the rivers Lycormas (later Euenus) and Arothus (later Arachthus), if, as we suppose, Strabo drew on Hecataeus at 7. 7. 6 and 7. 7. 8 *fin.* He also described the rivers Acheron and Thyamis, if he was used by Thucydides at 1. 46. 4 and by Strabo at 7. 7. 5. References to mountains also occur: Pindus and Lacmus (F 102 a), Amyron (F 103), and also, if we are correct in ascribing some passages of Strabo to Hecataeus, Tymphe (7. 7. 6), Pteleon (7. frag. 6 *fin.*), and the Ceraunia (7. 7. 5). Hecataeus gave the names of a number of tribes in Epirus and South Illyria: Dexari, Chaones, Encheleae (F 103), Taulantii (F 99 and F 101), Sesarethii (F 100), Orestae (F 107), Perraei (F 137), Molossi (F 108), Dodonaei (F 108), Athamanes (F 133), Eordi (F 372), Amphilochoi (F 102 c), and also, if we are correct in ascribing some passages of Strabo to Hecataeus, Thesproti, Cassopaei, Tymphaei from Tymphe (7. 7. 6), Paroraei from Paroraea (7. 7. 6), and Talaes and Aethices, in a passage which we have not yet discussed (9. 5. 12). In any case sufficient fragments of Hecataeus survive to show that he made a thorough survey of rivers, mountains, and tribes in describing the hinterland of Epirus and South Illyria.

It is probable that this description by Hecataeus was used by later authors, who rarely had any first-hand knowledge of this remote and difficult area of country. Two examples may illustrate such use. Sophocles is quoted in Strabo 6. 2. 4 for the course of the river Inachus: ῥεῖ γὰρ ἀπ' ἄκρας Πίνδου (φησὶν ὁ Σοφοκλῆς) Λάκμου τ' ἀπὸ Περραιβῶν εἰς Ἀμφιλόχους καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας, μίσγει δὲ ὕδασι τοῖς Ἀχελῷον. Sophocles must have gained this knowledge from some geographical description, and the fragments of Hecataeus leave little room for doubt that

Sophocles drew on Hecataeus; for Hecataeus F 102 a mentions Lacmus and Pindus as the source of the Inachus (St. Byz. s. *Λάκμων· ἄκρα τοῦ Πίνδου ὄρους ἐξ ἧς ὁ Ἰναχὸς . . . ῥεῖ ποταμός, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος ἐν ἀ. ἔστι δὲ παρώνυμον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Λάκμος*), F 137 mentions the Perraebi, and F 102 c (= Strabo 6. 2. 4) mentions the course of the Inachus (*βελτίων δὲ Ἐκαταῖος ὃς φησι τὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφιλόχοις Ἰναχὸν ἐκ τοῦ Λάκμου ῥέοντα . . . εἰς τὸν Ἀχελῶνα ἐκβάλλειν*). When Thucydides (2. 102. 2) described the course of the Achelous (*ὁ γὰρ Ἀχελῶος ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ Πίνδου ὄρους διὰ Δολοπίας καὶ Ἀγραιῶν καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀκαρνανικοῦ πεδίου . . . ἐς θάλασσαν δ' ἐξίει παρ' Οἰνιάδας*), it is likely that he obtained his information from Hecataeus. We may compare Strabo 10. 2. 1:

The river Achelous flowing from Pindus southwards through the Agraci, an Aetolian tribe, and the Amphiloichi—the Acarnanians holding the western side of the river up to the Ambracian Gulf by the Amphiloichi and the temple of Actian Apollo, and the Aetolians the eastern side up to Ozolian Locris, Parnassus and the Oetaeans. Inland of the Acarnanians in the interior there are in the northern areas the Amphilochians, Dolopes and Pindus; inland of the Aetolians come Perraebi, Athamanes and a part of the Aenianes who hold Oeta . . . and the Achelous was previously called the Thoas.

It looks as if Thucydides and Strabo go back to a common source, and this is a further reason for supposing that they were drawing on Hecataeus for this description.

With these points in mind we can now summarize Strabo's description of the interior. He begins by pointing out that the cities and tribes of Epirus had long ago disappeared under Roman rule (7. 7. 3: *ἐρήμου τῆς πλείστης χώρας γεγενημένης*—cf. 7. 7. 6; 7. 7. 9). The river-system comprises the Lycormas (later Euenus); the Thoas (later Achelous), into which flows the Inachus; the Arothus (later Arachthus); the Acheron into which flow several rivers; the Thyamis; the Aeas (later Aous); the Apsus (7. 5. 8); the Erigon with many tributaries from the Illyrian mountains (7. 7. 8 *fin.* and frag. 20); the Haliacmon (7, frag. 12); and the Pencus (7. 7. 9) with its tributaries, the Ion and the Titaresius (later Europus) (7, frags. 14, 15, and 16). The mountain ranges are, from north to south, 'the Illyrian mountains' (7. 5. 1; 7. 5. 12; 7. 7. 1; 7. 7. 4; 7. 7. 8), that is the main Balkan chain down to the line of the Via Egnatia (7. 7. 4); the Boïon (written Poïon at 7. 7. 9; Boïon at 7, frag. 6) beginning in Orestis and extending down to Mt. Corax in Aetolia and Mt. Parnassus—that is the Pindus range as we now call it—but possessing many separate names (*ἐνὶ μὲν δὴ κοινῷ ὀνόματι καλεῖται Βοῖον τὸ ὄρος, κατὰ μέρη δὲ πολυώνυμόν ἐστι*); and three of its parts were Mt. Pindus in which rose the Achelous

(10. 2. 1) and the Peneus (7. 7. 9; 7, frags. 14 and 15; 9. 5. 12), Mt. Lacmus from which rose the Inachus (6. 2. 4; 7. 5. 8) and the Aeas, later Aous (6. 2. 4; 7. 5. 8) and Mt. Tymphe whence rose the Arothus, later Arachthus (7. 7. 6).

The various tribes are fitted by Strabo into this system of rivers and mountains. The broad divisions are the Illyrian tribes (τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ ἔθνη, e.g. 7. 5. 1), the Epirote tribes (τὰ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν ἔθνη or τὰ Ἑπειρωτικά ἔθνη, 7. 5. 1; 7. 7. 1; 7. 7. 4; 7. 7. 8; 7, frags. 12 and 47), and the Macedonian tribes (τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔθνη, e.g. 7. 5. 1). The line of demarcation between the Illyrian tribes and the Epirote tribes is given (7. 7. 4) as the line of the Via Egnatia (by Lake Ochrid) with some penetration of Illyrians to the south, namely the Bylliones, Taulantii, Parthini, and Brygi from inland of Epidamnus and Apollonia down to the Ceraunian Mountains (7. 7. 7). The line of demarcation between the Epirote tribes and the Greeks in the south was at the Ambracian Gulf, the Amphilochoi being the most southerly Epirotes (7. 8. 1; cf. 7. 7. 6). The line of demarcation between the Epirote tribes and the Macedonian tribes was at the Haliacmon and the Erigon (7, frag. 12: Ἀλιάκμων δὲ τὴν ἄνω <Μακεδονίαν ὀρίζει> καὶ ἔτι τοὺς Ἑπειρώτας καὶ τοὺς Παίονας καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Ἐρίγων καὶ ὁ Ἀξίως καὶ ἕτεροι, cf. frag. 12 a). And one point of demarcation between the Epirote tribes and the Thessalians was at the sources of the Peneus (7. 7. 9). In fact, too, some of the tribes who were named Epirote by Strabo come up or close to these lines of demarcation. Thus we have in the north the Chaones (7. 7. 5); in the north-east the Orestae (7. 7. 8; 9. 5. 11), the Pelagones (9. 5. 11), and the Elimiotae (9. 5. 11), of whom the first two extended up to the river Erigon which flowed through their territory (7, frag. 20 if Pelagonias is read; 7. 7. 8 *fin.*). In the east the Perraei, Aethices, Tymphaei, and Talaes were near the sources of the Peneus (7. 7. 9; 7, frag. 15 a; 9. 5. 12). And in the south the Athamanes, Amphilochoi, and Cassopaei came to the borders of Aetolia and Acarnania (7. 7. 6; 7. 7. 8; and 7. 7. 1 *fin.*).

This allocation by territory of the Epirote tribes was not made in Roman times; for some of the Epirote tribes were annexed to Macedonia by Aemilius Paullus (Strabo 7, frag. 47), then the remnants were incorporated in Nicopolis (7. 7. 6), and finally the tribes were more or less extinct in Strabo's own day (7. 7. 3). Nor was it made when, as Strabo 9. 5. 11 says, 'the reputation and the predominance of the Thessalians and Macedonians caused their nearest neighbours among the Epirote peoples to become part of the Thessalians or Macedonians, just as the Athamanes, Aethices and Talaes became part of Thessaly and the Orestae, Pelagones, and Elimiotae became part of Macedon'. Again in Strabo 7. 7. 8 'they all ended in the

Macedonian empire except a few inland of the Ionian Gulf, and the areas round Lynceus, Pelagonia, Orestias and Elimia were called Upper Macedonia'. In fact the Lyncestae and the Elimiotae were already included in Macedonia by Thucydides (2. 99. 2 and 6: τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἑλιμιῶται καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπάνωθεν... τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν Μακεδονία καλεῖται; cf. 4. 83. 1: Λυγκηστῶν Μακεδόνων where the Lyncestae are 'Macedonians'). Since the Elimiotae are expressly described by Strabo as an Epirote tribe, his description probably derived from an author who wrote before Thucydides. If so, the source is probably Hecataeus. In that case he was responsible not only, as we have seen, for the river-system and the mountain-system of Epirus but also for defining the habitat of each of the tribes of Epirus, as they are transmitted to us by Strabo.

This conclusion is supported by two fragments of Hecataeus: F 103. St. Byz. s. Δεξάροι· ἔθνος Χαόνων, τοῖς Ἑγχελέαις προσεχεῖς. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. ὑπὸ Ἄμυρον οἰκοῦν (cf. F 372), and F 108. St. Byz. s. Δωδώνη... Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ· Μολοσσῶν πρὸς μεσημβρίας οἰκέουσι Δωδωναῖοι (compare also F 93. St. Byz. s. Λιβυρνοί· ἔθνος προσεχὲς τῷ ἐνδοτέρῳ μέρει τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ κόλπου· Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ). These fragments show beyond dispute that Hecataeus defined the habitat of tribes in relation to physical features and their neighbours.

There is one problem still outstanding, namely the origin of the term 'the Epirote tribes'. It seems probable that no Greek writer of the fifth century applied the name 'Epirotae' to the peoples of the area which Strabo has defined and that the peoples did not so name themselves until the fourth century was well advanced. The term 'the Epirotes' was used by Theopompus in the second part of the fourth century; for Strabo 7. 7. 5 preserves a verbatim quotation, τῶν μὲν οὖν Ἑπειρωτῶν ἔθνη φησὶν εἶναι Θεόπομπος τετταρεσκαίδεκα. And the expression τὰ Ἑπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη figures in a verbatim quotation of Ephorus in Strabo 8. 1. 3: ταύτην [τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν] συνάπτειν πρώτην τοῖς Ἑπειρωτικοῖς ἔθνεσιν. As Strabo has a preference for Ephorus rather than Theopompus, I think that Strabo took the term τὰ Ἑπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη from Ephorus. On the other hand the distinction between the group which was called 'the Epirote tribes' by Ephorus and the Macedonians and the Illyrians was certainly made well before the time of Ephorus. We have in fact attributed the distinction to Hecataeus. What name or names did he use for the group which was later styled 'Epirote'? He certainly spoke of constituent tribes in the larger group of Chaones. He probably did so in the case of the Thesproti. But what of the others? A named fragment and a remark in a passage of Strabo, which we have ascribed to Hecataeus because it deals with Pindus, come to our aid: F 107. St. Byz. s. Ὁρέσται·

Μολοσσικὸν ἔθνος· Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ, and Strabo 9. 5. 12: Τάλαρες, Μολοττικὸν φύλον τῶν περὶ τὸν Τόμαρον ἀπόσπασμα. These two 'Molosian tribes' are outliers of the central group of the peoples with whom we are dealing; for the first is near Macedonia (cf. Str. 7. 7. 8) and the second near Thessaly. It is clear that Hecataeus defined this group of tribes and named its members τὰ Μολοσσικὰ ἔθνη or τὰ τῶν Μολοσσῶν ἔθνη as contrasted with τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ ἔθνη and τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔθνη. Individually they might be defined as Ὀρέσται Μολοσσοί, just as the Lyncestae are Λυγκησταὶ Μακεδόνες in Th. 4. 83. 1, and the Imphees are Ἰμφεες Περραιβοί in Hecataeus F 137. Ephorus later renamed Hecataeus' three groups of tribes τὰ Ἑπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη and Strabo adopted his terminology. But at one point Strabo slipped: for although he called the Talares 'Epirotes' in the Ephorean manner at 9. 5. 11, he described them as a Μολοττικὸν φύλον in the next chapter, which shows that he was then drawing directly on Hecataeus and forgot to make the changes. Whether the central group, called Molossian by Hecataeus, coincided at all points with the group which Ephorus called Epirote will be discussed later; but the usage by Hecataeus sheds a new light on many points, including the coinage 'of the Molossoi' and the constitution of 'the Molossoi', which included many tribes in its membership (see p. 531 below).

As Hecataeus F 107 is of some importance to my view, it is necessary to combat the view of F. Jacoby, in his commentary, that these Orestae should be placed between Ambracia and Argos Amphilochicum. The passage runs thus: St. Byz. s. Ὀρέσται· Μολοσσικὸν ἔθνος· Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. Θεαγένης ἐν Μακεδονικοῖς φησιν ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἀφείθη τῆς μανίας Ὀρέστης, φεύγων διὰ τὴν αἰδῶ μετὰ τῆς Ἑρμιόνης εἰς ταύτην ἦλθε τὴν γῆν καὶ παῖδα ἔσχεν Ὀρέστην οὗ ἄρξαντος ἐκλήθησαν Ὀρέσται. Theagenes certainly wrote here of the Orestae of Macedonia, and it is of these Orestae that Orestes was generally held to have been a founder (e.g. Strabo 7. 7. 8: 'Orestes is said once to have held Orestias, left the country with his name, and founded Argos Oresticum'), and Stephanus clearly believed that Hecataeus referred to the same Orestae. Jacoby stands alone. He probably had two reasons for adopting the view he did. First, he may have thought that his own location of the Orestae near Ambracia would bring them close to Molossis; but wrongly, since Hecataeus F 108 placed the Molossi north of the Dodonaei. Second, he relied on an emendation by Casaubon as *sicher*, namely Ὀρέσται in place of the word Ὀρεῖται, which is read by all codices in GGM 1 p. 239, Dionysius Calliphontis filius, line 45:

εἴτα μετὰ ταύτην [Ἀμβρακίαν] εἰς Ὀρεῖται λεγόμενοι.
εἴτ' Ἀμφιλοχία δ' Ἀργος ἐνταῦθ' ἐστὶ τὸ
Ἀμφιλοχικόν.

But the name 'Ορεῖται is very acceptable, indeed impeccable, because there are two cognate names in this area: the Παρωραῖοι inland of Ambracia in Strabo 7. 7. 8 (cf. 7. 7. 6) and the Ὑπωρεάται of Ὑπώρειαι, a place which is mentioned after Ambracia, Argos and Acripus and before some places of northern Acarnania and northern Aetolia in a list of Theorodokoi.¹

The wisdom of Strabo in choosing Hecataeus as his chief geographical source for Epirus needs no emphasizing. Some later writers were less well informed; Herodotus, for example, brought the Aous into the sea beside Oricum (9. 93. 1: παρ' Ὠρικὸν λιμένα), and Ephorus (in Strabo. 7. 7. 7) brought the Inachus into the Ambracian Gulf. The work of Hecataeus was built on the great fund of knowledge which had accumulated during two centuries and more of colonizing activity; and it was completed c. 510–500 B.C., when the Greek states still looked outward and were not yet locked in war with one another. The results of our inquiry into Hecataeus' description of Epirus are summarized on Map 14 (see overleaf), which shows the distribution of the tribes in his time.

(d) *The Historical Details in Strabo's Description.*

Strabo makes a number of interesting remarks, which are scattered but not inconsequent. At 7. 7. 8, when he is speaking of the many 'Epirote tribes', he says that they each had their own royal dynasties in early times (ταῦτα πρότερον μὲν καταδυναστεύετο ἕκαστα). He gives as examples the Encheleae and their rulers the descendants of Cadmus and Harmonia; the Lyncestae and their rulers Arrabaeus of Bacchiad descent and his heirs; and the Molossi and their rulers Pyrrhus, the grandson of Achilles, and his heirs. The rest of the tribes, he adds, were ruled by dynasties of native origin. Again at 7. 7. 9 in early times (τότε μὲν οὖν resuming πρότερον μὲν οὖν) all Epirus and Illyria were populous (εὐάνδρει . . . πᾶσα), although the country was rugged and mountainous. In early times too (πρότερον μὲν οὖν, 7. 7. 3 init.), although the tribes were many, small, and undistinguished (ἄδοξα), yet it was not altogether difficult to determine their boundaries, because the country was populous (διὰ τὴν εὐανδρίαν) and because they each had their own king (διὰ . . . τὸ βασιλεύεσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς); but now (Strabo continues) it is not worth while to define their previous habitat. Of the tribes (7. 7. 5) the Chaones and the Molossi are the most distinguished (ἐνδοξότατα), because they ruled at one time (ποτε) over the whole of 'Epirotis', first the Chaones and later the Molossi. The Molossi grew to greater power both because of the relationship

¹ IG ii. 2765 and iv². 95, discussed by L. Robert in *Hellenica* i (1940) 106 without reference to the Ὑπωρεῖται and Παρωραῖοι.



MAP 14. South Illyria and Epirus in the time of Hecataeus

of their kings (being of the Aeacidae) and because the ancient and famous oracle of Dodona was 'by them' (*παρὰ τούτοις*).¹ Then (7. 7. 8, *εἶτα* answering *πρότερον μὲν*), because one tribe or another was always gaining the mastery, they all ended in the Macedonian empire (*ἐπικρατούντων αἰεὶ τινῶν κατέστρεψεν ἅπαντα εἰς τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν*), except a few inland of the Ionian Gulf.

By the expression *πρότερον μὲν* Strabo is clearly referring to the period which was described by Hecataeus, his main source. We learn therefore that kingship was general in all these tribes (it was dropped by some later, cf. Th. 2. 80. 5-6) and that the claims of the royal houses to descent from Cadmus in the case of the Encheleae, and from the grandson of Achilles in the case of the Molossi, were already accepted in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. The inclusion of Alcon of Molossia among the suitors of Agariste c. 580 B.C. in the history of Herodotus indicates that Alcon was of Greek blood; he was no doubt a member of the Molossian royal house and his Greekness lay in his descent from Pyrrhus. The tribes in this area were regarded by Hecataeus neither as Illyrians nor as Macedonians nor as Greeks, but in some cases at any rate as 'Molossian tribes'. The belt of country which they occupied is described by Strabo at 7. 5. 1 and 7. 7. 1 as *ἡ συνεχὴς βάρβαρος* or *ἡ προσεχὴς βάρβαρος μέχρι τῶν ὄρων*. It lies between Hellas and the Illyrian mountains (7. 5. 1: *μέχρι τῆς ὀρευνῆς*; and 7. 7. 1: *μέχρι τῶν ὄρων*), and its eastern flank is occupied by the Paeonians and the Macedonians. This too appears to be a definition made by Hecataeus.²

The tribes in this barbarian area were divided by Hecataeus, as we have seen, into various groups. The 'Molossian tribes' extended at least from the Molossians in the south to the Talaes in the east and to the Orestae in the north. The Chaones formed a separate group of constituent tribes from the Thyamis river in the south to the Dexari in the north. The Thresproti were the group of tribes south of the Molossian and Chaonian tribes to the Ambraciote Gulf. Further to the north a group of tribes—particularly Lyncestae, Pelagones, and Elimiotae—was associated by Hecataeus with the Orestae and the general group of 'Molossian tribes' rather than with the Macedonians to whom they were later annexed (Str. 7. 7. 8 and 9. 5. 11). In the time of Hecataeus the Illyrians were pressing upon the peoples of this northern group. The passage in Strabo (7. 7. 8) which describes this pressure is clearly taken from Hecataeus. It refers to the period before

¹ This preposition fits the sense of Hecataeus F 108, that the Dodonaeans lived to the south of the Molossians.

² The naming of this area as 'barbarian' at 7. 7. 1 leads straight on to the citation of Hecataeus by name and to a consideration of the earlier occupation of the Peloponnese by 'barbarians'.

the northern group was annexed to Macedonia; it contains many names which appear in the fragments of Hecataeus; and it enumerates the tribes west of the Balkan range in the south-to-north order, which is that of Hecataeus.

As the text is disputed at one point, I summarize the argument of Strabo 7. 7. 8 as follows. The Epirotes are the Amphilochians and those inland bordering on the Illyrian mountains. They are enumerated in the groups which we have mentioned—the Molossian group including the Orestae, and the northern group consisting of Lyncestae, Deuriopus, Pelagonia, Tripolitis, Eordi, Elimia, and Eratyra. Some are near the Macedonians, others are near the Ionian Gulf. Illyrian tribes, namely those on the south part of the mountainous country and those inland of the Ionian Gulf, were interspersed among them (*ἀναμέμικται*). The first examples he gives are those inland of the Ionian Gulf—Bylliones, Taulantii, Parthini, and Brygi. The next, which should concern the south part of the mountainous country, is in the disputed text. This reads as follows in the manuscript: *πλησίον δέ που καὶ τὰ ἀργυρεῖα τὰ ἐν Δαμαστίῳ* (a sentence which is probably added by Strabo himself, as the mines 'at Damastium' were not known until long after the time of Hecataeus). *Περεσάδυες τε συνεστήσαντο τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ Ἐγγελέους καὶ Σεσαρηθίους καλοῦσι*. The Peresadyes are evidently Illyrians; the name is not known elsewhere, but the royal name Berisades in Thrace is very close to it. These Peresadyes 'joined the dynasty' (*συνεστήσαντο τὴν δυναστείαν*; cf. LSJ⁹ *συνίστημι*, B. III), which should be a Greek or at least a non-Illyrian dynasty, as the Illyrians are intruders. What 'dynasty' is it? The answer comes in the next sentence but one: *ταῦτα δὲ πρότερον μὲν καταδυναστεύετο ἕκαστα, ὧν ἐν τοῖς Ἐγγελέοις οἱ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας ἀπόγονοι ἦρχον*. The meaning of the text about the Peresadyes is then that they being Illyrian chiefs joined the ruling house of the Enchelei which was Greek. The Peresadyes no doubt brought their followers with them; the Enchelei themselves had a Greek name but were probably Illyricized.¹ If this is the meaning, we should read *Περεσάδυες τε συνεστήσαντο τὴν δυναστείαν τῶν Ἐγγελέων* or *ἐν τοῖς Ἐγγελέοις*. On the other hand, if the Peresadyes are an Illyrian tribe which joined with the Enchelei in supporting the dynasty of the descendants of Cadmus, the Enchelei were considered to be non-Illyrian. In this case we may read *καὶ Ἐγγελέοις* after *τὴν δυναστείαν*. Who are called Sesarethii? The fragments of Hecataeus

¹ Herodotus 9. 43. 2, *ἐς Ἰλλυρίους τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγγελέων στρατόν*, evidently thought of them as Illyrians (so too Paus. 9. 5. 3). They are so regarded by modern scholars; see R. Vulpe in *BUST* 1957, 2. 180. The name 'eel-men' has reference to the eel-breeding lakes of Ochrid and Prespa; there were Enchelei in the vicinity of Lake Copais in Boeotia. Hdt. 5. 61 dates the beginning of the dynasty to one generation after the 'Seven against Thebes'; the people called Enchelei probably spoke a form of Greek at that time.

mention the Encheleae and the Sesarethii, and Σεσάρηθος· πόλις Ταυλαντίων (F 99, 100, and 103). The Encheleae then cannot be the Sesarethii. The Percsadyes, we conclude, were chiefs of a Taulantian tribe from Sesarethus and were called also Sesarethii. I should then punctuate the text as follows: . . . Βρυῖγοι· πλησίον δέ που καὶ τὰ ἀργυρεῖα τὰ ἐν Δαμαστίῳ. Περσεσάδυνες τε συνεστήσαντο τὴν δυναστείαν τῶν Ἐγγελέων (καὶ Σεσαρηθίους καλοῦσι).¹ 'The Brygi; and somewhere nearby the mines of Damastium. And the Peresadyes joined the dynasty of the Enchelei (the Peresadyes were also called Sesarethii).'²

The fragments of Hecataeus give some indication of the position of these Illyrian tribes. The Enchelei³ came next to the Dexari, a Chaonian tribe which lived below Mount Amyron (F 103); if Mount Amyron is Mount Tomor, the Enchelei were probably to the north of Berat. The Sesarethii, one of the Taulantian tribes (F 99, where *polis* may mean a tribal state rather than an urban centre), lived to the south of the Chelidonii (F 100); and the Abri, a tribe of the Taulantii, lived by the Adriatic next to the Chelidonii (F 101). There is no doubt that Hecataeus had fairly full knowledge of this area. Some of it appears in Strabo's description. The Lyncestae are placed by Strabo 'near' the Peresadyes and Enchelei (Str. 7. 7. 8). As Lyncus included the plain of Bitolj (Monastir) but probably did not extend to Lake Ochrid, the 'eel-men' may have held the area of Lake Ochrid and the district north of Mount Tomor. In that case the Dexari, belonging to the Chaones, came up to Berat; their name seems to have survived in Dasaretis, the later name of this district. Polybius (5. 108. 8), who gave the West Greek ethnic ending to the Enchelei and called them 'Enchelanes', placed them near Lake Ochrid. The coast and the coastal plain were occupied by the Illyrian Bylliones (near Apollonia) and Taulantii—a group of constituent tribes evidently (F 100)—who extended

¹ Strabo has a copulative τε in the same chapter ('Ὀρέσται Παρωραῖοι τε καὶ Ἰτιντᾶνες) and a generalizing plural subject with καλέω in the same chapter (τὴν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίαν ἐκάλουν).

² I find little sense in the palaeographically neat emendation of Meineke to read τὰ ἐν Δαμαστίῳ, περὶ δὲ Δυσταί συνεστήσαντο τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ Ἐγγελεῖσι οὓς καὶ Σεσαρηθίους καλοῦσι. The subordination in περὶ δὲ, etc., to the mines loses the thread of the argument about the Illyrian ἀνάμεις, the Dyestae are unknown, and the giving of the name Sesarethii to the Enchelei runs counter to the fragments of Hecataeus. The best discussion of these problems is in J. M. F. May, *The Coinage of Damastion* (Oxford, 1939) 20 f.; he accepts the emendation περὶ δὲ Δυσταί but reads with Gaebler καὶ Ἐγγελεῖσι οὓς καὶ Σεσαρηθίους καλοῦσι, which makes 'the dynasty' even more obscure.

³ The form of the name which is used both by Hecataeus (F 103) and by Herodotus (5. 61. 2 and 9. 43. 2), who probably used Hecataeus, is Ἐγγελεῖσι. An epigram in *Anth. Pal.* 7. p. 697 made Cadmus the founder of Lychnidus (the ancient name of Lake Ochrid was Lake Lychnidus); the tombs of Cadmus and Harmonia were said by Eratosthenes (St. Byz. 3. Δυρράχιον) to lie further north in the area round the Drilon: ποταμοὶ δὲ Δρύλων καὶ Λάος περὶ οὓς οἱ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας τάφοι δείκνυνται (Berkel emends Λάος to Λαως, but this emendation is unsound; the Aous is much too far south).

to somewhere north of Epidamnus. The Parthini and the Brygi (Str. 7. 7. 8) were further inland, the former inland or north of the Bylliones and the latter inland and north of the Taulantii (App. B.C. 2. 39).¹ The Sesarethii were probably east of the Brygi and adjacent on one hand to the Enchelei² and on the other to the Chelidonii, west of whom lay the Abri, a Taulantian tribe on the coast. The Illyrian ἀνάμξις seems to have followed the same lines of movement as the intrusion since medieval times, that is over the coastal plains and ranges, while the non-Illyrian peoples were pushed back into the mountainous interior.

(e) *Summary of Conclusions.*

Just as Strabo used 'an early Ionian *Periplus*' for the Cimmerian Bosphorus, so he used a similar coasting description—probably that of Hecataeus—for the east coast of the Balkans (from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Black Sea), and he definitely used Hecataeus, *Periodos Ges*, for the description of the Epirus coast. Moreover, Strabo derived from Hecataeus his account of the river-system and mountain-system of the hinterland and also his account of the tribes who lived in that area—an account covering their geographical position, names and institutions. Strabo's extracts from Hecataeus were not kept in consecutive order, as were the extracts for the Black Sea stretch of coast, but they were heavily interspersed with other information—derived from Ephorus, Theopompus, Poseidonius, etc., and from Strabo's own knowledge. In particular Strabo added to the coasting description a number of details from a later mariner's guide, perhaps that of Artemidorus. The result is a rather discursive narrative by our standards, and it is difficult to separate the grain from the chaff. It is therefore convenient to put down a summary, showing the sources on which Strabo drew.

7. 5. 1. The contrast between Greeks, Macedonians, Epirotes, and Illyrians here and later was taken from Ephorus; but it was originally made by Hecataeus, who called a group of tribes 'Molossian tribes'.

7. 5. 8. The beginning and the end of the chapter are from Hecataeus, except for the distances in stades. In the middle the note on Nymphaeum comes from Poseidonius and not from Theopompus (*FGrH*

¹ The Brygi had branches on both sides of the Balkan range (Str. 7. 7. 8 *fm.*), just as the Molossians, in the wider sense used by Hecataeus, had member-tribes on both sides of the Pindus range; there were sections of the Talaes on both sides.

² Scymnus 436 places 'the Enchelei over whom Cadmus once ruled' inland of the Brygi; this entry comes between mentions of Epidamnus and Apollonia. Another group of writers later placed the Enchelei on the coast near Kotor (e.g. Scylax 24–25 and *GGM* 2 p. 127 = Dionysius 390 f.); but this is either later invention or arises from another tribe of the same name.

115 F 316 and F 320),¹ who said the fire did not affect the cold water, whereas Strabo refers to hot water.

7. 5. 9. A note by Strabo and an extract from Theopompus, whose follies are denounced; then a note of Polybius' views on Eratosthenes.

7. 7. 3. An historical point deriving from Hecataeus probably through Ephorus, and a note by Strabo, quoting Polybius.

7. 7. 4. The first sentence from Hecataeus (the phrase 'the first parts' of the coast by the Ionian Gulf suggests his south-to-north direction). A note on the Via Egnatia from Polybius 34. 12. 1 (ed. Hultsch). A general picture of the districts and peoples of the Balkan area, derived probably from Ephorus using Hecataeus; this picture was originally earlier than the time of Philip II, who extended Macedonia from the Strymon to the Nestus according to *τινές*, who probably include Theopompus (cf. 7, frags. 33 and 35).

7. 7. 5. Only the first nine words cite Theopompus. Then an historical note deriving from Hecataeus probably through Ephorus. Then Hecataeus' geographical description with later details added probably from Artemidorus and from Strabo's own knowledge.

7. 7. 6. Details of the Ambracian Gulf perhaps from Artemidorus (the same figures but a different approach are in Polybius 4. 63. 6); notes by Strabo on Nicopolis; then an excerpt from Hecataeus; and finally notes on Ambracia and Nicopolis by Strabo.

7. 7. 7. An excerpt from Ephorus on Argos Amphiloichicum, which probably included the quotation from Thucydides.

7. 7. 8-9. An account of tribes and institutions, derived ultimately from Hecataeus probably through Ephorus, and some additions by Strabo.

7. 7. 10-12 on Dodona has been omitted from this discussion.²

7, frag. 6. Derived from Hecataeus, with a note of an exaggeration by Theopompus and others (cf. 7. 5. 9).

7, frag. 12. Probably from Hecataeus.

3. SIXTH-CENTURY EPIRUS IN THE ACCOUNT OF STRABO, AND IN VIEW OF OTHER EVIDENCE

(a) *The Coastal Area.*

The colonization of Epidamnus in 626 or 625 B.C. was prompted mainly by the importance of the site for navigation, a point which had already attracted the piratical Liburni. Its value for those who depend on sail is shown by a Portulan of the Frankish period which describes

¹ See p. 234 n. 2 above.

² H. W. Parke's forthcoming book on Dodona will deal with this part.

the crossing from Bari in Italy to Durazzo, the later name of Epidamnus. 'Thence you cross to Durazzo, and it shows from far off like an island with five heads. And when you come inshore you will see the fort, and it commands all the hill. Keep a wide berth on your port side and you will see a thick white cape and they call it Cape Palē. Go inshore towards it so that you open up the gate of the fort and then you are clear of the shallows.'¹ The ridge from which the name Dyrrachium was derived (Str. 7. 5. 8) provided a conspicuous landmark on a coast which is generally low-lying and marshy. At each end of the ridge, which is some 6 miles long, there are sandspits which link the ridge to the mainland; both provide safe anchorage in some winds and facilities for beaching ships, but the southern one is preferable, because it provides shelter from the dangerous northerly winds and has better access to the interior. The ancient site was therefore at the southern end of the ridge, probably where the fort stood in the Frankish period.² Apart from the sandspits the ridge is cut off from the interior by a lagoon and marshes, and it is therefore easily defensible. The preferred crossing from Italy to this coast in Frankish times was to Durazzo; for the shorter one from Brindisi to Valona is endangered by the steeper seas at the mouth of the Adriatic Sea and by the stormy weather which is bred by the Acroceraunian Mountains.³

Epidamnus quickly became populous and prosperous (Th. 1. 26. 5). In addition to its importance as a port for the crossing of the Adriatic and for the coasting route up the Illyrian coast, Epidamnus developed friendly relations with the Illyrians from the outset and her trade must have reached as far inland as Trebenishte by Lake Ochrid. It is a sign of its great wealth that an Epidamnian was included in the list of the suitors of Agariste c. 580 B.C. (Hdt. 6. 127).

As one sails southwards, the next two landmarks are the mouths of the Apsus (Semeni) and Aous (Str. 7. 5. 8).⁴ These carry silt far out and colour the surface of the sea; the river-mouths provide shelter in bad weather, but it is difficult then to put out to sea from them. The Aous was navigable as far inland as the hill on which Apollonia was

¹ A. Delatte, *Les Portulans Grecs* (Liège, 1947), Portulan 1 p. 24: *καὶ ἀποκεῖ περνῶς εἰς τὸ Ντουράτζο καὶ ἀπὸ μακρῆα δειχνεὶ ὡσὺν νησὶν μὲ πέντε κεφάλια. καὶ ὡσὺν κοστάρης, θεωρεῖς τὸ κάστρον* κτλ. The same point is made in Portulan 2 p. 202: 'the high part (of Durazzo) shows from afar off as if sharp cut' *καὶ ἡ μερῆα ἡ ψηλὴ φαίνεται ἀπὸ μακρῆα ὡσὺν κατακομμένη.*

² On one visit I walked the whole length of the ridge and back along the foot. I found no pottery of an early date. There are Roman and Byzantine remains at the north end of the ridge.

³ In Roman times, as Strabo 6. 3. 8, C 283 says, the crossing to Epidamnus was the usual one, because it gave the best access to Illyria and Macedonia.

⁴ Portulan 3 p. 304 gives 'the river which they call "at the Bastious"' (*εἰς τοὺς Μπαστίους*) and then the Voousa; Portulan 2 p. 203 comments on the heavily wooded coast by the Apsus mouth and northwards (*ὄλη δάσος*).

founded in 588 B.C.¹ Thus Apollonia was maritime but not an immediate port of call like Epidamnus for coastal traders or for traffic across the Adriatic Sea. Its position was ideal as a place of export for goods from the great plain of Central Albania, which produced cereals as well as pasture for herds of cattle and sheep. The story which is told by Herodotus (9. 93) refers to the famous sheep of Apollonia. The colony, which was probably founded in collaboration with the Illyrians, grew rapidly in the next hundred years. The remark in Strabo that it was πόλις εὐνομωτάτη may come from Hecataeus and so may refer to the sixth century; the constitution was probably oligarchical, to judge from the tradition in Aristotle (*Politics*, 1290^b11), and the chief task of the government was to maintain good relations with the tribes of the interior, on which its commercial prosperity depended.²

Strabo does not mention the Greek states of the interior to the south of Apollonia, perhaps because he concerned himself mainly with the coasting route. These were Thronium and Amantia and perhaps other settlements which claimed to have been founded at the time of the Nostoi. Their inhabitants presumably spoke Greek. They certainly controlled the important mines of fossil pitch near the Nymphaeum (see p. 231 above), and they netted any traffic which came down the Aous valley. From their point of view Apollonia was a rival, recently founded and dependent on contacts with the Illyrians for its survival.

The next entry in the standard texts of Strabo (7. 5. 8 *fin.*) reads μετὰ δ' Ἀπολλωνίαν Βυλλιακὴ καὶ Ὀρικόν. Editors have accepted this reading, which is due to an emendation by Kramer. The manuscripts A, B, and C read Βαλλιακὴ καὶ ὠραιόν. The Epitome of Strabo reads Βαλλιακὴ πόλις. The standard reading of Hecataeus F 104 (= St. Byz. Βαϊάκη· πόλις τῆς Χαονίας· Ἑκαταῖος) has in manuscript P the variant Βαλάκη. Neither Βαϊάκη nor Βαλάκη is found elsewhere. Now it is probable that the name mentioned by Hecataeus, whichever it was, is the source of the readings in the manuscripts of Strabo. It is therefore best to regard Βαϊάκη, Βαλάκη and Βαλλιακὴ as corruptions of Βυλλιακὴ, and to read in Strabo μετὰ δ' Ἀπολλωνίαν Βυλλιακὴ καὶ Ὀρικόν and in Hecataeus F 104 Βυλλιακὴ· πόλις τῆς Χαονίας· Ἑκαταῖος. The word Βυλλιακὴ, accepted in Strabo by Tomaschek in *RE* s. Byllis, though he does not mention Hecataeus, is translated by him as 'Bylliac territory'—a translation followed by H. L. Jones in the Loeb edition, vol. viii, p. 267, n. 5. For this version to be correct we need the article ἡ Βυλλιακὴ (γῆ) as in Strabo 7. 7. 5 and 7. 7. 6, ἡ

¹ See p. 134 above.

² I have visited the site; it has little natural strength and could have been founded only with local help (see p. 426 above). The story in Hdt. 9. 93 about Euenius shows that there was an annual magistracy, limited to men eminent in wealth and birth.

Κορκυραία and *ἡ Παρωραία*. Moreover, Strabo mentions no territories on the Epirote coast but only cities, harbours, and tribes; and the fragment of Hecataeus and the Epitome of Strabo define Bylliake as a city. The form *Βυλλιακή* (sc. πόλις) has the common adjectival termination, and we may compare the form *Ἀμβρακικός*, in St. Byz. s. *Ἀμβρακία*. Later another adjectival form was preferred—Byllis,¹ to which we may compare Abantis, Elaeatis, Molossis, etc. A city of this name is mentioned by St. Byz. s. *Βύλλις· πόλις Ἰλλυρίδος παραθαλασσία τῶν μετὰ Νεοπτολέμου Μυρμιδόνων κτίσμα*. The tradition that it was founded by the companions of Neoptolemus has been discussed above (p. 383).

The town of Bylliake, the port of the area from which the Illyrian Bylliones took their name (cf. Str. 7. 7. 8), is best placed at Plaka in the north-west corner of the Gulf of Oricum. Here I found some Late Hellenistic III sherds, which are consistent with the tradition of a foundation by the companions of Neoptolemus. The importance of Plaka is very similar to that of Dyrrachium. An isolated ridge on the coast, it is a good landmark for sailors. It is separated from the interior by extensive sand dunes and by the lagoon of Artë, which is very rich in fish. The ridge itself is smaller and more remote from the inland area than the ridge of Dyrrachium. It has a shelving beach which faces the Gulf of Oricum, and the lagoon, entered by a channel from the open sea, offers alternative anchorage. At a much later date Bylliake lost some of its importance; for the island of Sason (Saseno) took its place as a port of call on the coasting route and also as a point of departure for Italy.²

Kramer's emendation *καὶ Ὀρικόν* for *καὶ ὠραιόν* is undoubtedly correct. The site of Oricum is on a small promontory, easily defensible by land (indeed it may have once been an island) in the south-west corner of the Gulf. The settlement had an excellent harbour in the adjacent lagoon, which was entered through a narrow channel on the west side of the site.³ It was founded by Euboeans at the time of the Nostoi, and the citizens evidently spoke Greek.

The city and the harbour are both called Oricus in St. Byz. s. *Ὀρικός· πόλις ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. Ἐκαταῖος λιμένα καλεῖ Ἡπείρου τὸν Ὀρικόν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· μετὰ δὲ Βουθρωτὸς πόλις, μετὰ δὲ Ὀρικός λιμήν*.

¹ Kramer indeed suggested reading Byllis instead of Bylliake: 'fortasse tamen, cum urbes ad oram sitae h. l. enumerantur, *Βύλλις* potius a Strabone scriptum fuit, cui syllaba *κη* propter particulam *καί* videtur adhaesisse.' Kramer's suggestion is the *lectio facilior* and takes no notice of Hecataeus F 104.

² Cf. Strabo 6. 3. 5, C 281 and see Delatte, *Portulan* 1 pp. 25, 31, 203, 265, etc. I was unable to visit Saseno, which Italy used as a secret naval base in the years before the war.

³ The site is described on p. 127 above.

The only other author who speaks of Ὠρικὸς λιμὴν is Herodotus (9. 93. 1). He mistakenly brings 'the river which flows through Apolloniate territory' out into the sea παρ' Ὠρικὸν λιμένα. He clearly misread his Hecataeus; for Oricum is many miles south of the mouth of the Aous. The quotation from Hecataeus (F 105) mentions Oricus as a harbour for a mariner sailing northwards from Buthrotum. Strabo 7. 5. 8 *fin.*, on the other hand, has a separate name for the harbour: μετὰ δ' Ἀπολλωνίαν Βυλλιακὴ καὶ Ὠρικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον αὐτοῦ ὁ Πάνορμος καὶ τὰ Κεραυνία ὄρη, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Ἀδρίου. In this passage Strabo clearly refers to the harbour of Oricum under the separate name Panormus, meaning probably 'safe in all weathers', as the lagoon of Oricum is. For Panormus is between Oricum and the Ceraunian Mountains. There is indeed no other harbour between Oricum and the tip of the Acroceraunian range (where his Adriatic Sea starts) which deserves the name Panormus.

Strabo returns to his description of the coast at 7. 7. 5. Speaking of the journey from the Chaones, 'eastwards' to the Ambracian Gulf, he continues: in this interval Πάνορμός τε λιμὴν μέγας ἐν μέσοις τοῖς Κεραυνίοις ὄρεσι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀγχησμος, λιμὴν ἄλλος, καθ' ὃν τὰ δυσμικὰ ἄκρα τῆς Κορκυραίας ἀντίκειται. This passage gives the bearings on the Ceraunian Mountains and on the western cape of Corcyra for a navigator making a landfall first at Panormus and then at Onchesmus. As one sails into the Gulf of Oricum the head of the Gulf is enclosed by the Acroceraunian range (see Plate XVIIIa); the bearing for Panormus, the harbour of Oricum, is in fact in the middle of the range. This interpretation of the phrase ἐν μέσοις τοῖς Κεραυνίοις ὄρεσι seems to me the only possible one. Those who pick out a point half-way down a modern map of the Acroceraunian range and identify it with Panormus forget that ancient mariners had no such maps; they needed the sort of guidance which is given by Strabo and which we have seen in the Frankish Portulan.¹ They also fail to appreciate that Strabo in 7. 5. 8 *fin.* put Panormus between Oricum and the Ceraunian Mountains. It is true that the resumptive phrase of Strabo at 7. 7. 5 is rather clumsy; for he speaks of the Chaones without defining their position. Yet we know from Hecataeus F 104 (reading Βυλλιακὴ for Βαϊάκη· πόλις τῆς Χαονίας) that Hecataeus included the shores of the Gulf of Oricum in the territory of the Chaones. The resumption of Panormus and the Ceraunian Mountains is normal practice, as we saw in the last section (p. 449 above).

¹ See Delatte, *Portulan* 1 p. 26 (passing from Valona southwards) παρέσω μίλια σ' ἔχει καλὸν λιμὸνα καὶ λέγουσιν τὸ Πόρτο Ραγουζιον. καὶ εἶναι β' ἀκρωτήρια χοντρά καὶ εἶναι καϊμένα καὶ ἀσπρίζουν ὡσάν· καὶ μέσα ἔχει σπλατσοπούλα καὶ εἶναι καλὸς λιμὸνας διὰ κάτεργα, καὶ ῥάσσης εἰς ὄργιοις κέ'. καὶ τότε εἶναι τὸ κάβο ντὲ λὰ Λέγκα. 'Six miles farther in there is a good harbour and they call it Porto Ragousio.'

The phrase 'the Ceraunian Mountains' at 'the beginning of the mouth of the Ionian Gulf' (7. 5. 8 and 7. 7. 5) means the Cape Linguetta, so named by Venetian sailors, and the extension of the range farther inland, which together form the Gulf of Oricum; and not the coastal range from Cape Linguetta southwards to Sopot (see also 6. 3. 5; 6. 3. 8; 6. 3. 10). This is so not only in Strabo but also in all Portulans, because the Cape is the turning point at which one changes course.¹

As Hecataeus (F 105) proceeded direct in his description from Bouthrotus to Oricus, we may be sure that there was no sixth-century site on the intervening stretch of coast. Onchesmus, then, which is mentioned by Strabo, was a later foundation. The site of Buthrotum is on the tip of a peninsula on the north side of a narrow channel which leads into the large 'Pelodes Limen' or 'muddy harbour'. The peninsula is joined to the mainland on the north by a narrow neck, which can be readily defended. The traditions which connect the Trojans with this area and with the founding of Buthrotum by Helenus have been mentioned (p. 385 above), and the excavations led by L. M. Ugolini have yielded prehistoric pottery, as well as Proto-Corinthian, Corinthian, and Attic pottery of the seventh to the fifth centuries B.C. There is no tradition of any Greek foundation of a colony here. The site would obviously attract earlier settlers (see p. 99 above). Ships sailing along the coast prefer the Pelodes Limen to Cassiope in Corcyra in some winds,² and it is very capacious and sheltered. We learn from Hecataeus (F 105) that the Gulf here and the plain behind Buthrotum were called 'Kiraïos' and 'Kiraion', and that the territory inland was *Χαονική*.³

Strabo gives the points north and south of Buthrotum which are important to a navigator. Cape Poseidium marks the northern end of the Corfu Channel. The Sybota, 'islets close inshore to the mainland and opposite the eastern (by our reckoning south-south-eastern) tip of Corcyraean territory, Leucimma' (Str. 7. 7. 5: τὰ Σύβοτα), mark the southern end of the Corfu Channel and directions are given here for sighting them. They are mentioned also in Strabo 2. 5. 20 for the same reason; for he is there describing Corcyra, Sybota, Cephallenia, Ithaca, Zacynthos, and Echinades as landmarks on the passage from Iapygia to the Gulf of Corinth. They are mentioned regularly in the Frankish Portulans.⁴

¹ See the preceding note and cf. Delatte p. 31.

² See Delatte, Portulans 1 pp. 34, 54; 2 p. 204; and 3 p. 305.

³ This fragment deserves more than Jacoby's laconic comment 'unverständlich und wohl korrupt'. The name is probably earlier here than in the Gulf of Itea.

⁴ Sybota or Tzibita. See Delatte, 1 pp. 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 54 (for the route from Corfu southwards) and 2 p. 204 (for coasting along the Epirote coast). The importance of these

Next in Strabo's account is Cape Cheimerium. Here evidently a navigator changed course. The modern name is Cape Varlam.¹ Then comes Glycys Limen (at the mouth of the river Acheron), evidently a harbour and not a town; it takes its name from the sweet water of the river. There is no other harbour of the early period in Strabo's account until we pass the mouth of the Ambraciote Gulf. Then there are two places, both a little inland: Buchetium *μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ὄν*, and Ambracia which *ὑπέρκειται τοῦ μυχοῦ μικρὸν* (Str. 7. 7. 6). As we have seen above (p. 457), Buchetium faces the Ambracian Gulf. It is not *ἐν μεσογαίᾳ* as the other towns in the Cassopaeian territory were, and therefore the implication is that it could be reached from the sea along a river. This is expressly said of Ambracia, where the Arothus flows *ἀνάπλουν ἔχων ἐκ θαλάττης*. The only navigable river between the mouth of the Gulf and the Arachthus is the Louros (or Viros); it is mentioned in the Frankish Portulan as 'the river of Rogous' and a Frankish captain sailed up it in 1204 (see p. 60 above).² The site of Buchetium, then, is Rogous. Here I found some sherds of the mid-sixth century B.C. It was an Elean colony, but it had a pre-colonial foundation myth. Its alleged founder was Buchetus, the father of Echetus, who was king of the mainland in the *Odyssey*, and it was said that Thetis, riding on a bull, had visited it after the flood of Deucalion.³ The site of Ambracia, founded by Gorgus, son of Cypselus, has been described above (p. 140). It was certainly occupied before the Corinthians came, because its land is fertile and its position is strategic, and this is implied by the tradition that the city's name came from Ambrax.⁴ Argos Amphiloichicum, founded according to Hecataeus by Amphiloichus after his return from Troy and according to others by Alcmaeon or Diomedes, has not yielded any early remains; but the position of the site, on a spur running into the plain, is suited to an early settlement.⁵ The Ambraciotes and the Amphiloichi were neighbours as appears from Hecataeus (F 26, quoted in the next paragraph).

It is worthy of note that the names of the harbours are all descriptive—Panormus, Pelodes, and Glycys—and such as would be given by mariners rather than by mainlanders. This is the case also with the

islands for mariners shows that the traditional identification of the ancient with the modern Sybota is correct. The islands now joined to the coast in the Bay of Igoumenitsa, which K. A. Papageorgiou in *EE* 1953, 252 f. proposed to identify with the ancient Sybota, are far away from their sailing directions.

¹ For the identification see Hammond in *JHS* 65 (1947) 28.

² 2 p. 205.

³ Schol. *Odyssey* 18. 86 = Mnaseas fr. 25 (*FHG* 3. 153); Harpocration s. *Βούχετα*, quoting Philostephanus *ἐν τοῖς Ἑπειρωτικοῖς*; Suidas s. *Βούχετα* and s. *Θέμιν*.

⁴ St. Byz. s. *Ἀμβρακία*.

⁵ For the identification see p. 246 above.

two capes, Poseidium in Strabo and Cheimerium in Strabo and Thucydides (1. 46. 4). The names Bylliace and Oricus Limen are in the adjectival form; the former means the *polis* of Byllis, an inland area in the lower Aous valley, and the latter the harbour of Orus or a name such as Orea in Euboea.¹ Here too the names seem to have been applied by seafarers. This raises the question whether Hecataeus had any general name for the coast north of the entry to the Ambracian Gulf. In the *Odyssey* the coast north of the entry to the Corinthian Gulf was simply ἡπειρος 'mainland', but in the time of Hecataeus Acarnania had its own distinctive name. Therefore we should expect ἡπειρος to serve for the area north of this Gulf. There are in fact two fragments of Hecataeus in which ἡπειρος occurs. F 106: 'Εκαταῖος λιμένα καλεῖ ἡπείρου τὸν Ὀρικὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ. μετὰ δὲ Βουθρωτὸς πόλις, μετὰ δὲ Ὀρικὸς λιμὴν, and F 26 (concerning Heracles and the cattle of Geryones): 'Εκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιὸς λέγει . . . τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς περὶ Ἀμβρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλοχοῦς βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρυόνην καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι Ἡρακλέα τὰς βοῦς. Neither of the sentences in which ἡπειρος occurs is a verbal quotation, but both are paraphrases in which some of Hecataeus' words may be repeated. The balance of probability in these two fragments and the general expectation from Homeric usage lead me to conclude that Hecataeus spoke of ἡ ἡπειρος, meaning the mainland between Acarnania and the entry to the Ionian Gulf by Cape Linguetta.² It was in fact a geographical term with a special local meaning here, as in Asia Minor; it carried no political connotation. We shall find similar uses in Pindar and Thucydides and in a fifth-century inscription.

(b) *The Interior*

The most surprising thing which emerges from our identification of Hecataeus as the main source of Strabo for our area is that his knowledge of the area in the sixth century B.C. was so extensive. Such knowledge must have been amassed not only through the colonization of the coast but even more through the regular intercourse of trade between the coast and the interior. The sixth-century bronzes from Trebenishte and those from Voutonosi show that trade from the west coast of Greece and Illyria was reaching the main passes over the Balkan range. Greek-speaking peoples were certainly involved in the spread of this trade, and it is they who learnt the significance of the Zygus pass and

¹ Eustathius discussed the name in *Commentarii* 321 = *GGM* 2. 273. The people of Oricum were the Oricii, as appears from a recently discovered inscription (*Ergon* 1958, 93).

² In 7 fr. 10 he adopts a different definition of Macedonia as a parallelogram extending to the coast of the Adriatic Sea.

found the key to the river-system of Northern Greece in Mt. Lacmus. It is this knowledge which reached Hecataeus and enabled him to write the best of all the descriptions that have come down to us. It is dependable in almost every detail.¹

My identifications of rivers and mountains are as follows. I identify Mt. Pteleum with Mt. Zalongo, because the description of it is given from the sea and because this mountain is the most conspicuous one to a navigator entering the Ambraciote Gulf (Str. 7, fr. 6). The headwaters of the Arothus (Arachthus) derive mainly from the Metsovon area. Strabo 7. 7. 6, a passage drawn from Hecataeus, makes Mt. Tymphe and 'the Paroraea' adjacent in the district from which the headwaters flow. I should then identify Mt. Tymphe with the mountain range of Chuka Loupou, and the Paroraea with the western side of this range, extending towards Mt. Peristeri (see Map 16). This fits in with another passage which comes from Hecataeus, namely Str. 7. 7. 8, which enumerates the tribes: *Μολοττοί τε καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνες καὶ Αἰθίκες καὶ Τυμφαῖοι καὶ Ὀρέσται Παρωραῖοί τε καὶ Ἀτιντᾶνες*. The enumeration is again from south to north. The Molossians border on their eastern neighbours, the Athamanes; then northwards of them Aethices, Tymphaei, and Orestae. The purpose of the double *τε* is to distinguish two groups; the second *τε* introduces two peoples who are further west. They are also in the south-to-north order—the Paroraei living along the flank of the Pindus range near Metsovon,² and the Atintanes being in the upper Drin valley. The positions of the tribes further north has been discussed above (p. 467).

The small cities in the interior are Elatria (the manuscript reading is Elateia),³ Pandosia and Batiae (Str. 7. 7. 5: *πολίχνια*, like Buchetium). They are situated in Cassopaea, which extended to the north shore of the Ambraciote Gulf and reached up to 'the recess by Ambracia' (*τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κατ' Ἀμβρακίαν*, Str. 7. 7. 6). This description of Cassopaea was written before the intrusion of the Molossians between the Cassopaeans and the Ambraciotes; and it probably precedes any considerable expansion by the Ambraciotes, still confined here to 'the recess'. We know from later sources that these small cities were colonies of Elis. One candidate is Paliorosforon, where I found Attic pottery of the late sixth century and whence a bronze mirror-stand of the late archaic period came, probably from a grave. As [Demosthenes], *De Halon.* 32 names only three Elean colonies—Buchetium, Pandosia, and Elatria—and as we have identified Buchetium with Rogous and

¹ One mistake is the placing of the sources of the Inachus (the Sindekiniotikos) on Mt. Lacmus: it rises in fact in the Valtos by Patiopoulo. The Inachus was confused with the upper Arachthus.

² So too Ph. M. Petsas in *Eph. Arch.* 1950-1, 44 n. 1.

³ St. Byz. s. *Elateia* gives both Elatria and Elateia. The evidence is inconclusive.

as later sources place Pandosia on the Acheron river, we may identify Elatria with Palioroforon. As Thesprotia began south of the Thyamis (assuming we are right in holding that Th. 1. 46. 4 is drawn from Hecataeus), it must have included the plain of the lower Acheron. Cassopaea then began south of that plain. Further inland the strategic entry into Cassopaea from the valley of the upper Acheron by Gourana (Trikastron) must have been held by the Cassopaeans. There is only one suitable site on the upper Acheron river, namely that near Gourana. I therefore identify Pandosia with Gourana. The fourth town, Batiae, is probably Kastri by Thesprotikon; but that site may be a later one.¹

The passage in Strabo 7. 7. 5 and the corresponding one in Thucydides 1. 46. 4 are derived, as we have seen, from Hecataeus, who therefore mentioned the Acheron, the Acherusian Lake, 'Cichyrus the former Ephyra', Elaeatis, Thesprotis, the Thyamis, Cestrine, and Phoenice. We have already discussed the position and the extent of the Acherusian Lake; it extended inland from the juncture of the Cocytus and the Acheron at Likouresi and it went as far as Kastrion. The evidence of Thucydides fixes the position of Ephyra at Likouresi ('beside Ephyra the Acherusian Lake issues towards the sea'). It is here that S. I. Dakaris found the dump of sixth-century and later terracottas from the Nekyomanteion, and also signs of a Mycenaean settlement on the hill called Xylokastro above Likouresi. This is evidently the site of Homeric Ephyra and sixth-century Cichyrus. According to Thucydides the Acheron flows through Thesprotis; therefore Lakkasouli and the Acheron plain were then both in Thesprotis. Ephyra, he says, is in Elaeatis of Thesprotis. Elaeatis takes its name from the olive. There are fine olive-groves in the coastal area by Parga and Arpitsa (Perdikka) and more extensive groves in the valley of the Cocytus to Paramythia.² Elaeatis is best identified with the plain by Ephyra and its continuation up the valley of the Cocytus.³ Thesprotis was separated by the river Thyamis from its neighbour, Cestrine. Strabo's mention of Phoenice inland of the gulf of Buthrotum comes clearly from Hecataeus, who named that gulf the Ciraeon Gulf and spoke of the Ciraeon plain 'in Chaonian territory'. The implication in Strabo is that it corresponded to *Κίχυρος . . . πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν*, and was therefore *πόλις Χαόνων*. The name Phoenice is preserved in the village Finik, and the ruins of the ancient city are on the hill above it.

The Nekyomanteion was in the territory of the Thesprotians. When Herodotus described the consultation of the oracle by Periander, the

¹ For the other evidence on the situation of the Elean colonies, see Hammond CC 33.

² The natives of Paramythia say that the whole valley used to be filled with olive-groves 'epi Venetias'.

³ See p. 678 below for ancient place-names in the canton of Margariti.

envoys were sent 'to the Acheron river', along which they could sail up to Likouresi (Hdt. 5. 92 η 2: πέμψαντι . . . ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκυομαντήϊον). The traditional associations of the oracle at Dodona were with the Thesproti rather than with the Molossi. In the time of Hecataeus Dodona was certainly in the frontier area between the Thesproti of the upper valley of the Acheron and the Molossi of the plain of Ioannina; for Hecataeus F 108, *Μολοσσῶν πρὸς μεσημβρίας οἰκέουσι Δωδωναῖοι*, makes the Molossi and the Dodonaci neighbours. It is possible that οἱ Δωδωναῖοι formed an autonomous community; but even so, as in the case of Delphi, such a community tended to fall under the control of a stronger neighbour. Two passages in Strabo refer to such control: according to 7. 7. 5 the whole 'Epeirotis' was ruled at one time 'formerly by the Chaones and later by the Molossi' (πρότερον μὲν Χάονας, ὕστερον δὲ Μολοττοὺς), who grew to power through the kinship of their kings and through the fact that the oracle of Dodona was 'by them' (παρὰ τούτοις in a local sense but also in this context in a political sense); and 7. 7. 11 says ἡ Δωδώνη τοίνυν τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Θεσπρωτῶν ἦν . . . ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Μολοττοῖς ἐγένετο. If we are correct in our analysis of the sources, the passage at 7. 7. 5 is drawn from Hecataeus, and therefore the period of Molossian control 'of Epeirotis' and of the Molossian proximity to and influence on Dodona was still in force when Hecataeus was writing. An early date for this period of Molossian influence is probable on other grounds. The group of 'Molossian tribes', including the Orestae and the Talaes for instance, was very large as described by Hecataeus; and there is likely to have been a political *raison d'être* for such a group. Another clue to the date of this period of Molossian expansion is afforded by Strabo's remark at 9. 5. 11 that 'the reputation and the predominance of the Thessalians and Macedonians caused their nearest neighbours among the Epirote peoples to become part of the Thessalians or Macedonians, just as the Athamanes, Aethices and Talaes became part of Thessaly and the Orestae, Pelagones and Elimiotae became part of Macedon' (cf. 7. 7. 8). As Thucydides ascribed the Elimiotae to Macedon (2. 99. 2), the Molossian expansion was earlier than his time. Moreover, the annexation of 'Upper Macedonia' (Str. 7. 7. 8) almost certainly occurred under Alexander I of Macedon soon after the Persian Wars, and therefore the period when the Orestae and the other tribes were 'Molossian' is likely to have preceded the Persian Wars.

The period of Chaonian expansion recedes into the dimmer past, well before the sixth century. It was evidently an expansion at the expense of the Thesproti in the coastal sector, because the area north of the Thyamis river, Cestrine, was said to have been conquered by

Cestrinus, a son of Helenus, the ancestor of the Chaonian royal house (Paus. 1. 11. 3 and 2. 23. 6). Cestrine was Chaonian in the time of Thucydides and in the days when its cattle became famous (Hesychius s. *Κεστρινικοί βόες· οἱ ἐν Χαονίᾳ*). The area probably extended north of the watershed of the Thyamis and included the marshy plain between Konispol and Qarë, which is good for cattle raising. It may have been at the time of the Chaonian expansion that the Cassopaeans split off from Thesprotia; for Strabo, using Hecataeus, says they were Thesproti (7. 7. 5 *init.*) but gives them a coast of their own. It is probable that the Chaonian power was weakened by the incursion of Illyrians, who came as far as the Dexari and the area of Bylliae (both Chaonian in Hecataeus F 103 and F 104)—an incursion which may have begun c. 900 B.C. The power of the Thesproti τὸ παλαιόν ran far inland. For instance, the Thessali invaded their historical home from Thesprotia c. 1140 B.C. (Hdt. 7. 176. 4), and the *Thesprotis* was one of the Cyclic epics. The group of tribes which the name 'Thesproti' represents may then have held most of the area which we call Epirus. This hypothesis explains the importance of their name in Greek legend.¹ It seems probable that the Chaonian period of power came after the great invasions of Greek lands, that is, perhaps in 1000–900 B.C., and that the Molossian period of power came next and lasted to the time of the Persian Wars.² As we have seen above, the group of Molossian tribes occupied both sides of the Pindus range and extended far to the north. The word *Ἡπειρώτις* which Strabo used to describe the area under Chaonian and Molossian power (7. 7. 5) may come from Hecataeus; at any rate it included country further to the north than the term *Ἡπειρος* did in the fourth century. The Molossian group was a highland organization and it consisted of a nexus of clans which recognized in some way the suzerainty of the Molossian royal house, the Aeacidae.

4. THE FORTIFICATIONS OF THE SIXTH-CENTURY SITES

The style of the walls which were built by the Corinthian colonists can be seen most clearly at Apollonia and Ambracia. P. Sestieri cleared the ground beside a wall of large ashlar blocks at Apollonia (his term is *parallelepipedi*), and the soil in front of the wall yielded Proto-

¹ See p. 702 below for Rhianus' description of tribes as Thesprotian. Pausanias' expression *ἡ Θεσπρωτὶς Ἡπειρος*, probably a traditional one, was once appropriate to a historical situation.

² Paus. 1. 11. 1, giving the genealogy of the Molossian royal house, put fifteen generations between Neoptolemus, founder of the dynasty, and Tharyps, which in terms of three generations to a century brings one back to the tenth century. This may be the rough date of the Molossian expansion, but it is shaky ground.

Corinthian and Corinthian pottery, as well as Attic Black-Figure and Red-Figure, Hellenistic and Roman sherds. The wall was probably as old as the colony, i.e. it was built c. 588 B.C. It stands on the eastern slope of the Acropolis; and as it was not a part of the later circuit, there was never any reason to rebuild it. It has a quadrangular tower.¹ At Ambracia there is a fine stretch of wall, built of large ashlar blocks, beside the river at a fordable point (by the Metropolis), where the site would have been fortified at the outset by any seafaring settlers. This style of building occurs at two other points, to the south-west of the Metropolis and by the monastery Phaneromene (see Map 6). Some of the blocks are massive, being, for example, 2.20×1.20 m. and 1.50×0.55 m.; these blocks occur mainly in the lower courses, and the blocks in the higher courses are less large. The outer face of the blocks is rough and convex. There are no early walls visible at Epidamnus, Actium, and Anactorium.

Of the three styles visible at Buchetium (Rogous) the earliest is ashlar, or near-ashlar in that the horizontal courses are regular and the vertical joins are usually but not always perpendicular (see Pl. XIXa). The blocks in the foundation course are large, e.g. 1.80×0.60 m., and those in the upper courses less large, e.g. 1.00×0.35 m. The outer face of each block bulges convexly, and some blocks may have had small clamps. Sometimes a block was cut in one piece to form an angle-block; at one point there are 'snub-nosed' blocks for this purpose (see p. 58). The masonry of the early towers at Buchetium is ashlar in style; the towers are wide (varying from 5.70 to 6.60 m.) but project from the curtain only a little (from 1.35 to 2.40 m., except at the most vulnerable point, where the projection is one of 3.20 m.). At Elatria (Palioroforon) the circuit is of massive polygonal style, except at one point where I found some late sixth-century pottery and noted that large rectangular blocks were intermingled with the large polygonal blocks. It seems likely that these large rectangular blocks, measuring, for example, $1.00 \times 0.90 \times 0.60$ m., belonged to an earlier fortification which was made of large ashlar blocks and were re-used in the later polygonal circuit.² At Pandosia (Trikastron) stretches of ashlar and of polygonal styles appear; the former predominates, and it is noticeable that the original circuit had no towers and that towers were added at a later date and did not key into the curtain. The general conclusion, then, for these three colonies of Elis is that they built their walls originally in an ashlar style with large blocks, being similar in these respects to

¹ *Rendiconti dell'Accadem. Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, etc.* 6 (1951) pp. 324 f. Sestieri dates the wall to the fifth century but not apparently on any cogent grounds. Its position on the acropolis inside the later circuit makes it likely that it is part of an earlier fortification.

² See p. 668 below for the dating of the massive polygonal style.

Apollonia and Ambracia. A new circuit in polygonal style was built subsequently at Elatria. Towers, which occur in the early circuit at Buchetium (there is one at Apollonia), are generally wide but are shallow in their projection.

The circuit of the acropolis at Argos Amphiloichicum has only one tower, at the point least difficult of approach, and this tower projects only a short distance in relation to its width. The style of the masonry (which is sandstone, whereas in the sites so far mentioned it is limestone) is ashlar—or near-ashlar as many of the vertical joins are not perpendicular—and the blocks are large, e.g. $1 \times 1 \times 0.50$ m., and not smooth-faced. The outer circuit is in the same stone and style. The acropolis is probably as early as the first walls at Buchetium.

The situation at Buthrotum is more complicated. So far as the general plan is concerned, there are no towers in the original circuit, and where the wall changes direction there is usually a small projection. One angle is snub-nosed, as at Buchetium, a single block being cut to form two sides of an angle. The curtain has certainly been repaired at various times; but the earliest pieces of wall can be seen in the sides of the gateways, running through the width of the circuit-wall, as these pieces are unlikely to have been damaged at any time. The side-walls of all four gateways are built in regular ashlar masonry with large blocks in the lower courses and less large ones in the upper courses; the blocks in the side-walls of the East Gate (Pl. XVIIb) and the Lion Gate have a rough face and strong convexity. On the other hand, there is considerable use of rabbeting in the lower courses and less in the upper courses. Such rabbeting is not found in any of the sixth-century sites we have mentioned. If then these stretches of wall at Buthrotum are of that date, they alone had the use of rabbeting. It is, however, much more likely that these stretches belong to a later period when rabbeting was generally in use. If then Buthrotum had any fortifications in the sixth century, they have not survived.

The wall of the acropolis at Phoenice is of the fourth century, as we saw above (p. 116). The nature of the three circuits at Cichyrus (Xylokastro), which S. I. Dakaris has reported but not described, is still unknown. No early walls are visible at Oricum and Bylliace.

To summarize our conclusions, it should be noted that we have considered only those sites which we know on grounds of literary evidence or pottery to have been inhabited in the sixth century B.C. Wherever the fortifications of these Greek cities are visible they are in ashlar style or near-ashlar style with large blocks in the lower courses, and the face of the blocks is generally rough and convex wherever limestone was used (that is except at Argos Amphiloichicum). Few towers are used, and none at all at some sites; they project a

relatively short distance from the curtain, and they are usually placed at corners of the circuit. On the other hand, the native *polis* Phoenice was evidently not fortified. It is in fact unlikely that Phoenice and Cichyrus were πόλεις in the Greek sense at all; for each was the seat of a royal family in a tribal state,¹ and there is no indication of any settlement larger than a village among the native peoples of Epirus until the fourth century. If I am correct in supposing Hecataeus to be the source of the passages in Strabo and in Thucydides where Cichyrus is said to be πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν and Phoenice by implication πόλις Χαόνων, the question arises what Hecataeus meant by the term πόλις. In Σεσάρηθος· πόλις Ταυλαντίων ὡς φησιν Ἑκαταῖος (F 99 = St. Byz. s.v.) we have a πόλις of the Illyrian tribe, the Taulantii, and it is from this place that the Peresadyes got their alternative name, the Sesarethii (see p. 466 above). It is likely then that Sesarethus was the seat of the Taulantian royal family and that the Sesarethii of F 100 were the royal tribe in the group of tribes which carried the name Taulantii. Jacoby makes short work of this fragment—'πόλις ist fehler der Steph.'; but Stephanus is normally sound when he gives a verbal citation, and it is difficult to imagine what substantive Jacoby would put in the place of πόλις.² So far as the evidence goes, we probably have in Sesarethus, Phoenice, and Cichyrus a use of πόλις by Hecataeus to mean the capital or seat of authority in a large tribal state and not a Greek *polis*. It is indeed noticeable in F 131, St. Byz. s. Κῦνος· ἐπίνειον Ὀπούντος, ὡς Φίλων καὶ Πανσανίας· Ἑκαταῖος δὲ πόλιν αὐτὴν φησιν, that Hecataeus dignified with the word πόλις an ἐπίνειον or sea-port for the interior. Therefore Βυλλιακὴ· πόλις τῆς Χαονίας· Ἑκαταῖος (F 104 = St. Byz. s. Βαϊάκη see p. 471 above for the reading) may well refer to a seaport of the same kind for the inland district Byllis.

¹ There is no precise evidence that the Chaonian royal family resided at Phoenice. It became the most imposing city of Chaonia and a seat of administration in the fourth century and afterwards, and it is likely that it was the political centre in earlier times also. As regards Cichyrus Pausanias 1. 17. 4 tells of the Thesprotian king capturing Theseus and Peirithous and imprisoning them in Cichyrus, which was evidently his capital.

² Jacoby passes over without comment the previous fragment F 98, St. Byz. s. Οἰδάντιον, πόλις Ἰλλυριῶν. Θεόπομπος Φιλιππικῶν λη' τὸ ἐθνικὸν Οἰδαντες ὡς φησιν Ἑκαταῖος. καὶ Οἰδαντικὴ γῆ. As Hecataeus gave the ethnic, he may well have described Oedantium as a πόλις, which will be comparable to Sesarethus; for Hecataeus seems to have dealt in no smaller coin than a *polis* or an *ethnos*.

PART FOUR

THE INTERACTION OF THE
GREEK STATES AND
THE EPIROTE TRIBES

480-331 B.C.

XI

RELATIONS IN WAR AND IN PEACE

I. THE RIVALRIES OF THE GREEK CITIES, AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE EPIROTE TRIBES, 480-400 B.C.

THE rise of Persia had some repercussions at Dodona. Herodotus says that Croesus of Lydia consulted the oracle of Dodona as one of the 'Greek oracles' (I. 46. 2-3), but he does not record the answer of the god. In recent years Evangelides has found some pieces of Persian metal work which were dedicated at Dodona: a lion impressed on a strip of gold plate and decorated with steatite, a seal representing a lion's head on gold leaf¹ and a wing in gold with a filling of lapis lazuli.² He dated these pieces to the early fifth century, c. 500-475 B.C. No doubt they are the remains of spoils captured from the Persians at Plataea or elsewhere. It is likely that the Greek states consulted Dodona in advance of the invasions, just as they consulted Delphi, but we do not know what attitude towards Persia was advised by the oracle. There is no sign of dedications being made by states at Dodona. The Persian spoils were therefore dedicated by individuals. A few inscriptions on strips of lead at Dodona belong to this period: one has a name in the genitive *Κλεοφανακτος*, and others contain inquiries about a man's wife, the marriage of a daughter probably, and the birth of a son.³ Such personal inquiries are much the most common in this and later centuries. There is an inquiry by a community of the *Diaitai* who had a *Prytaneum*.⁴ Some bronzes from Dodona may be thank-offerings for the defeat of the Persians. They represent Zeus about to hurl his thunderbolt, and he has the same stance as the Zeus from Artemisium. The finest is in the Berlin Museum. It is dated by Neugebauer⁵ to the 470's. Another was found by Evangelides and

¹ *PAE* 1955, 169 and pl. 57 a.

² *PAE* 1956, 155 no. 10. A small piece of gold strip—the only one then found—was published in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 237 no. 61; it may be Persian as this metal is so rare at Dodona. A piece of silver strip with gold plate which represents a figure in a Phrygian cap may also be Persian (*PAE* 1931, 88 and fig. 8, 1).

³ *PAE* 1929, 125 no. 4 and 126 no. 7; no. 9 is dated to the sixth century but only three letters were legible; *PAE* 1931, 89 and fig. 7 no. 3; and *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 256 nos. 17 and 19.

⁴ *PAE* 1932, 52 no. 1.

⁵ *Die gr. Bronzen d. klass. Zeit u. d. Hellenismus* (Berlin, 1951) 3 f. and pls. 2 and 3; also *Antike Bronze Statuetten* (Berlin, 1921) 50 and pl. 28. Berlin Inv. no. 10561.

is dated by him to 460–450 B.C.¹ There is also a Zeus from Dodona in the Louvre which Charbonneaux dates to the middle of the fifth century.² The only statuette of distinction from the late fifth century is the resting Maenad, now in Berlin.³

The general impression is that the number of dedications declined steeply during the latter half of the fifth century, and that many fewer inquiries survive from this period than from the fourth century. For instance, Evangelides attributed only two handles from bronze vessels to this period and noted two similar ones in the publication by Carapanos, whereas there were very many more of the archaic period.⁴ The fifth-century inquiries are written in more than one form of alphabet (one in the Chalcidic alphabet is concerned with making a man's wife fruitful and one in the Corinthian alphabet with a journey⁵), and the name alone is given without any patronymic or ethnic. It seems likely that the Greek states were absorbed in their struggles for hegemony or survival and that their citizens found most of their interests and prayers answered in their own states; moreover, travel by sea from many states was dangerous for any who were not friendly with Athens during the two Peloponnesian wars. The earliest fragments of tiles at Dodona are dated by Evangelides to the early part of the fifth century. They must have belonged to a wooden building in which the dedications were stored; for there is no evidence of any building in stone until the end of this century.⁶ Some terracotta finials and roof-tiles, found by Dakaris at Cassope, are dated to the second half of the fifth century or perhaps a little later. They are much earlier than any other remains at Cassope; they may have come from a sacred or a public building and been re-used in the later construction of the thirty-roomed *prytaneum* or 'reception house' of the city.⁷

There are very few objects dated to the fifth century which have been found outside Dodona. A handle from a bronze *hydria*, which ends in a winged siren on a palmette of eleven leaves, and a cup with an *omphalos* and a ring-handle for suspension are dated to the middle or second half of the fifth century; these were in the hoard of bronze

¹ *PAE* 1956, 154 and pl. 58 a.

² J. Charbonneaux, *Les Bronzes grecs* (Paris, 1958) pl. xxi, 1.

³ Lamb 169 and pl. 64 a with full references.

⁴ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 231 no. 19 like Carapanos pl. 45 no. 4, and no. 21 like Carapanos pl. 47 no. 9; they have a lion's head and a palmette respectively. They are illustrated in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, pl. 20 nos. 3 and 4.

⁵ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 253 no. 10 and 254 no. 12.

⁶ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 213 and 218 with pl. 25 a, 1–3.

⁷ *PAE* 1952, 349 with figs. 26–28; Dakaris holds that these finds date the building and also the acropolis walls to the late fifth or early fourth century (e.g. on p. 358), but one swallow does not make a summer. The shrine to which the Aenianes sent an ox each year was an ancient one and certainly existed at Cassope before the city was built (*Plu. GQ* 13 and 26).

vessels found near Voutonosi (see p. 440 above).¹ P. M. Fraser reports the use of the tremolo technique on an unpublished bronze vase found near Metsovon and now in the Ioannina museum;² this vase, dated to the fifth or fourth century B.C., may be one of the hoard from Voutonosi. A statuette, which was the handle of a bronze mirror and had a name inscribed on it, is probably of this period; it was found at Palioroforon.³ A bronze cinerary urn, a wooden bowl, and six small vases, which were found in a grave north-east of the Nicopolis theatre, are dated to the fifth century (*Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 207). S. I. Dakaris found a *skyphos* with black glaze in his excavation at Kastritsa, which he dated to the end of the fifth century; the shape is a characteristic one and can be confidently dated to this time.⁴ A terracotta of a goddess, dated to the late fifth century or to the fourth century, came from a shrine near Psina (see p. 191 above). Terracotta statuettes of the fifth century down to 425 B.C. were found in the dump by the Nekyomanteion (see p. 65 above); others throughout the fifth century at the Koudhonotripa, south of Ambracia (see p. 140 above); and a few also at Vaxia (see p. 179 above).

While the cities of Sicily and South Italy tended to coin on the Attic standard in the fifth century, the influence of Corcyra stretched up the Adriatic Sea. A series of coins, which is based on the Corcyraean variant of the Corinthian standard, has been attributed to the eastern Etruscan cities during the fifth century. Epidamnus, Apollonia, and Ambracia began to issue silver coinages after the Persian wars. Epidamnus used the Corcyraean standard and the Corcyraean emblem of the cow suckling a calf; as the initial letters are ΔΥΡ, the coinage was issued in the name of the people, the Dyrrachii.⁵ Apollonia used the Corcyraean emblem of the cow and calf and on the reverse the so-called 'Gardens of Alcinous'; its coins were rather lighter than those of Corcyra and Epidamnus. Ambracia, however, remained loyal to Corinth. Her silver coins were staters of the Corinthian type; they were exceptionally beautiful coins, and a great many varieties of emblems were used. Anactorium and Leucas used staters of the same kind as Ambracia, each state adding its own initial letters.⁶ The struggle

¹ *BCH* 73 (1949) 23 no. viii and fig. 9; 25 no. xi and fig. 12. Also in *Eph. Arch.* 1955, 8 figs. 17 and 15.

² P. M. Fraser, and T. Rönne, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones* (Lund, 1957), 154.

³ See p. 53 above.

⁴ *PAE* 1952, 383 and fig. 21.

⁵ Herodotus and Thucydides speak always of the Epidamnii; it is possible that this was the name of the Greek community, but that there was some co-operation between Greek and Illyrian communities which led to them calling themselves as a group the Dyrrachii. Beaumont's theory in *JHS* 56 (1936) 166, that the change of name was due to the Greek city spreading over the cape, is not a likely one; for most Greek colonial cities spread in area but did not change in name.

⁶ Head 314 f., 319 f., and 406 f.

between the Corcyraean group and the Corinthian group involved the peoples of Epirus. Those of Southern Epirus at any rate were friendly to Corinth in 433 B.C. and had been traditionally so (Th. 1. 47. 3). This friendliness was due to the fact that Ambracia served as the exporter of Southern Epirus, including the area south of the Thyamis river. The Chaonians too co-operated with Ambracia in 429 B.C. (Th. 2. 80. 1); they were probably hostile to Corcyra, which had seized territory on the mainland and threatened the Chaonian plain by Phoenice.

There are relatively few references to Epirus in the literature of this period. Pindar was the *proxenus* or representative at Thebes of the Molossian king. We learn of this in *Nemean* 7. 65, an ode which is usually dated to 485 B.C.¹ Pindar had been accused by the Aeginetans of speaking ill about Neoptolemus (102 f.), and in this ode he wished to show his respect for Neoptolemus.² He therefore mentioned that Neoptolemus came by sea to Ephyra (that is in Thesprotia) and ruled as king in Molossia 'for a short time; but his family bore this honour through him for all time' (36 f.).³ Some lines later he remarked that 'if an Achaean man living inland of the Ionian Sea is near, he will not censure me; I rely on my *proxenia*' (64 f.). The allusion is to the ruling Molossian king; for the family, being descended from Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, claimed to be Achaean and not Dorian, just as the Spartan royal families did, being descendants of Heracles.⁴ The claim, of course, was older than Pindar's reference to it; it was already in the epic tradition (see p. 383 above). But Pindar disagrees with the account in the Cyclic Epic by Hagias, because he brings Neoptolemus

¹ So Wilamowitz and Schröder; Gaspar put it in 493 and Hermann in 461.

² We learn this from the Scholiast on l. 64, part of whose account has been confirmed by the discovery of a fragment on papyrus (see *P. Oxy.* 1900, 47 and 98) = *Paeon* 6.

³ For the use of *οἱ* here compare *Pythian* 4. 48: αἰμά οἱ . . . λάβεν. E. Lepore, 'La saga di Neottolemo e la VII Nemea di Pindaro' in *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* vi (Bari, 1960) 4 f., discusses the passage and rejects the translation proposed by J. Perret 'mais sa race lui fit toujours honneur de cette royauté' in *REA* 48 (1946) 8.

⁴ Hdt. 5. 72. 3. Cleomenes emphasized the point at Athens. The Scholiast comments here: Ἀχαιὸν ἄνδρα τὸν Ἑπειρώτην ἢ αὐτὸν τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ἢ ἓνα τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν. Ἀχαιοὶ γὰρ οὐ καθάπαξ ὁ Ἑπειρώτης ἀλλὰ Μυρμιδῶν. Ἀχαιοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Θετταλίας ταχθέντες ὑπὸ Νεοπτολέμῳ ἀπεπλάγχθησαν εἰς τὴν Μολοσσίαν καὶ κατέκησαν εἰς τὴν Ἑπειρον. The Scholiast regards Neoptolemus as the 'Epeirotes' *par excellence* and sees that in a restricted sense he is a Myrmidon and not an Achaean. This is probably not the sense in which Pindar used 'Achaean' here. It means rather pre-Dorian and Achaean in the wider sense in which Homer used the word, and Pindar himself used it (e.g. *Paeon* 6. 85 and *Nem.* 10. 47). The Scholiast refers to the Achaeans from Phthiotis who accompanied Neoptolemus and founded Bylliae; 'it is there that they settled in Epirus'. The Scholiast is mistaken in supposing that Pindar referred here to Neoptolemus; for Neoptolemus did not live inland of the Ionian Sea, since his tomb was at Delphi, as Pindar has just said at line 44. The tomb and precinct were very famous (cf. Paus. 10. 24. 4 and 6), and the archaeological traces of them are described in J. Defradas, *Les Thèmes de la propagande delphique* (Paris, 1954) 146 f.

not overland to Molossia but by sea to Ephyra. No special point seems to be made by Pindar's variation of the route, and it may be accidental. In *Paean* 6, which is earlier in date than 485 B.C., Pindar described the coming of Neoptolemus: *σχεδὸν δ[ὲ Το]μάρου Μολοσσίδα γαῖαν ἐξίκετο* (110 f.). As Tomarus is the sacred mountain Below which Dodona lies, his description accords with the fragment of Hecataeus (F 108) which made the Molossians the northern neighbours of the Dodonaei. Similarly in *Nemean* 4, which is dated to 473 B.C., Neoptolemus is described as ruling over 'the far-stretching mainland where uplands starting from Dodona shelve down towards the Ionian Sea' (51 f.). If neither terminus is included, the Molossian territory began immediately after that of the Dodonaei. This definition of Dodona and its mountain Tomarus as being adjacent to the Molossians (and no doubt Dodona was influenced by the proximity) is in accordance with the passage of Strabo which may be attributed to Hecataeus (p. 453 above). The kingdom of Neoptolemus where the uplands shelved down towards the Ionian Sea reached as far as Bylliae, traditionally founded by Neoptolemus and his Myrmidons; for the Ionian Sea began at the tip of the Acroceraunian range.¹ If Pindar is alluding also to the Molossian kingdom of 473 B.C., which I doubt, then the suzerainty of the Molossian king was exercised over the Atintanes at least. Lastly Pindar referred to *Θεσπρωτίδα Δωδώνην* (frag. 60 ed. Snell), but the context is not known; the epithet may be a traditional one as in the passage from Aeschylus which we shall consider next, or Pindar may have been speaking of mythical times.

Aeschylus described the wanderings of Io in *P.V.* 829 f., as bringing her to Dodona:

ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθες πρὸς Μολοσσὰ δάπεδα
τὴν αἰπύνωτόν τ' ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην ἵνα
μαντεῖα θῶκός τ' ἔστι Θεσπρωτοῦ Διός.

The diction is very graphic. The 'Molossian plains' refers to the extensive plateau of Ioannina, and 'steep-backed Dodona' is an excellent description which evokes the picture of the steep flank of Mt. Tomarus (see Pl. I and Pl. XIa). The epithet 'Thesprotian' of Zeus is traditional just as the epithet 'Pelagic' was in the *Iliad*. I do not think it need have any political implication in this text. The play is probably to be dated

¹ E. Lepore, op. cit. 13 and n. 28, recognizes this is the extent of the 'Ἰόνιος πόρος'. But I do not accept his view that 'Ἰονία θάλασσα in *Pythian* 3. 68 meant a sea reaching into the Gulf of Corinth; Pindar there mentions only the crossing from Epirus to Italy; he does not specify the whole voyage sea by sea. Lepore goes on to argue that the 'Ἰονία ἁλς can be the Aegean Sea and so 'the Achaean man living inland of the Ionian salt' can be a Thessalian, and so the Thessalians. He then identifies the γένος of Neoptolemus with the Thessalians. This seems to be unnecessarily complicated. His article gives an excellent bibliography of the extensive literature on *Nemean* 7 and *Paean* 6.

between 474 and 459 B.C. It seems clear then that the extent of Molossian territory in the vicinity of Dodona did not change between the time of Hecataeus and some year in 474-459 B.C.

The wanderings of Themistocles brought him to Corcyra and then 'to the mainland opposite' (Th. 1. 136), where the pressure of his pursuers forced him to go 'to Admetus the king of the Molossians, who was not friendly to him'. This occurred c. 470 B.C. The expression *ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὴν καταντικρὺ* shows that Thucydides did not use *ἡπειρος* as a geographical proper name;¹ this is clear also at 1. 47. 3 where *οἱ ταύτῃ ἡπειρῶται* would not have been used if *οἱ Ἠπειρῶται* had had a specific meaning.² It is probable that Pindar used the expression *ἀπείρῳ διαπρυσία* (N. 4. 51) in the same sense, and that 'the mainland' had the same meaning for him and Thucydides as it had had for Hecataeus. Themistocles had done Corcyra some service and Admetus some disservice; there is perhaps little point in speculating what they may have been. When Themistocles came to the house of Admetus, he was away and his wife told Themistocles to take the baby boy and sit at the hearth, which was the most solemn supplication (*καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο*). This form of supplication was generally a solemn one, but nowhere more so than at the court of a descendant of Neoptolemus, who had killed Priam at the altar of his court and had been killed later by Apollo for this act of sacrilege (Pindar, *Paeon* 6. 113 f.). Admetus respected the supplication and refused to surrender Themistocles to the emissaries of Sparta and Athens, who represented the Greek League; instead he sent him off 'on foot to Pydna, the city of Alexander', that is of Alexander I of Macedon. This confirms one point which could be guessed on other grounds, that Admetus did not belong to the Greek League; for, if he had, he would have been under an equally solemn obligation to respect his promises under the covenant of the Greek League in dealing with Themistocles on a charge of medism. The route overland to Pydna was easy enough, and nothing can be deduced about the relations between Admetus and Alexander, because it was Themistocles who asked to go there on his way to Persia.

Thucydides may have drawn this story from some account by an Ionian writer, since it has a Herodotean simplicity and flavour. Variant accounts on one point are given by Plutarch; some said that Phthia, the wife of Admetus, told Themistocles to take the baby boy (Thucydides was one of them, though he did not give the name

¹ See p. 476 above. Plu. *Them.* 24 at the same point in the story says *εἰς Ἠπειρον* ἔφυγε because the word to him was a proper name.

² Cf. 1. 5. 3 where *οὗτοι οἱ ἡπειρῶται* means those of Ozolian Locris, Aetolia, Acarnania, and τὴν ταύτῃ ἡπειρον. The passage shows a Homeric use of *ἡπειρος* and excludes the use of the word to describe our restricted area.

Phthia as it was unnecessary for his purpose; the name occurs in Diod. Sic. 11. 56), and others said that Admetus told him to do it in order to provide himself with a justification. The detail of the name Phthia—a common name in the Molossian royal house—may have come from the source which Thucydides used; the other variant sounds like a clever afterthought by some later writer. Cornelius Nepos, *Them.* 7, embroiders the story: the baby is a girl and the hearth becomes a sacrarium and so on. Stesimbrotus (*FGrH* 107 F 3) had Epicrates of the deme Acharnae send Themistocles' wife and sons to Themistocles at the court of Admetus; this may be a late invention, or it may have been told in the source on which Thucydides drew. The simplicity of the story tickled the fancy of Euripides; he included a form of it in his *Telephus*,¹ produced in 439 or 438 B.C. Such simplicity may well have been true to the facts;² for there is nothing elaborate or even Greek about the remains at Kastritsa, for instance, and there are no stone buildings of this century at Dodona.

We do in fact know something, or rather we can infer something, about the relations between Admetus and Alexander I of Macedon. As we have shown, some 'Molossian tribes' as Hecataeus described them were annexed to the kingdom of Macedon after the time of Hecataeus. This was most probably in the reign of Alexander I (see p. 479 above). It was also after the time of Hecataeus that another 'Molossian tribe', the Talaes, was annexed to Thessaly (Strabo 9. 5. 11). There was thus a decline in Molossian power and influence during this period.

The strength of the Greek cities off or on the coast of Epirus is shown by the report of the Corcyraean fleet as numbering at least sixty triremes; it sailed as far as Cape Taenarum but no further, when the Persian fleet of Xerxes entered the Aegean (*Hdt.* 7. 168. 2). Ambracia too was a powerful state. It had fought a naval battle on the Arachthus against Corcyra c. 600 B.C. (*Tod, GHI*, 1. 2). It sent seven ships to fight at Salamis; and 500 hoplites to fight at Plataea. The growth of Apollonia led to war with a Greek city called Thronium (see Map 16). Herodotus (9. 93. 1) mentioned that the 'river', i.e. the Aous, flowed through Apolloniate territory into the sea. As we have seen (p. 133 and Map 2), the course of the Aous then entered the sea to the north of its present mouth; and the meaning of Herodotus, based on Hecataeus, is that Apollonia held the land on both sides of the Aous in the coastal plain. On the other hand, the valley of the Aous, and in particular

¹ See A. W. Gomme, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, I. 439 n. 1, and Wecklein, *Sitzb. Bayer. Ak.* 1909, 18.

² For the credibility of the story about Themistocles see the discussion by A. W. Gomme i. 267 and 438.

the mine of fossil pitch near the Nymphaeum, was controlled by the descendants of the settlers of the period of the Nostoi, who had come from Euboea and Locris. We know of a war between Apollonia and Thronium only through Pausanias 5. 22. 2, and through the recent discovery at Olympia of the inscribed epigram of dedication by the Apolloniates, which is quoted by Pausanias. We have discussed Pausanias' description of the dedication above (p. 384), and we noticed the mythological allusions. The inscription is dated by the lettering to the period 475–450 B.C.¹ The epigram may be translated as follows: 'We are dedicated to remind you of Apollonia, which Apollo with hair unshorn founded by the Ionian Sea; they captured the ends of Abantian territory and set this here, a tithe taken from Thronium, with the help of the Gods.' The parts of Abantian territory which were 'the ends' (τέρματα) are evidently the ends nearest to Apolloniate territory, that is to say the southern side probably of the Aous valley. Here the wealthiest prize was the mine of fossil pitch near the Nymphaeum; as the spoil was so great and as the Nymphaeum was later described as being in Apolloniate territory and near Amantian territory (see p. 232 above), it is likely that the mine lay in the land now acquired by Apollonia.

Pausanias supplies a commentary:

The territory called Abantis and a small town in it, Thronium, were part of the Thesprotian mainland (τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἦσαν Ἡπείρου) by the Ceraunian Mountains. When the Greeks' ships were scattered on the return from Troy, some Locrians from Thronium on the river Boagrius and some Abantes from Euboea with eight ships between them were carried towards the Ceraunian Mountains. They settled there, founded a city Thronium and by common consent called all the territory they enjoyed 'Abantis'; later they were driven out by the Apolloniates, their neighbours, after a defeat in war.

The expression ἡ Θεσπρωτὶς Ἡπείρος is a peculiarity of Pausanias; for he also described the end of the monarchy and the institution of democracy as being ἐν Ἡπείρῳ τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι (4. 35. 3). It is an archaic use of Thesprotis, derived from the days of Thesprotian supremacy in the epic cycle, and Pausanias may have taken the expression from an early source.² The first foundation by this group at the time of the

¹ E. Kunze, *Bericht über die Ausgrab. in Olympia* 5 (1956) 149 f. and Jeffery, *Local Scripts* (1961) 229. Beaumont, *JHS* 72 (1952) 65, dated the event between 450 and 435 B.C.; the full inscription was not known when he wrote.

² It does not confer any early authority on Pausanias' statement here; for he spoke of 'Thesprotian Epirus' in connexion with events of the third century (1. 6. 8 and 4. 35. 3). Beaumont's argument, loc. cit. 67, that Pausanias' use of 'Thesprotian Epirus' shows he had a sixth-century or earlier source for his remarks on Thronium is therefore baseless.

Nostoi was at Oricum (see Scymnus 441 f., and p. 385 above). Their leader, Elpenor, settled first at Othronos; and driven out from there by snakes 'he will sail to an Abantian town' ἐς Ἀβαντίαν πόλιν πλώσει, says Lycophron (*Al.* 1044 f.). This refers to the coastal town, Oricum, where Elpenor landed and built his city in Abantian territory.¹ These items of information came from a fairly full foundation-legend, and they were preserved by a Greek-speaking population in the Abantis which included Oricum² and Thronium and reached up to the frontiers of Apollonia.

The epigram telling of the tithe taken from Thronium refers to the tithe of the spoils which provided this magnificent dedication (Paus. 5. 22. 4 goes on to speak of 'spoils' in a corrupt sentence). The spoils must have been very great; we might surmise, therefore, that Thronium was either defeated most decisively or was taken over by the Apolloniates, and the statement of Pausanias that the inhabitants were expelled on their defeat by Apollonia surely decides the matter. Thronium ceased to exist as a Locrian settlement. The epigram says that the Apolloniates captured the ends of Abantis (γᾶς τέρμαθ' ἐλόντες Ἀβαντίδος) and Pausanias explains that the Apolloniates and the people of the Abantis were neighbours (ὄμοροι). It follows that Thronium was at the northern end of the Abantis.³ It is likely to have lain close to the Aous, which evidently formed the early frontier in the sector inland of the coastal plain. It was not on the coast; for it would have been mentioned between Bylliace and Oricum by Strabo, drawing on Hecataeus, if it had been on the coast. Pausanias refers to it as a πόλισμα rather than as a πόλις. Its wealth and its importance are most readily explained by the hypothesis that it controlled the rich mines of fossil pitch by the Nymphaeum. They certainly belonged to Apollonia in the fourth century, as we know from Theopompus (see p. 234 above), and this is probably the occasion when she acquired them.

There are two possible sites for Thronium. The first is Kanina, where Beaumont found a sherd of the sixth century at latest and perhaps of the seventh century (see p. 131 above). It controls the route from the mines of fossil pitch near the junction of the Aous and the Shushicë to the Gulf of Valona; for the best pass is by Kanina. The second is Ploçë. It is higher than Kanina and lies further inland; its position has led generally to its identification as Amantia, a site suitable for an inland tribe which held the interior rather than for the coastal

¹ Some have taken this to be 'the city Abantia' and as a variant of Abantia 'Amantia'. But the foundation legends concern Oricum and (in Pausanias) Thronium.

² Scymnus stresses its Greek character: Ἑλληνὶς Ὀρικὸς τε καὶ παράλιος πόλις.

³ Not as Beaumont, loc. cit. 67, argued, 'in the south of the Abantis'.

people of the Abantis. There has been a considerable amount of excavation in and around Ploçë (see pp. 222 f. above); but it has yielded nothing of an earlier date than the fourth century. When we ask which site was more valuable to Apollonia, the answer is Kanina; for it controls the best route from the mines to the sea, whereas Ploçë lies on one route inland and that not the easiest, and Kanina was considerably closer and more readily held by Apollonia against barbarians of the interior than Ploçë. I therefore identify Kanina with Thronium.¹ It was destroyed some time between 475 and 450 B.C., and it was never rebuilt as a town; the blocks which Beaumont noted probably came from its ruins. This event must have affected Bylliae; for it was now cut off from the Bylliones and inland Byllis by the advance of Apollonia's frontiers. We do not indeed hear anything more of Bylliae after the time of Hecataeus. That site too may have been acquired by Apollonia.

Internecine strife occurred also among the Greek cities in southern Epirus. At Argos Amphilochicum the Argives had invited Ambraciotes to join them in their city, but in course of time (χρόνῳ) the Ambraciotes expelled the Argives and seized the city (Th. 2. 68. 6). Thereupon the Amphilochians entrusted themselves to the Acarnanians, and they both invoked the help of Athens, which sent Phormio with thirty ships. On his arrival they took Argos by assault and enslaved the Ambraciotes in the city. The Amphilochians and the Acarnanians then occupied Argos jointly (κοινῇ). There is a reference to this period of joint occupation in Th. 3. 105. 1, where Olpae is described as a place once (ποτε) fortified by the Acarnanians and Amphilochians and used as a joint court (κοινῶ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρῶντο).² The action of Phormio and the enslavement of the Ambraciotes marked the beginning both of the alliance between Acarnania and Athens and of the enmity between Ambracia and the Argives (Th. 2. 68. 2 and 68. 8-9). The clue to the date of Phormio's action is contained in Diodorus Siculus 11. 85 and Thucydides 1. 111. 3. Diodorus says that in 455/4 B.C. Pericles won over all the cities near Oeniadae (or 'except Oeniadae' if we accept Dindorf's emendation πλήν for πλησίον), and Thucydides says that Pericles attacked Oeniadae in vain; and in 429/8 B.C., as he says in 2. 102. 2, it was still the *only* hostile state in Acarnania. It is apparent, then, that the alliance between Athens and Acarnania commenced either with or before this campaign by Pericles, which was in late

¹ Beaumont, loc. cit., identified Ploçë with Thronium and also with Amantia; there has been some further excavation of Ploçë since he wrote his article.

² I accept here the emendation by Niese Ἀκαρνᾶνες [καὶ Ἀμφιλόχοι] in order to give meaning to κοινῶ and in order to conform with "Ὀλπαι φρούριον, κοινὸν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων δικαστήριον" Θουκυδίδης τρίτη in St. Byz., who was probably reading Thucydides' text (see Gomme op. cit. vol. 2 (1956) p. 417).

summer 455 B.C. Phormio's action then was before 455 B.C., probably in 456 B.C. when Tolmides was in the west and founded a colony of Messenians at Naupactus;¹ for it is unlikely to have been in or soon after 454 B.C., when Athens suffered the disaster in Egypt.

The actions of the Acarnanians and the Amphilochians imply a fairly advanced stage of political organization in each case. The joint occupation of Argos and the use of a joint court at Olpae, which in view of its position was intended for the Amphilochi in general rather than for the joint settlers at Argos, must have involved either a sympolity or an isopolity. The Amphilochi were no doubt a tribal unit, centred on a king or a tribal *κοινόν*, and they may have adopted more advanced ways from the Acarnanians, when they adopted them as protectors. The Acarnanians acted as a single people, comprising though they did both cities and tribal groups, and it seems likely that they had already formed a unified state well before this affair took place.² It was indeed this political advance which qualified the Acarnanians for inclusion among the Greek peoples, whereas their way of life was associated with that of their neighbours to the north in being barbarous (Th. 1. 5. 3-1. 6. 2). When Pericles invited the Greek states to a Panhellenic Congress c. 448 B.C., his envoys visited Acarnania and Ambracia but not the tribes of Epirus. They also visited Thessaly, where Athens had made alliances (Th. 1. 102. 4; 2. 22. 3). It was probably as a tribute to Thessaly that Euripides made Admetus, the mythical king of Thessaly, rule over the territory of the Molossians (*Alkestis* 594 f.; the play was produced in 439 or 438 B.C.). The traditional alignment of the tribes in Epirus was with Corinth and not

¹ For the dates see my article in *Historia* iv (1955) 404 f. Phormio was more or less contemporary with Pericles, because Phormio's son served as general in 428 B.C. The action of Phormio at Amphilochian Argos has usually been dated to c. 437 B.C. (cf. G. Busolt *GG* 3. 736. 6; *CAH* 5. 474-5) and even to between 433 and 431 B.C. (cf. H. T. Wade-Gery in *JHS* 52. 216 with note 45; and R. L. Beaumont in *JHS* 72. 62). Gomme, *op. cit.* vol. 2, p. 416, inclines to such a date as I suggest. The chief defects of the late dating are that the remark made in 429 B.C. that Oeniadae *alone* in Acarnania was *αἰεὶ ποτε* hostile is absurd, if alliance between Acarnania and Athens did not begin until c. 437 or c. 432 B.C.; that the use of *ποτε* in Th. 3. 105. 1 is difficult to explain if the fortification was so recent; and that the deferment of any alliance between Athens and Acarnania to so late a date is most unlikely not only in view of Pericles' campaign in Acarnania but also in view of Thucydides' full account of the antecedents of the Peloponnesian War, to which an Athenian action of this character would have been most relevant. If Phormio's action was in 456 B.C., its absence from Thucydides' account of the *Pentekontaetia* is not surprising; for he omitted alliances with Phocis and with states in Sicily, the treaty with Persia, and the Panhellenic Congress. No doubt he preferred to mention Phormio's action in connexion with Ambracia's attack on Argos in 430 B.C. The version of Pericles' campaign in Plu. *Pericles* 19 is rhetorical; it is less reliable than the accounts in Thucydides and Diodorus. Gomme, *op. cit.* vol. 2, p. 416, has a good summary of views on this subject.

² Fraser and Rönne, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones* 149 f., dated the Acarnanian federation to the late fifth century, following Busolt-Swoboda, *Staatskunde* 1463.

with Athens (Th. 1. 47. 3: οἱ γὰρ ταύτῃ ἡπειρῶται αἰεὶ ποτε αὐτοῖς φίλοι εἰσίν).

In the years just before the Peloponnesian War Ambracia sided with Corinth against Corcyra in the dispute over Epidamnus, and some Ambraciotes were among the new settlers who marched overland from Ambracia to Apollonia (Th. 1. 26). It is natural to suppose that they took the shortest route, through Ioannina and Tepelenë, that is through the territory of the Molossians and Atintanes, who a few years later were allies of one another and of Ambracia.¹ In the first naval action against Corcyra (Th. 1. 27) Ambracia contributed eight ships; in the second (Th. 1. 46) she contributed twenty-seven ships, which were defeated on the Corinthian right wing by a Corcyraean squadron of twenty ships. On the latter occasion the first base of the Corinthian fleet was at Cheimerium, where there was a harbour. A large number of barbarians came to Cheimerium, as 'the mainlanders in this part were always friendly with the Corinthians'. When the fleet moved forward to the Sybota islands they advanced to the mainland Sybota (τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος λιμὴν ἐρήμος (1. 50. 3)). In the course of the battle the Corcyraeans on the left wing landed and burned the Corinthian camp at Cheimerium (Th. 1. 46–55). The barbarians who came to Cheimerium were probably not only from Thesprotis, which Thucydides mentioned in describing the situation of Cheimerium, but also from other parts of Epirus; for the expression οἱ ταύτῃ ἡπειρῶται is likely to have the same meaning as οἱ ἐκείνῃ ἡπειρῶται in Th. 2. 81. 4, that is the natives of the area we now call Epirus. The Corinthian base at Cheimerium (south of Arpitsa on Map 3) was evidently an open camp. The walled town there was therefore built after 433 B.C.² Elis also supported Corinth against Corcyra. One

¹ Cf. R. L. Beaumont, loc. cit. p. 65, who also suggests this route.

² See my article 'Naval Operations in the South Channel of Corcyra' in *JHS* 65 (1947) 26–37, where mainland Sybota is identified with Port Mourzo, Cheimerium harbour with the mouth of the Paramythia stream, and Cape Cheimerium with Cape Varlam (cf. St. Byz. s.v. Χειμέριον ἄκρα Θεσπρωτίας. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Χειμεριεύς). The Corinthians had a guard-post in 434 B.C. περὶ τὸ Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος (Th. 1. 30. 3); the area is mentioned also by Pausanias 8. 7. 2. The harbour known as mainland Sybota was used also by the Spartan admiral Alcidas in 427 B.C. (Th. 3. 76). My identifications differ from those of Leake, *NG* 3. 6, Bursian, *GG* 1. 28, and Gomme, op. cit. 1. 180, which I have discussed in my article. A different identification of Sybota has been suggested by K. A. Papageorgiou in an interesting article in *Epeirōtike Estia* 11 (1953) 250–5, which was summarized by E. Vanderpool in *AJA* 58 (1954) 237. He holds that the sandy spit with small hills, which lies north-west of Igoumenitsa, was in antiquity a group of islands; that these were the Sybota islands; and that the bay of Igoumenitsa was the mainland Sybota. It is, however, a matter of speculation whether these small hills were islands. If so, they were not landmarks on the coasting route, as they should be in the account of Strabo 7. 7. 5, G 324; and they were not, as Strabo says the Sybota were, 'opposite the eastern (i.e. by ancient orientation of this coast "southern") peninsula of Corcyraean territory' (κατὰ . . . τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄκρον τῆς Κορκυραίας τὴν Λευκίμμαν). The suggestion of S. I.

reason for this is that her colonies in Cassopaea were affected by Corcyra's actions (Th. 1. 27. 2; 30. 2; 46. 1).

Although the Corcyraeans were successful at the battle of Sybota, they split later into two factions. The democrats favoured Athens, and the oligarchs favoured Corinth. In 427 B.C. the oligarchs, having hired 800 mercenaries from the mainland (where the tribes were friendly to Corinth), attacked the democrats but suffered a defeat. Some of them withdrew to the mainland with most of their mercenaries (Th. 3. 73 f.).¹ Later in the year 'five hundred oligarchs occupied the forts which were on the mainland and controlled their own territory across the channel; and setting out from it they plundered those in the island and did much damage, and a severe famine ensued in the city' (Th. 3. 85). The oligarchs then moved their forces back to the island and built a fort on Mt. Istone.

'The Corcyraean territory across the channel' (ἡ πέραν οἰκεία γῆ)² sounds like one stretch of land, because the Corcyraeans captured the forts in it and used it as a base. Such forts must have been strongly built and their garrisons must have been normally supplied by sea, because the native peoples were friendly to Corinth rather than to Corcyra and because the Chaonians were a particularly warlike race. The district 'across the channel' which best fits these requirements is the peninsula from Hexamili to Buthrotum (see Map 4 and Pl. VIIIa). It is washed on the east by Lake Vivari, which the Corcyraean ships could control. A powerful wall by the monastery Dema runs across the neck of the peninsula from the sea coast to the shore of the Lake—a 'muro di sbarramento' as Dr. Ugolini called it³—and the blocks are finely cut and fitted with clamps. This expensive method of construction is not found in the fortifications at Buthrotum or anywhere else in Epirus except perhaps at Buchetium. We may conclude with confidence that this wall was built by the Corcyraeans in the prosperous period before the Peloponnesian War. Buthrotum then was a Corcyraean possession. Their forts in 427 B.C. were at the neck of the peninsula and at Buthrotum. The fact that Buthrotum was held by Corcyra explains why it was not used on the fairly numerous occasions when Athenian or Peloponnesian ships came up to

Dakaris in *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 205 that the spit of land enclosing Splantsa harbour on the north is Cape Cheimerium suffers from the fatal defect that it is not a cape at all for a mariner at sea; nor can it be considered a weather-breeder 'cheimerion'.

¹ The oligarchs at Epidamnus had also used the native peoples (Th. 1. 24. 5; Diod. Sic. 12. 30. 2). Thucydides probably refers to these places in 1. 45. 3 and 1. 53. 4 «ἰς τῶν ἐκεῖνων τι χωρίων. K. A. Papageorgiou, loc. cit., mentions ancient remains on some of the small hills north-west of Igoumenitsa and these may also have been Corcyraean possessions.

² A similar term is used in the troubles of 410 B.C., when the oligarchs fled «ἰς τὴν καταστρίων ἡπειρον (Diod. Sic. 13. 48. 8).

³ See p. 99 above.

Corcyra.¹ The Hexamili peninsula was valuable as it controlled the fisheries of the lake and the Pelodes Limen. Corcyraean squadrons, based on both sides of the channel, could intercept any merchant shipping in the channel of Corcyra.²

The mainland tribes became more directly concerned in the ambitions of Ambracia, which were stimulated by the Peloponnesian War. In 430 B.C. Ambracia launched an attack on Argos. She brought with her 'the Chaonians and some others of the neighbouring barbarians' (*Χαόνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων*), gained control of the countryside, but failed to take the city by assault. They then departed and disbanded *κατὰ ἔθνη* (Th. 2. 68). The fortifications of Argos must have been strong and the population considerable (cf. 2. 68. 4). The outer circuit of walls was there then in 430 B.C. It was probably built on the advice of Phormio c. 456 B.C.; for the two long walls with towers at the lower end are typical of the Athenian technique of fortification in the First Peloponnesian War (e.g. Th. 1. 103–4 at Nisaea). The barbarian neighbours of the Chaonians were presumably the Thesprotians and the Molossians; for they took part in the later campaign. In 429 B.C. Ambracia and the Chaonians proposed to Sparta that the Peloponnesians should join them in attacking Acarnania, an ally of Athens. A fleet of ships from Ambracia, Anactorium, and Leucas mustered at Leucas. The land forces assembled probably at Ambracia. The over-all command was held by a Spartan called Cnemus. There were 1,000 Peloponnesians; contingents from Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium; and the following barbarians. *βάρβαροι δὲ Χάονες χίλιοι ἀβασίλευτοι ὧν ἡγοῦντο ἐπ' ἐτησίῳ προστασίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ γένους Φώττος καὶ Νικάνωρ. ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ μετὰ Χαόνων καὶ Θεσπρωτοῖ ἀβασίλευτοι. Μολοσσοὺς δὲ ἤγε καὶ Ἀτιντᾶνας Σαβύλινθος ἐπίτροπος ὧν Θαρύπου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτι παιδὸς ὄντος· καὶ Παραναίους Ὁροῖδος βασιλεὺς ὧν. Ὁρέσται δὲ χίλιοι, ὧν ἐβασίλευεν Ἀντίοχος, μετὰ*

¹ Sybota harbour was evidently the most northerly harbour on the mainland outside Corcyra's control. If Buthrotum had been independent, Brasidas might well have used it instead of Sybota for his attack on Corcyra at dawn (Th. 3. 76).

² Such interceptions are hinted at by the Corinthians in their speech at Athens (Th. 1. 37. 2–4). The Corinthians there say that mariners had to put in at Corcyraean ports (*τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκη καταίροντας δέχεσθαι*) and this is only so if the fine Pelodes Limen by Buthrotum was not an independent port. The negotiations between Athens and Corinth concerned any attack either on Corcyra or on any one of her possessions (*ἢ εἰς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων* Th. 1. 45. 3 and 1. 53. 4). While this referred certainly to the Hexamili peninsula, it may have referred to some other place on the mainland. The most likely place is 'Peria', a fortified site some 250 m. in circumference (see p. 83 above), which controls the delta of the river Thyamis. It can be reached by sea, and the delta provides a good area of swampy pasture. Here too, if the Corcyraeans occupied the delta, they controlled the next harbour to the north of Sybota. The style of the masonry is ashlar or near-ashlar, and there are no clamps. I think it was probably built by the Corcyraeans, but proof is lacking.

Παραναίων ξυνεστρατεύοντο Ὀροίδῳ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐπιτρέψαντος (Th. 2. 80. 5).¹ Cnemus did not wait for the arrival of the ships from the Peloponnese which were mustering at Corinth and of 1,000 Macedonian infantry, which Perdiccas had promised without the knowledge of Athens, his nominal ally. He led the army through the territory of Argos, sacked Limnaea, which was unwalled, and advanced towards Stratus, the Acarnanian capital. The army marched in three columns. The barbarians who formed the central column rushed on ahead, fell into an ambush, and were routed with heavy loss. The army then disbanded. The impetuous and fatal advance of the barbarians was led by the Chaonians, who were full of confidence and were reckoned by the mainlanders of those parts to be the most warlike (οἱ δὲ Χάονες σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς πιστεύοντες καὶ ἀξιούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνη ἡπειρωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι εἶναι, Th. 2. 81. 4).

From these operations we gain some insight into the organization and institutions of the Epirote tribes. The Chaonians took the initiative in approaching Sparta and led the central column by virtue of their reputation; for there is no mention of any hegemony. The monarchy was in abeyance in Chaonia; in its place two members of the royal clan held the office of *prostates* for one year, and they both held the command in war. The closest parallel is found in the *imperium* of the two consuls who took over the royal authority at Rome. The eligibility of the members of the royal clan alone was a common feature in the Dorian cities of Crete. The Thesprotians too were no longer subject to a monarchy. They campaigned in company with their northern neighbours, the Chaonians, and were presumably under Chaonian command; for in the similar case of the Parauaei and the Orestae the command was exercised by the Parauaei. Some kind of dependence on Chaonia may be inferred. The Cassopaei were now included in the Thesproti as a constituent tribe of the Thesprotian group. For Herodotus (8. 47) spoke of the Thesproti as neighbours of the Ambraciotes and Leucadians. The Molossians and the Atintanes were commanded by Sabylinthus, the regent, as the king Tharyps was young. Thucydides does not say which tribe had Tharyps as its king. He assumed his readers would know that Tharyps was a member of the Molossian royal house. The Atintanes then accepted the suzerainty of Tharyps and the command of his regent; it is probable that they were dependent in some way on the Molossian king. On the other hand, the Parauaei and the Orestae were equals; they each had their own king. It was only by mutual agreement that the king of the Orestae

¹ The reading *Φάρτος* of the codices is to be preferred to the OCT reading *Φάρτος* as the former is the local idiom; see *Γέννος* in the index of Epirote names. Diod. Sic. 12. 47. 4 mentions only Spartans, Ambraciotes, and Acarnanians with their allies.

commanded the joint forces on this occasion. They were adjacent to one another, being on either side of the watershed. It is interesting that the Orestae were independent of Macedon at this time and closer to the Parauaei. Hecataeus described the Orestae as a 'Molossian tribe'; and the Parauaei may have also been a tribe of the so-called Molossian group.¹ Thucydides reckoned the 1,000 Macedonians of Perdiccas² among the barbarians; for he contrasted the Greeks and the barbarians in the antithetic clauses at 2. 80. 5.

In the autumn of 426 B.C. the Ambraciotes marched with 3,000 hoplites against Argos. They were joined later by a Peloponnesian force, commanded by a Spartan, Eurylochus, who was posted at Proschium in Aetolia. Argos was helped by the Acarnanians and by an Athenian squadron and a small force of infantry under Demosthenes, which came from Naupactus. I have described the campaign fully in *BSA* 37 (1936–7) 128–40, and I have discussed the geographical limits of the Argive territory and of the Amphilochian territory above (pp. 247 f.). It is sufficient here to mention the magnitude of the disaster which Ambracia suffered. In this campaign she had no help from her former allies in Epirus. The first force which she sent against Argos consisted of 3,000 hoplites. This was only a part of the full hoplite force, because a call for reinforcement *πανδημεί* was met later in the campaign and the reinforcing troops were hoplites (Th. 3. 112. 6). If the original force was formed of men detailed for active service and if the reserve force was equally large (in the case of Athens the reserve force was larger, as we know from Th. 2. 13. 6), then Ambracia had at least 6,000 men of military age in the hoplite class. This figure is consistent with the fact that she supplied twenty-seven ships at the battle of Sybota; for these ships must have had crews amounting to more than 5,000 men. If we allow for a relatively small class of Thetes and if we follow Gomme's method of calculation,³ the full population of men, women, and children stood at some 25,000 in 426 B.C. Thucydides does not give us the number of the Ambraciote dead. He mentions that an Ambraciote herald saw more than 1,000 sets of arms which had been taken from the relief force; that Demosthenes alone had 300 panoplies; and that those panoplies were only a part of the Athenian share which was one-third of the whole. Ambracia, he says, suffered the greatest disaster of any Greek state within as many days in the war.

¹ Plu. *GQ* 13.

² R. L. Beaumont, 'Corinth, Ambracia, Apollonia' in *JHS* 72 (1952) 65, believed that Perdiccas' troops came to Ambracia via Kastoria and Koritsa. This would be a long and unnecessary detour. The direct routes via Grevena and Greveniti or via Kastoria and Konitsa are much quicker.

³ A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens* (Oxford, 1933) table 1 on p. 26.

The fact that Thucydides does not give the number of Ambraciotes killed in this campaign suggests that he did not visit Ambracia; for he could have verified on the spot a figure which he had by hearsay and suppressed as being incredible (Th. 3. 113. 6: λέγεται). Equally the story of the conversation with the Ambracian herald is so couched that it is unlikely to have been obtained from the herald; it clearly came to Thucydides from an Athenian or from someone on the Athenian side. The campaign occurred before Thucydides went into exile. He may well have seen the spoils in the temples at Athens (τὰ δὲ νῦν ἀνακείμενα ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἱεροῖς, Th. 3. 114. 1); for the word νῦν is more likely to apply to the 420's than to the years of his return after 404 B.C. He is likely to have had an account from Demosthenes; and the mention of Demosthenes' deliberate purpose (ἐπίτηδες ὁ Δημοσθένης προύταξε Th. 3. 112. 4)) in placing the Messenians in front at Idomenae may be due to Demosthenes having told Thucydides. He may have supplemented such Athenian sources later, when he was in exile and could learn about the Peloponnesian side of the campaign. There is, however, a lack of geographical precision, especially when one leaves the coastal plain of Argos, which suggests that Thucydides did not visit the area himself or even receive details from an Argive or an Amphilochean. As regards affairs at Corcyra he certainly had information from Corcyraeans about the killing of the oligarchs (3. 81 and 4. 47 f.), the nature and the effects of stasis (3. 82 f.), and the forts of the oligarchs on the mainland and on Mt. Istone. It is indeed likely that he visited Corcyra, if he went to Syracuse, as seems highly probable. The information he gives about the natives of Epirus in the operations which culminated in the battle of Sybota is so vague that it might well have come from Athenians serving in the squadron which was aiding the Corcyraeans. On the other hand, the very full information about the natives of Epirus in the unsuccessful attack on Stratus must have been derived from someone with local knowledge—an Acarnanian or perhaps a Macedonian, as Thucydides had access to good information about Upper Macedonia.

The aim of Athens in these operations in the north-west theatre was expressed most fully in connexion with Demosthenes' plans in Aetolia. He hoped to win over Aetolia καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἡπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτη (Th. 3. 94. 3). The success of this policy would bring several advantages. It would cut off Corinth and the Peloponnesians from the coasts north of the Gulf of Corinth and deny them the possibility of trading, especially in exchange for ship-timber, with the hinterland of Epirus and Illyria. It would sever the arteries of trade with Sicily and Italy which was usually conducted along the coasting route, and it would deny them the possibility of naval or military aid from the cities there;

in fact it would have made the Sicilian Expedition unnecessary in this regard. At the same time Athens would have gained access to trade with the north-western area, and she might have strengthened her financial position. When the Peloponnesians fought to keep the north-western area open on land and by sea and to win over *πᾶν τὸ ἡπειρωτικόν* (Th. 2. 80. 1 and 3. 102. 6), the Athenians had the additional incentive of defeating the enemy there and breaking his morale. In fact Athens came very close to complete success. One obstacle to her advance was provided by the Epirote tribes which had supported Ambracia and gave the Peloponnesians the hope of a military combination; for they were situated in the rear of Acarnania and were capable of providing a base for major military operations.

Towards the end of 426 B.C. Athens was within reach of success. The Epirote tribes had not moved in support of Ambracia. That city was almost broken and could be taken without difficulty (Th. 3. 113. 6). Argos Amphiloichicum was on Athens' side and so were the Acarnanians. The only Corinthian bases left were Anactorium, Leucas (badly shaken by attacks earlier in the year; Th. 3. 94. 1-2), and Oeniadae. At this stage the wishes of the Acarnanians made themselves felt. They and the Amphiloichians had no desire to see Athens too strong in the Ambracian Gulf (Th. 3. 116. 6; cf. D.S. 12. 60. 5). They therefore concluded a separate treaty of defensive alliance with Ambracia for a hundred years, on condition that Ambracia returned all places and all hostages she had taken from Amphiloichia and agreed not to render help to Anactorium. In the winter of 426 B.C. Corinth sent 300 hoplites to strengthen Ambracia. In 425 B.C. the Acarnanians and the Athenians at Naupactus made a joint attack on Anactorium. Ambracia made no move. The city fell by treachery. It was occupied by Acarnanian settlers. Leucas was strengthened by a garrison from Corinth (Th. 4. 42. 3). Oeniadae was captured by the Acarnanians in 424 B.C., at a time when Athens was planning to attack Boeotia from three sides. The Acarnanians persuaded Demosthenes to help them first to reduce the Agraei and their king Salynthius; they then joined Demosthenes in his expedition to Siphiae (Th. 4. 77). Yet the most important station of all, Corcyra, was an uncertain factor; for the island was still torn by faction. The Peloponnesians helped the oligarchs and the Athenians helped the democrats (e.g. 4. 2. 3). The obvious policy for Athens was to convert to her own side the Chaonian mercenaries who served under the Corcyraean oligarchs and to win over the Epirote tribes. In Aristophanes, *Acharnians* (produced in Jan./Feb. 425 B.C.), ll. 604 and 613, Dicaeopolis envisaged the use of mercenary forces in Chaonia, and he mentioned Chaonia and Ecbatana as the most remote objects of the people's ambition. In the *Knights*

(produced in Jan./Feb. 424 B.C.), ll. 78 f., the ambitious plans of Demosthenes were held up to ridicule: he stood like a false Colossus with one foot on Pylus, the other in the Assembly, his backside in Chaonia, his hands in Aetolia, and his wits in 'Thiefville'. We do not know whether Athens had any success with Chaonia. She may have had with the Molossians; for it was probably at this time, as we shall see later, that the Molossian king, Tharyps, came to Athens and was granted Athenian citizenship.

Athens' wish to bring both Chaonia and Molossia into her alliance is reflected in Euripides *Andromache* 1243 f.—a play produced probably before 425 B.C. Thetis, the mother of Achilles, prophesies that a son born posthumously to Neoptolemus by Andromache in Thessaly will become king of the Molossi by virtue of a marriage between Andromache and Helenus, and that the descendants of this son will form an unbroken line of prosperous kings of Molossia:

γυναῖκα δ' αἰχμάλωτον, Ἀνδρομάχην λέγω,
Μολοσσίαν γῆν χρὴ κατοικῆσαι, γέρον,
'Ελένω ξυναλλαχθεῖσαν εὐναίοις γάμοις,
καὶ παῖδα τόνδε τῶν ἀπ' Αἰάκου μόνον
λελειμμένον δὴ βασιλέα δ' ἐκ τοῦδε χρὴ
ἄλλον δι' ἄλλου διαπερᾶν Μολοσσίας
εὐδαιμονοῦντας.

Euripides thus forged a link between the royal house of Molossia, the Aeacidae, and the royal house of Chaonia. Another version of this appears in Pausanias 1. 11. 2. Euripides may have wished to pay a compliment to the young king Tharyps; he certainly intended to bring Molossia and Chaonia into a close relationship.¹

Euripides had no respect for traditional legend. His remarriage of Andromache to the Trojan Helenus was probably his own idea. But the passing reference to Helenus shows that the legend connecting Helenus with Epirus was common knowledge. The next mention of Trojans in Epirus is in Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 84); he brings Aeneas to the Molossi and sends him on to Italy with Odysseus. It is interesting to find also in Hellanicus (F 168 a) a connexion between Theseus and Molossia in the form that, when Theseus was in service to Peirithoüs, he married a daughter of Aïdoneus, king of the Molossi; this too may reflect some propaganda by Athens at the expense of the normal tradition that Aïdoneus was king of the Thesprotian area.

Under the terms of the peace of Nicias Anactorium was not restored to Corinth. It served as a port on the Athenian route to Sicily (Th. 4. 49

¹ The fragment of *Melanippe Desmotes* in *Greek Lit. Pap.* 3 (1950) 113 which describes the oracle at Dodona has no political connotation.

and 7. 31). Ambracia gave some help to Gylippus in 414 B.C. and to the Peloponnesian fleet in 411 B.C. (Th. 6. 104 and 8. 106), but her strength was still severely impaired. Athens was interested again in the north-western area. She sent embassies separately to the Molossi and to the Thesproti before the outbreak of the Decelean War (Ps.-Andocides, *Against Alcibiades* 41), but the disaster at Syracuse put an end to her hopes in this theatre. So far as the Epirote tribes were concerned the wars of the fifth century had weakened the Greek cities and had opened up the possibility of expansion by the tribes of the hinterland.

One effect of the Second Peloponnesian War was that the Greeks of the south became more aware of the Chaonians, the Molossians, and the other tribes. The need for a more fixed name for the inhabitants of the area than οἱ ἐκείνη ἡπειρώται, as Thucydides called them, led to a more specific use of ἡπειρος as a proper name. Hellanicus, who published his work in 407 or probably 406 B.C., used the phrase Ἀμβρακιῶται καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν Χάονες καὶ Ἡπειρώται (FGrH 4 F 83). When we compare his phrase with those of Thucydides Χαόνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων and Χάονες . . . τῶν ἐκείνη ἡπειρωτῶν (2. 68. 9 and 2. 81. 4), it is clear that Hellanicus used Ἡπειρώται as a proper name.¹ The first occurrence of Ἀπειρώτας is in an inscription which comes from Taenarum in Laconia and is dated to the year 427/6: ἀνέθηκε Αἰσχρίων Ἀπειρώτας τῶι Ποιοιδᾶνι Ἡρακλείδαν αὐτὸν καὶ ταυτῶ (IG 5. 1. 1231).² The first case of a Molossian being given the citizenship of Athens is that of Tharyps (Tod *GHI* 2 no. 173, l. 4). The date of the gift may be inferred with some probability. The desire of Athens to win the favour of Molossia was strongest in the Archidamian War, when she was actively engaged in the north-western area. The fact that Molossia supported Ambracia against Argos and Stratus in 429 B.C. but not in 426 B.C. indicates a change of attitude, which may be connected with an Athenian initiative. The disaster to Ambracia in 426 B.C. gave Athens a chance to fulfil her ambition of winning over πᾶν τὸ ἡπειρωτικόν—an ambition which the Peloponnesians had too (Th. 2. 80. 1; 3. 94. 3; 3. 102. 6)—and Athenian forces acted

¹ It is uncertain whether he means to include the Chaones among the Epirotes. Hellanicus may be mentioning the attack on Argos = Th. 2. 68 rather than, as Jacoby supposes, the attack on Stratus = Th. 2. 80, because the Orestae were present on the latter expedition and they could hardly be called Epirotes in a geographical sense.

² Franke, *AE* 9, thinks Apeiros means here a mainlander of the Peloponnese or of Asia Minor (a very vague definition for Aeschrion); he believes an Epirote would not make a dedication to Poseidon (but see pp. 735 f. below). The name Aeschrion is known in north-west Greece, (see *IG* ix². 1. 447. 15 and 594, ix. 1². 2. 217) and in Macedonia (*Inscr. Magnes.* 10 line 11); cf. also Αἰσχυρῶν on the dedication published by Fraser in *JHS* 74 (1954) 56. H. Schmidt, *Epirotika* 9, Klotzsch p. 19, and Nilsson p. 8 have no doubts about Aeschrion being an Epirote.

against Anactorium and Agraeis in 425 and in 424 B.C. The allusions in Aristophanes to Athenian hopes in this area were made early in 425 B.C. and early in 424 B.C.; and the compliment to the Molossian royal house was paid by Euripides probably before 425 B.C. This all leads one to place the granting of honorary citizenship to Tharyps in the period 428 to 424 B.C. We know from Thucydides that Tharyps was still a boy in 429 B.C. (*Θαρύπου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος* (2. 80. 5)), and we know independently from Justin that Tharyps was sent to Athens for his education as a boy or young man (17. 3. 11: 'Athenas quoque erudiendi gratia missus'). The probability then is that Tharyps came to Athens at some time between 428 and 424 B.C. and that he was granted Athenian citizenship then or later.¹

'They relate', says Plutarch in introducing Pyrrhus, 'that Tharyps was the first to become renowned, as he organized the states on a system of Greek customs, and rules and regulations of a humane kind' (*Θαρρύπαν πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ γράμμασι καὶ νόμοις φιλανθρώποις διακοσμήσαντα τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστὸν γενέσθαι* (Plu. P. 1)). Klotzsch and Cross misunderstood this passage, which they took to mean the introduction of the Greek language into Molossia.² The sentence and the thought are typical of fourth-century and Hellenistic Greek. The phrase *γράμματα καὶ νόμοι* is then common and means 'rules and regulations' (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1286^a15: *ἡ κατὰ γράμματα καὶ νόμους ἀρίστη πολιτεία*).³ The meaning in the context in Plutarch is the same as in Aristotle's phrase *κατὰ γράμματα ἄρχειν*, 'to rule under the guidance of a written code', as translated by H. Rackham (*Pol.* 1272^a38, Loeb ed.). It has been recognized that Plutarch and Justin were using a common source in describing the activities of Tharyps.⁴ Justin has given the sense of the phrase which we find in Plutarch more accurately than Klotzsch and Cross: 'primus itaque leges, et senatum, annuosque magistratus et reipublicae formam composuit; et . . . vita cultior populo ab Arybba statuta.' For he translated *ἔθεσι* by *leges*, he gave the interpretation of *γράμμασι καὶ νόμοις* by specific examples, and he used the word *cultior* to translate *φιλανθρώποις*.

The value of the information which is given by Plutarch and Justin depends upon the trustworthiness of the source which they were following. It has been conjectured by Klotzsch, Cross, and others that the

¹ So Cross p. 12 and Beaumont in *JHS* 72 (1952) 65. Nilsson p. 44 mentions the analogous case of Sadocus, son of the Odrysian king Sitalces; he had been made an Athenian citizen by 431 B.C. (Th. 2. 29. 5; cf. 2. 67. 2). Aristophanes joked about him in *Acharnians* 145 f. Yet Nilsson thinks the citizenship was conferred on Tharyps not in the Peloponnesian War but in the Corinthian War.

² Klotzsch 27: 'der Einführung der griechischen Schrift . . . und untrennbar ist damit die Einführung der griechischen Sprache verbunden'; and Cross 13.

³ See LSJ⁹ *γράμμα* iii. 4.

⁴ So Klotzsch 26 and Cross 13 n. 1.

source was Proxenus, the historian of the court of Pyrrhus. Nilsson thought that the story of Tharyps being educated at Athens and introducing Greek ways into Molossia was an invention.¹ The inscription which mentions the Athenian citizenship of Tharyps counts against Nilsson's view; for it gives independent evidence of Tharyps' connexion with Athens. Cross and Beaumont accept the information as credible.² It does in fact represent the development which we have already inferred from the evidence of literature, inscriptions, and archaeology. The introduction of Greek customs was a gradual process throughout the long reign of Tharyps, which Cross dated *c.* 440–*c.* 400 B.C. and Franke *c.* 430–385 B.C. Thucydides spoke of a similar process during the reign of Archelaus (413–399 B.C.), who organized the military and other resources of Macedonia to a greater extent than his eight predecessors (2. 100 using the word *διεκόσμησε* as Plutarch does). As we have seen, Molossia and Macedonia tended to develop *pari passu*, because they were similarly organized and they were open to the same influences. It is probable that Tharyps was responsible for the kind of written rules and regulations which we find in the earliest known decrees of the Molossian state in 370–368 B.C.³ But the institutions were, of course, much earlier in origin.

2. THE EXPANSION OF THE EPIROTE TRIBES, AND THEIR IMPACT ON THEIR NEIGHBOURS, 400–331 B.C.

(a) *The Archaeological Evidence*

The archaeological evidence shows the beginning of a change in the civilization of inland Epirus from 400 B.C.⁴ But it was only the beginning, and the old ways persisted for a long time. At a large number of sites throughout Epirus the earliest painted pottery which I found was black glaze pottery; some of this was of good quality and belonged to the fourth century. The rough pottery of the Bronze Age tradition continued in use, as has been seen in excavations at Dodona and Kastritsa.⁵ The earliest building in stone at Dodona is a small temple, dated to *c.* 400 B.C., of which the external measurements are 6.45 × 4.20 m.; this was close to the sacred oak, of which the position has been inferred from a deep hole in the rocky ground. In the period 350–325 B.C. a *peribolos* of ashlar masonry, some 50 m. in circumference,

¹ p. 44.

² Cross 12 and *JHS* 72 (1952) 65.

³ Justin's translation of the idea expressed by this source is general rather than specific; there is no ground for conjecturing what the *senatus* was in Molossia.

⁴ So too Dakaris in *PAE* 1952, 385.

⁵ e.g. in *Ergon* 1957, 94 and *PAE* 1952, 385.

was constructed to enclose the oak and the doorway into the temple.¹ A piece of a palmette in marble from a gable is of the fourth century.² The dedications are less numerous and less striking than those of the archaic period. A bronze statuette of Zeus with a gracious inclination of the head is dated by Neugebauer to the middle of the fourth century.³ A bronze statuette of Poseidon, now in the Berlin Museum, is an excellent work of the middle of the fourth century.⁴ A shallow bronze dish with a silvered circle and four silvered leaves was dedicated in this century by a citizen of Pharsalus, and another bronze dish perhaps by a Spartan with reference to a soothsayer Diopethes.⁵ There are many more inscribed strips of this century than of the fifth century and most of them ask questions about marital matters or journeys.⁶ As those who consulted the oracle were presumably mostly local, the increasing number of inscriptions indicates a growth in literacy. An answer is given in one case: the inquirer is told to pursue his father's trade and be a fisherman.⁷ One inscription refers to the bewitching of a woman, perhaps by a man, and another to necromancy.⁸ The Atintanes figure on another, probably as the inquirers.⁹ Some of the many pieces of decorative bronze plaques from armour which were dedicated at Dodona may belong to this period; they are described in the chapter on the following period 330–272 B.C., to which most of them probably belong. An interesting bronze statuette, which is dated by Carapanos to the fourth or fifth century, is likely to be of the fourth century. It probably portrays the shepherd Mandylas, whose threat to cut down the sacred oak provoked the first utterance of the Dodonaean dove—a story told by Proxenus (*FGrH* 703 F 7). It is evidently of local workmanship.¹⁰ Statuettes of a youth with a trident and of a young victorious athlete are in a much better fourth-century style.¹¹ A beautiful statuette of a Maenad has a Praxitelean quality;¹² there are signs of silver incrustations on the folds of her dress.

¹ Evangelides in *PAE* 1953, 161 and Dakaris in *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 6 with plans 2 and 7; the latter gives full references. See also Dakaris in *Eph. Arch.* 1959 (published in 1964) which appeared when this book was in the press.

² *PAE* 1932, 48 and fig. 2.

³ Neugebauer *Die gr. Bronzen d. klass. Zeit u. d. Hellenismus* (Berlin, 1951) 44 pls. 20 and 21. Berlin Inventory no. 10581.

⁴ Charbonneaux, *Les Bronzes grecs* (Paris, 1958) 95 and pl. 24. 2.

⁵ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 229; Carapanos 42 and pl. 23. 6. Diopethes quoted an oracle, probably given by Dodona, against the election of the lame king Agesilaus (see *Plu. Ages.* 3).

⁶ For instance in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 251 f. nos. 5, 6, 11, 13, 15, 18b, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 37, 38, 39; *PAE* 1931, 91 and fig. 7 no. 2; *PAE* 1932, 52 nos. 2 and 5.

⁷ *PAE* 1932, 52 no. 2.

⁸ *PAE* 1929, 126 no. 5 and *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 257 no. 23.

⁹ *PAE* 1929, 126 no. 8, where *τύχαι* ends the preamble and *τιν* begins the question. *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 251 f. has a number of fourth-century inquiries; I suggest restoring *Χιμώ-* [λιος] in no. 5 line 5 on p. 25, comparing *Χιμώλιοι* in *SGDI* 1347.

¹⁰ Carapanos 186 and pl. 14 no. 2.

¹¹ Carapanos 186–7 and pl. 14 nos. 3 and 4.

¹² Carapanos 185 and pl. 14. 1.

Two bronze plaques showing Nike, one in a four-horsed chariot and the other in a two-horsed chariot, may refer to victories at the Olympian or Pythian games, where we know that Arybbas, the Molossian king, won chariot-races.¹ Another fourth-century plaque shows two winged griffins facing one another in an heraldic design; there is also a second example, less well preserved.² A fragment of a bronze plaque showing the head of a young Heracles wielding a club is dated by Evangelides to the middle of the fourth century.³

The hoard at Voutonosi contained a bronze *skyphos*, which is dated by Verdelis to just after 350 B.C.⁴ Terracotta statuettes have been found at Psina and at the Koudhonotripa, south of Ambracia⁵ (see pp. 65 and 140 above). A cist grave at Kerasson in the Louros valley yielded ten red-figured Attic vases and three Attic lamps of the first half of the fourth century and a beautiful silver seal of the late fifth century. The seal represents Orestes about to kill Clytemnestra; S. I. Dakaris has restored the fragmentary inscription of their names and commented on its exquisite workmanship.⁶ A cinerary urn with black glaze and a clay lamp of the fourth century were found at Sistrunion in Lakkasouli (*Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 201). The graves which have been excavated at Mikhalitsi village were of the period c. 350–342 B.C.; the gold jewellery, the gilded trefoil *oenochoe*, and the large grave with small Ionic columns are signs of growing wealth (see p. 51 above). The gold jewellery from graves in the Valtos (see p. 243 above) is probably of this period also.

An important development in the cult at Dodona is revealed by an inscription on a lead tablet, which was found by Evangelides. It is dated by him to the end of the fifth century. In it an inquiry is made of Zeus Naïus, Dione, and σύννα[οι]. The inclusion of the θεοὶ σύνναοι marks a widening of the cult, so that it is more Panhellenic in its scope.⁷ One associated god was Dionysus, since the fine statuette of a resting Maenad dates from the late fifth century. Franke inferred a worship of Dionysus and of Demeter from a fragmentary inscription on a lead strip at Dodona.⁸ It has on one side περὶ Δαματρίο and on the other side καὶ Διονυσίω καρ,⁹ with other letters on the first side and περὶ τὰ[ς] τέχνα[ς] on the other. It should, however, be noted that

¹ Carapanos 194–5 and pl. 19 nos. 3 and 4; Tod *GHI* 2 no. 173 l. 48 and p. 216.

² Carapanos 193 and pl. 18 no. 2.

³ *Ergon* 1957, 46 and fig. 45.

⁴ *BCH* 73 (1949) 26 no. xii fig. 13.

⁵ See also p. 489, above.

⁶ *BCH* 84 (1960) 745 with figs. 1 and 2.

⁷ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 258. See A. D. Nock in *Harvard Studies* 41 (1930) 1 f. on the subject.

⁸ *PAE* 1929, 127 no. 10; Franke, *AME* 28 with note 9, followed by Dakaris, *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 8, n. 11. He dates the introduction of the other gods to Hellenistic times (he does not mention *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 258 in this connexion).

⁹ This may be restored as καρῶπω or καρῶπω as in *SGDI* 1339 and 1350, or as καρῶτω or καρῶνω, which are ethnics. The lack of iota adscript suggests it is of a late date.

Demetrio(s) is not Demeter and Dionysius is not Dionysus; that both are common names (Dionysius occurs on a sixth-century inscription at Dodona); and that the lead tablet is likely to carry an inquiry of the normal kind, which is certainly the case with the words *περὶ τὰς τέχνας* (compare the inquiry about following a father's trade).¹ It is, I think, unlikely that the associated gods and goddesses at Dodona would have included Demeter; she is more appropriate to the Nekyomanteion, as Franke himself observes.² An altar which was dedicated to πάντες θεοί in the Hellenistic period shows that the θεοὶ σύνναοι came to stay.³

Demosthenes refers to oracular responses from Delphi and Dodona, which ordered the Athenian state to carry out public sacrifices to Dionysus. In the response from Dodona the priest of Zeus censures Athens for neglecting 'the seasons of the sacrifice and of the sacred embassy', and instructs Athens to send chosen men on the sacred mission and make sacrifices to Zeus Naïus and to Dione. The priest of Zeus orders the Athenians to sacrifice to Dionysus, to Apollo the averter, and to Zeus Ktesios. The date of these responses is not known, but the language in which they are couched is suitable to a date in the first half of the fourth century. The interest of Athens in her alliance with Alcetas may have led to closer relations with Dodona.⁴

(b) *The Geographers and the Thearodokoi*

The geographical descriptions which are published under the names of Scylax and Scymnus provide some information about Epirus. It is necessary to determine the period to which each refers. The account of Pseudo-Scylax was written between 338 and 335 B.C.;⁵ but some parts of it refer only to earlier events. Thus the sections on Illyria, Italy, and Asia Minor refer to nothing later than 380 B.C. The author lived east of the Isthmus of Corinth (§40), perhaps at Athens, and he used the best coasting-account of recent date for areas which he did not himself know; for example, his account of Illyria may have come from Philistus.⁶ Later additions have been made to the work of Ps.-Scylax, and

¹ *PAE* 1932, 52 no. 2.

² *AME* 50. A question about property by 'the Demetreium' is asked of the god, but it does not follow that the property was at Dodona (*PAE* 1955, 172).

³ *Arch. Anz.* 1894, 175-6.

⁴ *Dem.* 21. 51 f.; see H. W. Parke, *The Delphic Oracle*, 344. The emendation which gives the cult-title Naïus is obviously correct.

⁵ So C. Müller *GGM* i. xlii-xliii.

⁶ If so, Philistus was probably responsible for the detailed information about the Gulf of Valona and the Atintanes inland. The attack on the Molossi by the Illyrians, which Dionysius I of Syracuse organized and Philistus knew of, would bring a special knowledge of the interior in 385 B.C.

some of these are incorporated in the description as we now have it. The text too is often corrupt. The account for Epirus runs as follows:

§ 26. The Taulantii are the Illyrian tribe in which Epidamnus is, and beside the town flows a river whose name is Palamnus. From Epidamnus to Apollonia, a Greek city, two days' march. Apollonia is 50 stades from the sea and the river Aeas flows beside the town. From Apollonia to Amantia is 320 stades. And the river Aeas from the Pindus mountain flows beside Apollonia.¹ . . . towards Oricum further into the [Ionian] Gulf (codex: *πρὸς Ὠρικοῦ εἴσω μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν Ἰώνιον*).² Eighty stades of territory belonging to Oricum border on the sea, and sixty stades of territory belonging to Amantia. Neighbouring on them all inland (are) Atintanes, above the territory of Oricum and Caria as far as Idonia (or Edonia). In the region Castis there is said to be a plain, by name Erythea. There Geryones is said to have come and pastured his cattle. By this are the Ceraunian Mountains in Epirus, and an island off them, a small one which has the name Sason. Thence to Oricum city is a voyage of a third of a day.

The last part of this section contains some additions to the usual place-to-place record which we find in Ps.-Scylax. No doubt he had written from Apollonia to Amantia 320 stades, from Amantia to Oricum further up the Gulf—stades, a note on the territory of each (such as we find at § 32 and § 50), a note on the people inland (such as we find at § 64: *ἡ δὲ Θετταλία παρήκει ἐν μεσογείᾳ ὑπὲρ Αἰνιάνων καὶ Δολόπων καὶ Μαλιέων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Μαγνήτων μέχρι Τεμπῶν*), and then the Ceraunian point and Sason with a note of distance. A commentator may have added the passage about Erythea and Geryones. It is usually maintained that the word which prompted the addition is the antecedent of Castis, namely Caria,³ and that both Castis and Caria are corrupt. C. Müller reads Caria with an asterisk and emends *Κάστιδι* to *Κέστριδι*.⁴ If the passage is emended, it is better to emend both words and read: *ὑπὲρ τῆς Ὠρικίας καὶ Κέστριδος μέχρι Ἰδονίας. ἐν τῇ Κέστριδι χώρα εἶναι λέγεται πεδῖον κτλ.* Cestris, or some form of this name, is at least plausible because *Κεστρίνοι* or *Κεστρινικοὶ* βόες were famous (Hesychius, s.v.), and the area is at least to the north of

¹ A later addition.

² For this use of *εἴσω* compare § 51. The meaning is clearly that Oricum lies further up the Gulf of Valona than Amantia does; some words have dropped out before *πρὸς Ὠρικοῦ*, which should probably be *πρὸς Ὠρικόν* as *πρὸς* is not used with the genitive in the description of Europe. Various suggestions have been made; for instance, C. Müller reads *πρὸς [δ' Ἀμαντίας] εἴσω μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν Ἰόνιον Ὠρικός*, but if one is proceeding from north to south Oricum is not 'further into the Ionian Gulf'. The original text was perhaps *εἰς τὸν κόλπον*, to which a commentator added *Ἰόνιον* and from which *κόλπον* was later dropped; for it is the word *Ἰόνιον* which is not appropriate here.

³ Just as the mention of *Αἴας* prompted the addition about the river flowing from the Pindus range.

⁴ Other emendations for *Καρίας* have been suggested; Voss has *Χαονίας* and Clausen *Δεξαρίας*.

the Thyamis river (Th. 1. 46 *Κεστρίνη*). It is next assumed that the word *Ἰδονίας* or *Ἡδονίας* is corrupt.¹ This word was emended to *Δωδωνίας* by Palmer; but Dodona is a long way south of the Thyamis river and further still from Oricum and Amantia. I find all these emendations unconvincing and discuss the passage below (p. 522).

§ 27. Orikoi. The Orikoi inhabit part of the Amantian territory. And the Amantieis are up to here Illyrians (reckoning) from the Boulini (cf. § 22, where the Boulini are mentioned among the first of the Illyrii, with the note 'the Boulini are an Illyrian tribe'). And the mouth of the Ionian Gulf is from the Ceraunian Mountains to the Iapygian promontory (cf. § 14). The crossing from the Ceraunians to the city Hydroeis in Iapygia is some 500 stades. (This) is the mouth of the Gulf, and the inside area is the Ionian (Gulf). There are many harbours in the Adrias. And the Adrias and the Ionian (Gulf) are the same thing.

The division into sections is here misleading; for the first sentence belongs to § 26 which then runs thus: 'thence to Oricum city is a voyage of a third of a day, and the "Orikoi" inhabit part of the Amantian territory'. As C. Müller saw, the word Amantieis should be bracketed in the next sentence. We then begin § 27 as follows: 'These are Illyrians up to here from the Boulini' (the word 'here' referring to the Orician and the Amantian territory). I have commented above on the description of the Adrias and the Ionian (Gulf) as being the same thing.

§ 28. After (the) Illyrians (the) Chaonians. And Chaonia is rich in harbours, and the Chaonians live by villages, and the voyage along Chaonia takes half a day. § 29. Off Chaonia is an island, Corcyra, with a Greek city in it, which has three harbours by the city; of these one is a locked harbour. Corcyra covers Thesprotia more than Chaonia. But I return again to the mainland whence I turned aside. § 30. After Chaonia are the Thesproti, a tribe. These too live by villages. It too is rich in harbours. There is a harbour there called Elea (MS. *ΕΛΕΑ*). Into this harbour issues the Acheron; and the Acherusian Lake from which the river Acheron flows. The voyage along Thesprotia is half a day. § 31. After Thesprotia is Cassopia. The Cassopi, a tribe, live also by villages. They live by the coast as far as into the Anactorian Gulf. The voyage along the territory of the Cassopi is half a day. The Anactorian Gulf from the mouth to the inner recess is a little less than 120 stades. But the mouth is 4 stades wide.

§ 32. After Cassopia are the Molossians, a tribe. They too live by villages. They reach to the sea at this point for a small stretch of coast, and have much territory inland. The voyage along the Molossian territory is

¹ The codex Parisinus has *Ἰδονίας* and the codex Palatinus *Ἡδωνίας*. I propose to retain the word; see p. 737, below, for a possible occurrence of an ethnic form derived from it.

40 stades. § 33. After Molossia Ambracia, a Greek city. It is 80 stades distant from the sea. And there is by the sea a fort and a locked harbour. Here Greece begins and is continuous to the river Peneus and Homolium, a city of Magnesia, which is beside the river. The voyage along Ambracia is 120 stades.

§ 34. After Ambracia is Acarnania. The Acarnanians are a tribe and the first city there is Amphiloichicum Argos.

It is surprising that no mention is made of Buthrotum. It may have been dependent still on Corcyra, and Corcyra may have directed traffic to her own port. His statement that the four Epirote tribes he mentions—Chaones, Thesproti, Cassopi, and Molossi—all live by villages is of considerable interest. We cannot make any certain deduction from his failure to mention Buchetium, Pandosia, Elatria, and Batiae, because he mentions so few cities—only three in Aetolia—and three of these towns (*πολίχνια* in Strabo) were not Cassopian towns but Elean colonies. The division of the coast equally between Chaones, Thesproti, and Cassopi at half a day's journey each, and the statement that Corcyra covers Thesprotia more than Chaonia should mean that Thesprotia included the area Cestris or Cestrine north of the river Thyamis as far perhaps as the lake by Buthrotum.

The harbour Elea, into which the Acheron flows, may not be the same as the Glycys Limen of Strabo, drawing on Hecataeus, but the harbour Kerentza; it is possible that the Acheron flowed at this time into the inlet of Kerentza. There is a walled site between the Glycys Limen and Kerentza (p. 63, above), but Ps.-Scylax does not mention a *πόλις*. The coast of the Cassopi must begin soon after Elea harbour and continue, as Ps.-Scylax says, into the Ambracian Gulf, if their coast is to be roughly equal to those of the Chaones and the Thesproti (on my division these were about 600 stades and 500 stades respectively). Ps.-Scylax uses the name Anactorian Gulf for the usual Ambracian Gulf; this seems to be peculiar to him. The measurement given for the length of the Gulf is corrupt; but the other figures—the width at the mouth, the two bits of coast, the distance of Ambracia inland—seem to be correct. The Molossian strip is a short one, entered no doubt from the Louros valley, between Buchetium and Ambracia, and it was very open to attack as long as Buchetium and Ambracia were both independent.

The fort and the locked harbour by the sea are visible at the site called Phidhokastro, which I have described (p. 137 above). They are referred to by Polybius (4. 61. 7 and 63); he calls the place Ambracus, and the approach to it was on a single narrow mole, as it lay in marshes. The style of the foundation is ashlar with large, well-cut blocks, e.g. $1.50 \times 0.55 \times 0.50$ m. The description of the Epirote tribes

and the Macedonian tribes as separate from Greece (cf. § 65) is in accordance with the practice of the fifth and fourth centuries. The attribution of Amphilocheia Argos to Acarnania shows a change in the political situation since 426 B.C., when Argos was an independent city (Thuc. 3. 105 f.).

Before we try to date this part of Ps.-Scylax more precisely, we must consider the work which is conventionally ascribed to Scymnus of Chios but was probably written by a citizen of Heraclea Pontica c. 90 B.C. As C. Müller says, the author 'non sui aevi geographiam . . . tradit sed quam multo antiquiores scriptores prodiderant' (*GGM* i, p. lxxviii). Ps.-Scymnus makes a general reference to his sources in l. 114, with particular praise of Ephorus, and he refers specifically to authors in each section. At ll. 370 f. he cites Theopompus for the Adriatic Sea (Θεόπομπος ἀναγράφει δὲ ταύτην τὴν θέσιν); and there is evidence that he used Theopompus at ll. 387 f. in describing the climate of the area and the Eneti (*FGrH* 115 F 130 and 274). At l. 472 he cites Ephorus as the authority for Greece (ἐξῆς διέξιμεν δὲ πάλι τὴν Ἑλλάδα . . . ἐθνικῶς ἅπαντας κατ' Ἐφωρον δηλώσομεν), and there is evidence just before this that he used Ephorus in ascribing the settlement of Acarnania partly to Alcmeon and partly to his son, Acarnan (*FGrH* 70 F 123 = Strabo 10. 2. 6). The question therefore arises whether Ps.-Scymnus was using Theopompus or Ephorus for Epirus, which is a half-way area between the Adriatic Sea and Acarnania.

The account of Ps.-Scymnus for our area begins rather vaguely and jumps from Corcyra Nigra to Lake Lychnidus to the island Diomedea in the southern Adriatic. Then ll. 434 f.:

Inland of these are barbarians, Brygi. And near the sea is Epidamnus, a Greek city, which Corcyra seems to have colonized. And inland of the Brygi men called Enchelii (codices read Ἐγγέλιοι), over whom Cadmus once ruled. In their vicinity is Apollonia, a foundation of Corcyra and Corinth, and a Greek city by the sea, Oricus; for it was founded by Euboeans returning from Troy, who were carried there by the winds.

Ps.-Scymnus is very selective. He refers to Brygi,¹ Enchelii, and Cadmus, as Strabo does (7. 7. 8), and probably puts them in the same rather vague area between Lake Lychnidus and Apollonia (ll. 430 and 439). He, like Strabo in 7. 5. 8, makes Apollonia a joint foundation of Corcyra and Corinth; on the other hand Thucydides (1. 26. 2), followed by Dio Cassius (41. 45) and Pliny (*HN* 3. 23), calls it a colony of Corinth. The foundation-legend of Oricum is touched on by Lycophron (see p. 385 above); and a similar one is given for Thronium

¹ These Brygi are different from those further north whom Ap. Rhod. 4. 330 mentions.

by Pausanias (5. 22. 3), who is usually held to have been using Ephorus.

Lines 444–61. Then the barbarian tribes of Thesprotians and Chaonians inhabit no large area. The island Corcyra is off Thesprotia. After the Thesprotians live the so-called Molossians, whom Pyrrhus, son of Neoptolemus, once brought there, and Dodona, oracle of Zeus; at any rate it is a Pelasgic foundation. In the interior there are mixed barbarians who, they say, live near the oracle. And after the Molossians there is Ambracia, a colony of Corinth; Gorgus, son of Cypselus, founded it formerly. Then Amphiloichicum Argos so-called; this, it is thought (*δοκεῖ*), was founded by Amphiloichus, son of the prophet Amphiaräus. Inland of them there are barbarian neighbours. On the coast is Anactorium, a city; it was settled by Acarnanians and Corinthians. Afterwards Acarnania.

Ps.-Scymnus differs from Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 355), who makes Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, the name Pyrrhus being a variant for Neoptolemus as early as the *Cypria* (Paus. 10. 26. 4). Pindar and Euripides (in the *Andromache*) make the son of Achilles—Neoptolemus—rule in Molossia. On the other hand Strabo (7. 7. 8) has the same version as Ps.-Scymnus; for Strabo says the Molossians became subject 'to Pyrrhus, son of Neoptolemus, son of Achilles'. As we have seen above, Strabo was probably using Ephorus at that point, and it seems likely therefore that Ps.-Scymnus obtained his version from Ephorus.¹ Ps.-Scymnus on Dodona, *ἱδρυμ' ἐστὶ δ' οὖν Πελασγικόν*, almost quotes the words of Ephorus: *ἔστι δέ, ὥς φησιν Ἐφωρος, Πελασγῶν ἱδρυμα* (*FGrH* 70 F 142 = Str. 7. 7. 10). The omission of the Cassopaei in Ps.-Scymnus suggests that he was not using Theopompus, who mentioned them (*FGrH* 115 F 206), and the vague words *μυγάδες βάρβαροι* are unlikely to have been inspired by a use of Theopompus, as he enumerated 14 Epirote tribes (*FGrH* 115 F 382 = Str. 7. 7. 5).

Up to this point the case for Ps.-Scymnus having used Ephorus is strong and the case against Theopompus is decisive. One difficulty remains. Ps.-Scymnus made Amphiloichus found Amphiloichicum Argos, and this Ephorus did not do (*FGrH* 70 F 123); it was a controversial point, as Strabo remarked (7. 7. 7), and Ps.-Scymnus may have preferred the view of Hecataeus and Thucydides that Amphiloichus founded Amphiloichicum Argos. He may have added 'it is thought' (*δοκεῖ*) to qualify his verdict. One later passage supports a use of Ephorus. At l. 152 Ps.-Scymnus mentions an island Erythea and its cattle 'similar to the bulls of Egypt and also those of Thesprotia in Epirus'. The passage in which this remark comes is derived from Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 128). The cattle of Epirus were famous; Ps.-

¹ Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 217) mentioned the birth of Alexander to Olympias, which might have caused him to trace the descent of the Molossian dynasty.

Scymnus, placing Corcyra off Thesprotia, included in Thesprotia the area of Cestrine in which there were fine cattle. Theopompus refers to such cattle *περὶ τὴν Μολοσσίδα* (*FGrH* 115 F 284). On the whole survey, then, it appears that Ephorus is the chief source of Ps.-Scymnus 434–61, whether or not Ps.-Scymnus employed any intermediate summary.¹ The probable date at which Ephorus finished his geographical description in Books 4 and 5, entitled 'Europe', is *c.* 356.²

When we compare Ps.-Scylax with Ps.-Scymnus, it is clear that Ps.-Scylax was not using the History of Ephorus, not only because Ps.-Scylax has no echoes of Ephorus but also because he is writing a coasting account, which draws rather on the *Periplus* type of literature. Even the later commentator who added the point about Erythea and Geryones did not use Ephorus; for Ephorus put Erythea in the far west (*FGrH* 70 F 129). I take it then that Ps.-Scylax wrote from his own experience and from his use of earlier *Periploi*, and I think it would be rash to argue that, because Ps.-Scylax did not use Ephorus, he wrote his account of Epirus before 356 B.C. Nevertheless, he probably wrote it before 356 B.C. for two reasons. His account of Macedonia § 66 mentions those Greek cities on the coast of Macedonia and in Chalcidice which Philip of Macedon destroyed or incorporated in and after 356 B.C.. His account of Illyria refers to nothing later than 380 B.C. We may then advance the working hypothesis that Ps.-Scylax described Epirus as it was *c.* 380–360 B.C.³ and Ps.-Scymnus *c.* 360 B.C.

We possess an important inscription in *IG* iv² 95, the list of Epidaurian Thearodoci, that is of the states and their representatives which offered hospitality to sacred missions. The list was inscribed over a period ranging from *c.* 365 to 311 B.C., the later names being added on the right-hand side of the stone. The representative of the Molossi is Θάρυψ. We should expect the representative in this case to be the king. The name, being on the left-hand side of the stone, was inscribed in the earlier part of the period *c.* 365 to 311 B.C. The king of the Molossi, Ἀρύββας, as he appears in an Attic inscription, reigned *c.* 360 to 342 B.C.; he derived his name from his grandfather, the king Θάρυψ or Θαρύπας, and he gained victories in the chariot races at the Olympic and Pythian festivals (Tod, *GHI*, no. 173). It seems to be beyond reasonable doubt that the Θάρυψ of the inscription at

¹ Jacoby, *FGrH* 2. 3 p. 34, argues in favour of a 'Zwischenquelle', but it seems better to suppose that Ps.-Scymnus used the sources he said he used but that he added points from his own reading (e.g. line 457 and line 479). Jacoby is doubtful whether Ephorus was used for lines 415–69 (*ibid.* p. 35); Franke 28 thinks he was used; so do Giesiger *RE* 3 A 683 and E. Schwartz *RE* 6. 6.

² G. L. Barber, *Ephorus* (1935) p. 12.

³ Franke *AME* 52 thinks it was written *c.* 350 B.C.; he does not give the reasons for his view.

Epidauros is the Arybbas of the Attic inscription. Macedonia offers an interesting parallel; for the representative of Macedonia on the left-hand side is Perdiccas, who was king in 365 to 359 B.C. Other datable figures on the left-hand side are Dion and Heracleidas, names inscribed c. 356–355. It seems probable, then, that the left-hand column was inscribed between 360 and 355 B.C. The entries on the left-hand side for Epirus run as follows in *IG* iv² 95, II, ll. 23 f.: Ἀπειρος. Πανδοσία. Διοσζοτος. Κασσωπα. Σκεπας, Ἀριστοδαμος. Θεσπρωτοι. Πετοας. Σιμακος. Ποίωνος. Ἀδμητος. Κορκυρα. Μνασικλαδας, Ἀντιρηδας. Χαονια. Δοροφος. Ἀρτιχια. Σχιδας. Μολοσσοι. Θαρυψ. Ἀμβρακια. Κορραδας, Τιμογενης. Ἀργει. Λεοντευς. Ἀκριπῳι. Μυστρων. Ὑπωρειαις. Τεισανδρος. Then on the right-hand side are added Ἀπειρος. Κασωπας. Γερων Ἀριστοδαμου. Ζμαραθαι. Ἐπιν[ι]κος Νικανδρου. The connexion of Γερων Ἀριστοδαμου with Κασωπας was made by Baunack and is confirmed by the evident fact that the Aristodamus who was a representative of Κασσωπα earlier (on the left-hand side) had died and his son Geron was appointed in his place. It is always assumed that Ποίωνος is a place, but it may be a personal name, analogous to the ethnic form καρτωνός and related to the mountain Ποῖον. If so, the Thesproti had four representatives.

The list shows the Epirotes between 360 and 355 B.C. still in the tribal stage, organized under the three main tribes, Thesproti, Molossoi, and Chaones (the geographical name Chaonia being used, as Macedonia was for the Macedones). This is in accord with the statement of Ps.-Scylax, which we have dated c. 380–360 B.C., that these tribes lived by villages (κατὰ κώμας). In the list Cassopa appears separately; the Cassopaei were therefore independent of the Thesproti. In Ps.-Scylax too the Cassopaei were separate from the Thesproti. Both of them ‘lived by villages’. The expression οἰκεῖν κατὰ κώμας is the opposite of the term συνοικισμός, under which a community has a corporate centre (cf. Thuc. I. 10 of Sparta, οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως . . . κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης). Now Cassope is clearly a case of συνοικισμός, as the name implies. If it existed in 380–360 B.C., it was as an open town, since Ps.-Scylax says the Cassopi (as he called them) lived by villages. The fact that it appears as a town on the list of Thearodoci does not necessarily imply that it was fortified in the period 360–355 B.C. The other cities which were independent of the tribal states are Pandosia, a colony of Elis, on the route from the Oracle of the Dead to Dodona (its territory being outside Thesprotia); Poionos, if it is a place-name; Artichia; Ambracia, the colony of Corinth; Amphiloichicum Argos; and two cities in the area near Ambracia and Argos, called Acripus and Hyporeiai. In the same way in and near Macedonia seven cities are

named; these were independent Greek cities, which Philip II of Macedon later incorporated into his realm. The list is, of course, not necessarily a complete list of all independent cities or tribes in Epirus, but it is indicative of the situation c. 360–355 B.C. Baunack proposed to emend *Πουῖνος* to *Τοῦῖνος* and *Ἀρτιχία* to *Ὀρτιχία*. But we are dealing here with an inscription at first hand and not with a transmitted text. Moreover, the masons seem to have been accurate (the only difference between the two of them being in the double or single sigma of Cassope), and it is better to keep the names and to admit we cannot identify some of them with names known from any other source.

The absence of Buthrotum from the list of the Thearodoci is striking. Ps.-Scylax and Ps.-Scymnus do not mention it either. The city was evidently not independent but still subject to Corcyra. Another city, which was mentioned by Hecataeus (see above, p. 471) and is absent from the list of the Thearodoci and from Ps.-Scylax and Ps.-Scymnus, is Bylliae on the coast between Apollonia and Oricum. Instead we find Amantia in Ps.-Scylax. It has often been assumed that Ps.-Scylax is here referring to the inland town called Amantia, which is known in Hellenistic times.¹ This is, I think, a mistaken assumption. Ps.-Scylax is giving an account of the coast. When he goes inland, he says so expressly (*ἐν μεσογείᾳ Ἀτινῶνες* in § 26; cf. in §§ 32, 34, 35, etc.). Amantia then is *Amantia maritima*. A further indication that this is so lies in the fact that he gives the distance from Apollonia to Amantia in stades. Now stades are used by Ps.-Scylax for distances by sea in the Adriatic and off the coasts of the Peloponnese (§§ 17; 21; 23 twice; 24 twice; 26 twice in addition to the Apollonia–Amantia measurement; 27; 31; 32; 33; 35; 39; and 40 f.). He rarely gives distances on land; when he does, as in § 25 and § 26, he measures them in terms of a day's journey (e.g. Epidamnus to Apollonia is *ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν δύο*). The fact that he expresses the distance from Apollonia to Amantia in stades shows that it is a measurement by sea. Now the route by sea from Apollonia was down the river Aous, which entered the sea further to the north than now (see p. 133 above), and then round Cape Treporti. The 320 stades would bring one approximately to Krioner, south of the olive-groves of Valona and south of the route to Kanina.²

Ps.-Scylax gives detailed information about gulfs, which he does not give for ordinary coasts (e.g. for the Gulf of Oricum in § 26; the Anactorian Gulf in § 31; the Delphic Gulf in § 35; the Argolic Gulf in §§ 49–50). The Orician territory is given as 80 stades of coast and

¹ e.g. by Beaumont in *JHS* 72 (1952) 66.

² The distance by land from Apollonia to Amantia (which is the inland town) is given by the Peutinger Table as 30 miles, that is as some 240 stades.

the Amantian as 60.¹ Measurements for the coasts of the Anactorian Gulf and other gulfs are given in the same way. Here Ps.-Scylax gives his distances from south to north, and the starting-point in the south is evidently Cape Linguetta. It is from this cape that he measures the crossing from Greece to Italy at the mouth of the Adriatic Sea as one of 500 stades. If we measure 80 stades of Orician coast from Cape Linguetta it comes to the mouth of the Ljumi Dukatit; and the 60 stades of Amantian territory extend from there to Krioner. The measurements given by Ps.-Scylax prove to be very accurate. Amantia itself clearly lay within this latter stretch. It was not a Greek city in the opinion of Ps.-Scylax; for he makes a point of saying πόλις Ἑλληνίς for Epidamnus, Apollonia, and Ambracia. It does not even receive the word πόλις which is given to Oricum (§ 26 *fin.*). It was evidently a port of call rather than a town, and its significance is that the Amantes, like the Molossi in the Anactorian Gulf, had broken through the line of the Greek cities and had gained possession of a part of the coast.² They held it later; for we find in Ptolemy 3. 13 two places called Amantia, one on the coast north of Κελύδνου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί, that is north of the outlet of the Ljumi Dukatit, and the other an inland town of Macedonia, to which this area was then allotted. I take it that *Amantia maritima* was either at Krioner (Ujtë Ftohtë), where E. Nowack places an anchorage on his map, or below Radhimë, where Roman remains have been found. Perhaps Krioner is the more probable; it means 'cold water', and such water was an important attraction for ancient mariners. I have put Amantia Maritima at Krioner on Map 16. The fact that no one has noted any remains of antiquity there is not decisive against the identification, because this area is particularly little known.

The confusion which we have noted in § 26 and § 27 does not make it clear whether Ps.-Scylax considered the Amantes to be Illyrian or not. We can, however, arrive at a probability. Ps.-Scylax reckoned the Illyrians to extend from the Boulini (§ 22 and § 27) to Chaonia (§ 22: παρὰ θάλατταν μέχρι Χαονίας τῆς κατὰ Κέρκυραν and § 28: μετὰ δὲ Ἰλλυριοῦς Χάονες). As he describes Chaonia first (§ 28) and then Corcyra (§ 29), and as he says that Corcyra lies more off Thesprotia than off

¹ Normally Ps.-Scylax proceeds from north to south; here he gives these two stretches of coast from south to north. This may be due to a change of source; and such a change would account for some of the confusion in § 26. Or, his orientation being different, he may have reckoned Cape Linguetta more northerly than Krioner. Or the order is simply due to the fact that he resumes Oricum before he resumes Amantia, which is a normal sequence in Greek. I cannot see any merit in Kirsten's idea of putting the Amantian coast on 'den Akrokeraunia selbst' (in P-K 2. 1. 269 n. 25).

² The first sentence of § 27, 'The Orici occupy part of Amantian territory', is evidently a late gloss, which has found its way into the text. In Roman times Amantia was more important than Oricum, and there was also a confusion then about Abantis and Amantia.

Chaonia, it is clear that Chaonia extended considerably north of Corcyra. He marks the Ceraunian mountains as being in Epirus (§ 26: τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη ἐν τῇ Ἠπειρῷ), and it seems likely from the list of Epidaurian Thearodoci that Chaonia was included in Epirus; therefore Chaonia stretched as far north at least as the Ceraunian mountains, that is as Cape Linguetta. C. Müller notes that Ps.-Scylax wrote at the beginning of § 27: Οἷδε εἰςὶ μέχρι ἐνταῦθα Ἰλλυριοὶ ἀπὸ Βουλίνων. The last place which he mentioned in § 26 was Oricum, but he also seems to have included Oricum in the Amantian territory (§ 27 *init.*: οἱ δὲ Ὠρικοὶ κατοικοῦσι τῆς Ἀμαντίας χώρας); they evidently go together. Both belong to Epirus, and the Illyrians reached up to here μέχρι ἐνταῦθα, that is up to the northern end of the territory of Amantia. As far as other evidence goes, the fusion of Amantes and Oricum which is found in Callimachus (quoted in St. Byz., s.v.: Ἀβαντες . . . καὶ Ἀμαντίνην ᾤκησαν Ὠρικίην),¹ the inclusion of Abantes among the Epirote tribes by Proxenus (*FGrH* 703 F 6), the definition of the Ἀμαντοὶ as an ἔθνος Ἠπειρωτικόν (Hesychius, s.v.), the connexion of Amantia with Chaonia (Lyc. 1046), and the description of Ἀμαντία as πόλις τῆς Ἠπειροῦ (Scholia ad Lyc. 1042) make it clear that the Amantes were regarded as an Epirote tribe and not as an Illyrian tribe.²

As we saw above (p. 234), the Amantes were described as *barbari* by Pliny, *HN* 3. 23. 145, whose source at that point was Theopompus. His attitude (and that of his informant, from Apollonia probably) is the same as that of Ps.-Scylax and Ps.-Scymnus who leave no doubt that the Chaones and so on, though not Illyrians, were yet not Greeks; for Greece began (apart from a few Greek cities on islands and coasts) from Ambracia southwards (Ps.-Scylax, § 33), and Ps.-Scymnus calls the tribes of the Thesprotians and Chaonians 'barbarian' (444 f.: Θεσπρωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Χαόνων ἔθνη κατοικεῖ βάρβαρ' οὐ πολὺν τόπον), the peoples near the oracle of Dodona μιγάδες βάρβαροι (451 f.), and the inland neighbours of Argos Amphiloichicum 'barbarian' (458: εἰςὶ δ' ἐπάνω τούτων ἔποικοι βάρβαροι). The source of Ps.-Scymnus was probably Ephorus, as we have seen. It is interesting to find that these tribes, of which some certainly were already recording their acts in Greek and of which others used Greek titles on their coins were

¹ The fusion occurs also in St. Byz. s.v. *Εὐβοία* where the emigrants from Euboea are called Ἀμαντες in the manuscript. R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* i fr. 12 reads ᾤκισαν.

² Beaumont, loc. cit. 67-68, thinks that St. Byz. s.v. Ἀμαντία implies they were Illyrians. Stephanus has Ἀμαντία μοῖρα Ἰλλυριῶν near Oricum and he says it was founded by the Abantes. The first remark is not dated and may refer to the time when this area was reckoned geographically to Illyria (e.g. under the Roman protectorate). The derivation of the area from the Abantes indicates that the origin of the people was thought not to be Illyrian.

considered so clearly to be 'barbarians'. The distinction between language and culture which underlay the definition of 'Greekness' by Ephorus was the same as it had been in the mind of Thucydides (see p. 423 above).

The tribe next inland is the Atintanes in Ps.-Scylax, § 26. The text reads: ἅπασιν ὁμοροὶ ἐν μεσσογείᾳ Ἀτιντᾶνες ὑπὲρ τῆς Ὠρικίας. The word ἅπασιν is evidently corrupt, for there is no personal antecedent. I suggest Ἀμασιν ὁμοροὶ, which follows on the preceeding words τῆς δὲ Ἀμαντίας στάδια ξ'. We find the same proximity of Amantes and Atintanes in Lycophron 1044, when Elpenor 'will sail εἰς Ἀμαντίαν πόλιν . . . πέλας δὲ γῆς Ἀτιντάνων μολών'. The Amantes evidently occupied the valley of the Shushicë river, which extends far southwards into the Kurvelesh area,¹ and they thus ran close to some of the Atintanes who were in the upper Drin valley.

The sentences which follow have been much emended (see p. 512 above). As I have explained, the emendations prove to be unconvincing. The passage reads as follows with my proposal of Ἀμασιν for ἅπασιν: Ἀμασιν ὁμοροὶ ἐν μεσσογείᾳ Ἀγιντᾶνες (emended to Ἀτιντᾶνες) ὑπὲρ τῆς Ὠρικίας καὶ Καρίας μέχρι Ἰδωνίας (or Ἡδωνίας, Palat.). ἐν τῇ Κάστιδι χώρα εἶναι λέγεται δεδιός (emended to πεδίον) ὄνομα (lacuna of six letters), Ἐρυθρία. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Γηρυόνης λέγεται ἦκεν καὶ τοὺς βοῦς βουκολεῖν. κατὰ ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ. Now Ps.-Scylax is describing the area inland of Amantia and Oricia, that is inland of the Gulf of Valona (see Maps 9 and 16). As we have seen, the Amantes occupied at least the lower part of the Shushicë stream, and the Atintanes occupied the upper Drin valley. These two tribes lay inland of Oricia (i.e. inland of the Dukati plain), and also inland of Caria, which should therefore be the area of Vranisht. The word Καρίας has been rejected as corrupt; but attention has not been paid to a citation from Rhianus *Thessalica* 6: ἑπτα δὲ Δωνεττινοὶ, ἀτὰρ δυοκαίδεκα Κᾶρες (*FGrH* 265 F 22). Mei and Jacoby express surprise at Rhianus mentioning mercenaries coming from Caria in Asia to Epirus;² but this is a quite unnecessary idea, since the previous ten numbered fragments all refer to tribes in Epirus and the Donettini are among them (F 15). Clearly these Κᾶρες are from the Καρία of Ps.-Scylax. Inscriptions from Dodona have the ethnics Καρωπός and Καρίωπος, which show that the stem is a local one in Epirus, and a recently found inscription from Dodona contains the words ἐστὶν κάθοδος εἰς Καρείαν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς βόλεται, and this is more likely to refer to a Kareia in Epirus

¹ So also Kirsten in P-K 2. 1. 211; but he is confused in note 25 on p. 269, where he makes the Acroceraunia an Amantian 'Exklave'.

² This would be a case of carrying coals to Newcastle and an unexpected turn in an epic poem of so local a character.

than to Caria in Asia Minor (*Ergon* (1958) 93). I should regard Idonia or Edonia as a district some way up the Shushicë valley, in the vicinity of Kuç. Returning from there to the Ceraunian mountains and to Oricum, Ps.-Scylax makes mention of the cattle of Geryones. The legend of his cattle is at home in any coastal plain from Argos Amphilochicum to the Illyrian coast,¹ and I take it that Castis is the coastal plain between Dukat and Oricum, where many herds of goats and sheep are now pastured.

Our ignorance of local names is, of course, unbounded. Another example, which concerns the Gulf of Oricum, occurs in Lycophron, *Alex.* 1043–5, where the coming of Elpenor is prophesied. 'He will sail to Amantia city. And coming near the land of the Atintanes he will settle on a steep rock by Practis itself, drawing water from the Chaonian Polyanthus (τοῦ Χαονίτου νᾶμα Πολυάνθου δρέπων)'. The Scholiast adds nothing of interest, and Stephanus Byzantinus quotes the last line with the variant form Πολυάνθεος (s. Χαονία). Lycophron is alluding here to a settlement inland, not to one at Oricum, and the obvious settlement is that of Thronium founded by Locrians and Abantes on their return from Troy (Paus. 5. 22. 4). The Polyantes then is the river Shushicë;² the settlement on the hill is at Kanina; and Practis may be the district of Valona, which is rich in olives.

The conclusions to which we have come about Amantia indicate that Apollonia held the site not only of Thronium at Kanina but also of Bylliace which was mentioned by Hecataeus. Apollonia had indeed cut the route from the area of Byllis in the lower Aous valley when she captured Thronium, and Bylliace was bound therefore to fall to Apollonia. In fact Bylliace had suffered the same fate as Buthrotum; a younger Greek state devoured one which claimed descent from founders of the time of the Nostoi. One result of these acts of destruction was that the Epirote tribe of the Amantes broke through to the coast.

The other tribe which had broken through to the coast by 380–360 B.C. was the Molossi, who held 40 stades of the north coast of the Ambraciote Gulf between the Cassopi and Ambracia (Ps.-Scylax § 32 and Ps.-Scymnus 447 and 453). There are other traces of the growing power of the Molossi in the fourth century. In 385 or 384 B.C. the Molossians were the chief opponents of the Illyrians whom Dionysius of Syracuse helped to invade Epirus, in order that his ally, Alcetas,

¹ Heracles is mentioned as driving the cows from Erythea through the Chaonian plain by Buthrotum in Arist. *Meteor.* 359^a25; he was evidently bringing them from further north, perhaps from the plain by Oricum.

² It has been suggested that the Polyanthus and the Celydnus rivers are one and the same, the Ljumi Dukatit. The use of two names for one river is unlikely; and Lycophron is not describing a settlement at Oricum.

the exiled king of the Molossians, should be restored. The Illyrian force, which included 2,000 soldiers sent by Dionysius and 500 picked Illyrians in Greek 'panoplies' given by Dionysius, defeated the Molossians in a fierce battle and killed more than 15,000 of the 'Molossians'; the Spartans then sent help to the Molossians and drove the Illyrians away (D.S. 15. 13). This account, which is derived probably from Ephorus, shows the Molossians to have been the chief power in Epirus. The high number of losses probably included those of other Epirote tribes under Molossian command. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6. 1. 7, in describing the power of Jason of Pherae, mentioned that in 374 B.C. those subject to him (ὑπήκοοι) were Maraci, Dolopes, and Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ ὑπαρχος. Again at 6. 2. 10 Alcetas helped an Athenian force of peltasts to cross by night from the coast to Corcyra, that is to say, from the west coast of Epirus, in 373 B.C. The expression ὑπαρχος may mean that Alcetas, king of the Molossi, was Jason's deputy-commander; but the words ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ ὑπαρχος and his action in helping the Athenian force suggests that Alcetas' authority extended beyond the territory of the Molossian tribal group. When Alcetas and his son Neoptolemus joined the Second Athenian Alliance c. 375 B.C., they may have represented not the Molossian tribes only; for Cornelius Nepos, *Timotheus* 2, made Timotheus bring into the Athenian Alliance 'Epirotas, Athamanas, Chaonas, omnesque eas gentes quae mare illud adiacent'. Here 'Epirotae' may have been used to indicate a group of Epirote tribes which did not include the Chaones and the Athamanes but evidently included more than the Molossi.¹

¹ So C. Bottin p. 250; G. N. Cross, p. 32 n. 2 and p. 34 n. 3, seems to think that Nepos meant the words 'Athamanas, Chaonas, etc.' to define 'Epirotas', but no one could suppose the Athamanes to be the chief tribe among the Epirotes. The Athamanes were in fact separate from the Epirotes; they acted independently in D.S. 14. 82. 7 (395 B.C.) and 16. 29. 1 (355 B.C.).

XII

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE TRIBES

I. THE MOLOSSIAN AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS

Two inscriptions published by D. Evangelides (*Eph. Arch.* 1956, p. 1) shed an important light on the situation between 370 and 368 B.C. when Neoptolemus, son of Alcetas I, was sole king of the Molossi. They are decrees, set up at Dodona in the sacred area, which conferred citizenship on two women of Arronum—an unknown place—and their descendants.¹ The decrees were made in the same year, the officials being the same. The only difference between them is that the second inscription stops short of giving the whole number of *damiorgoi* (it may have been continued on another block). I have adopted Dakaris's reading 'Εθνεστῶν for 'Εονεστῶν, as the stone has been re-examined by him; Franke confirms it.²

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· βασι
λεόντος Νεοπτολέμου
τοῦ Ἀλκέτα Φιλίστα τῇ Ἀντι
μάχου γυναικὶ ἐξ Ἀρρώνου
ἐδόθη πολιτεία, αὐτῇ
καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἐπὶ προστάτα
Μολοσσῶν Εἰδύμμα
Ἀρκτᾶνος, γραμματέος
Ἀμφικορίου Ἀρκτᾶνος, δα
μιοργῶν Ἀνδροκάδεος
Ἀρκτᾶνος Εὐρυμεναίων,
Λαφύργα Τριπολιτᾶν,
Εὐστράτου Κελαίθων,
Ἀμυνάνδρου Πειάλων,
Σάβωνος Γενοαίων, Δείνων
'Εθνεστῶν, Ἀγέλαος Τριφυλ
ᾶν, Θοῖνος 'Ομφάλων, Κάρτομος
'Ονοπέρνων, Δαμοίτας Ἀμν
μνων, Δατυίου.

¹ Evangelides, loc. cit. p. 4, puts the decrees on the same occasion, but there are differences in spelling, dialect, and even phrasing which suggest that the second decree was cut by a different mason.

² Dakaris in *Eph. Arch.* 1957, 88 f. and Franke *AME* 286.

Ἀγαθὰ τύχα. Βασιλεύον
 τος Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Ἁλκ
 ἔτα Φιντοῦς γενεᾷ ἐξ Ἀρ
 ρώνου ἐδόθη πολιτεία, αὐτᾷ
 καὶ ἐγγόνοις, ἐπὶ προστάτα
 Μολοσσῶν Εἰδύμα Ἀρκτᾶνος,
 γραμματέος Ἀμφικορίου Ἀρκτ
 [α]νος, δαμιουργῶν Ἀνδροκάδεο
 [ς] Ἀρκτᾶνος Εὐρυμεναίων, Λαφ
 ὕργα Τριπολιτῶν, Εὐστράτου
 Κελαίθων, Ἀμυνάνδρου Πει
 ἄλων, Σάβων Γενφαίων, Δεῖν
 ων.

The most interesting point is that the officials are officials of the 'Molossian state' (Μολοσσῶν) and include persons named by a number of tribes. In fact the 'Molossian state', of which the citizenship is here conferred on foreigners, is a large state which covered many of the so-called Epirote tribes—the 'Epirotae' of Cornelius Nepos and the Ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη of Ephorus (see above, p. 462). Next we should note that in almost all cases the officials are named by tribes and not by cities; this itself shows that the Epirote tribes were still living κατὰ κώμας and not by cities. Ps.-Scylax, then, was correct for the period c. 380-360 B.C., and the list of the Thearodoci of 360-355 B.C. was fairly representative of the way of life in Epirus.

The tribes which appear in the two inscriptions are the Arctanes (cf. St. Byz. s.v.: ἔθνος Ἡπειρωτικόν), Genoei (cf. St. Byz., s.v.: ἔθνος Μολοσσῶν), Triphylae (Livy 32. 13. 2: 'Triphylia terrae Molottidis'), Tripolitae (cf. St. Byz.: Τριπόλισσοι ἢ Τριπολίσσιοι, Θεσπρωτικὸς λαός), Celaethi (St. Byz. s.v.: ἔθνος Θεσπρωτικὸν πρόσεχες τῇ Θετταλίᾳ), Onoperni (SGDI 1351, a section of the Thesprotian group of tribes), Amymni (St. Byz. s. Ἀμυμνοί, ἔθνος Ἡπειρωτικόν; SGDI 1346; Proxenus FGTH 703 F 6: Ἀμύμονες, under Chaonia), Omphales (SGDI 1347: Μολοσσοὶ Ὀμφάλες), Peiales (SGDI 1352; Molossian royal tribe), and Ethnestae (cf. Evangelides, *Hellenica* 1957, inscription l. 17, pp. 247 f.). The only town is Eurymenae; for Androcadeus is described in both inscriptions as Ἀρκτᾶν Εὐρυμεναίων. Now there was a city of this name in West Thessaly (cf. Stählin, p. 127, n. 16) which was in dispute c. 185 B.C. between Thessaly and Aetolia (Livy 39. 25), together with Gomphi (renamed Philippopolis), Tricca, and Phaloria; but this city will not suit the Arctanes of our inscriptions, because they are evidently an important tribe and supply the προστάτης, γραμματεὺς, and first-mentioned δαμιουργός. There is mention of another town Eurymenae in Diodorus Siculus 19. 88 which refers to the year 312 B.C. This Eurymenae was πόλις Ἡπειρωτική, and King

Alcetas II, having been defeated near 'Cassopia', fled to it. He was besieged there, was assisted by his son Alexander, but was finally defeated, after which he fled to *χωρίον τι ἐρυμνόν*. Eurymenae was then captured by Lyciscus, plundered, and demolished (*διαρπάσας κατέσκαψε*). This Eurymenae in Epirus was evidently an inhabited centre, worth plundering, and not a hill fort such as the *χωρίον τι ἐρυμνόν*. We should expect it to have been in the centre of Alcetas' kingdom, where his son Alexander could have raised troops and come to his aid. Moreover, as the earliest or one of the earliest centres, it is likely to have been in the rich plain of Ioannina. There is only one site there which has yielded pottery of the late fifth or early fourth century and that is Kastritsa. We may tentatively identify Kastritsa as Eurymenae.¹

The officials of the 'Molossian state' (*Μολοσσῶν*) are the king, the *prostates*—an official appointed to restrict the royal powers (cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1310^b35 f.; 1313^a20 f.)—and ten *damiorgoi*, of whom each is from a different tribe. It appears probable that the Molossian state consisted at this time of ten tribes, each appointing an annual official who was eponymous for the year. Evangelides thinks that the *damiorgoi* sat in a Council (*συμβούλιον*), but this is not necessarily so; he also holds that the tribes here named were subordinate to the Molossians (*ἄλλα φύλα ὑπαγόμενα ὁμῶς κατὰ τινα τρόπον εἰς αὐτούς*, p. 6), but there is no indication of this in the inscription, where the *damiorgoi* appear to rank as equals. The last word on the first inscription is *Δατυίου*, which Evangelides took to be the personal name of an eleventh *damiorgos*. Daux has pointed out that the change from the genitives to the nominatives Deinon, etc., is common enough in inscriptions, but not the change from the nominatives to the genitive *Δατυίου*. He suggests that it is the name of the month and compares *SGDI* 1339 *Γαμλίου* (when the date is mentioned); and he notes the Macedonian month *Δαίσιος*. We may add the point that LSJ⁹ gives *Δατύς* as equal in meaning to *Κουράλιος* and the latter word is a month at Cophi and Pyrasus.² It is best to follow Daux and take the word to be the name of a month.

In 1954 Evangelides mentioned an inscription, then unpublished, which he had found at Dodona. He dated it to before 330 B.C. In 1957

¹ Evangelides, loc. cit. p. 9, identifies Eurymenae with the town of that name in Thessaly; he does not mention D.S. 19. 88. Lévêque in *REG* 70 (1957) 496 f. says it was in Molossis. Dakaris, *Eph. Arch.* 1957, 90 and 100, follows the view of Evangelides. Franke, *AME* 287, sees the Eurymenaei as a Molossian tribe.

² G. Daux in *BCH* 80 (1956) 433–5 and 633. He also mentions that *Δατύου* occurs in the genitive as a personal name in *SGDI* 1465 from Phthiotic Thebes, and *Δατυιάδου* is quoted among the Dolopes. He also suggests that the town Latyia in Aeniania could be emended to Datyia; but there are two mentions of Latyia in *SGDI* 1438, which make emendation less plausible, and in any case our inscription gives the adjective (such as Eurymenaeus) and not the name of a town.

he published the inscription with a number of restorations, of which I reproduce some only. I have adopted the reading *Ἐθνεστῶν* for *Ἐονεστῶν* (see p. 525 above). The inscription runs thus:¹

- ΟΡΙΝΟΙΜΟΥ. [ἐπι προστα
τα] Δροατου Κελαι[θου γραμ
ματεος δε Πανσ[Τρι
πολιτα συναρχον[των
5 δα Κελαιθου Αλκ[ωνος
αλος Μενεφυλου[
Ἀντι[ρ]κα Ἐθνεστου[
ριφυλα Γενναδα Θ[
υ Ἐκτορος Ὀνφαλος Δ[
10 Ἀμυμνου Αἰροπου Γε[νοαιου Α]
νεροιτα Ἀρκτανος Ν[
ς Φυλατος Ἀνερεία Τ[
α Φρυνου Ὀρεστου Ἀρχ[
υ Παρωρου Ὀμοστακ[
15 του ἔδωκε το κοινον τ[ων Μο
λοσσων πολιτειαν . . . [Δι
οκλειων δα ΕΩΛΙΡ[
ιγενεος ἐπ . . . δῆε . . . [εὐε
ργετας εἰμεν των [Μολοσ
20 σων καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γ[ενεαν
παντι Μολοσσων [ἀτελεία
ν καὶ ἐντελείαν [καὶ γὰρ ἐγ
κτασιν καὶ ὅσα [τιμια παντα
τοῖς ἄλλοις [εὐεργεταῖς π
25 ολιτευομεν

The limestone slab on which the inscription is cut is intact generally on the left side and defective on the right side, but the length of line is shown by the certain restorations in line 2 (of 21 letters), line 15 (of 21 letters), and line 19 (of 19 letters), and by the most probable restorations in line 20 (of 21 letters), line 22 (of 21 letters), and line 24 (of 21 letters). The average length of line then is 21 letters; as one line is as short as 19 letters, we may allow latitude up to 23 letters (as in line 10).

The subject of the inscription is a grant of citizenship to some benefactors by the Molossian state (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν), and the officials include *prostates*, *grammateus*, and fifteen *συνάρχοντες*, of whom the first is of the same tribe as the *prostates* (as this is usually so, it supports the restoration of *προστάτα* in line 1). As the inscription is dated by Evangelides to before 330 B.C., there should also be mention of the king of the Molossians. If we have here the beginning of the

¹ Line 21 is completed in accordance with Franke, *AME* 287 n. 25.

inscription, the opening words should be ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, giving a line of 20 letters; but the letters read by Evangelides preclude this. Therefore, as he himself says, the first line we have may not be the first line of the decree. We therefore expect the king's name in the genitive at the place where the letters are uncertain in line 1. The best restoration is ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ, which includes the few certain letters—the upright line, the omicron, the mu, omicron, and upright line—and which needs the placing of two letters where Evangelides read one uncertain letter. If we then restore a missing line at the start, we can read in lines of 21 and 22 letters:

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ βασιλεύοντ
ος Νεοπτολέμου ἐπὶ προστα

In line 13 one of the *synarchontes* is a member of the Orestae or Orestoi, whom he represents.¹

Since Philip II of Macedon annexed Parauaea and presumably Orestis at the same time, if not earlier, the decree must ante-date that annexation c. 343 B.C. Therefore it falls in the reign either of Arybbas or of Neoptolemus. The letters read by Evangelides in line 1 do not fit the genitive of Arybbas, and the restoration of Neoptolemus is therefore almost certainly correct.

In other decrees where we have a college of officials, whether *damiorgoi* or *hieromnambones* (see p. 566 below), there is not more than one official from any one tribe, the principle being no doubt that each tribe had only one representative. The same practice should hold here. Of the tribal names of the *synarchontes* those which have survived or are restored with certainty are Kelaithoi, Ethnestai, Omphales, Amymnoi, Arctanes, Phylates, Orestae (or Orestoi), and Paroroi, and we should not repeat any of these by restoring, as Evangelides does, [Ὀνφ]αλος in line 5, [Ὀρεσ]του in line 14, and Τριφυλα twice in lines 7 and 12. Instead of these I propose the following restorations:

Line 5. Ἀλκ[ωνος Πει]αλος (giving a line of 20 letters).

Line 6. Μενεφυλου [Ὀνοπερνου or Ταλαιανος or Κλαθιατου or Λαρισαιου (giving a line of 22 letters); Evangelides's restoration Ὀπουου gives 19 letters.

Line 7. As Evangelides, [Δερκα Τ]ριφυλα (giving a line of 21 letters), but any personal name of 5 letters will do. For Τριφυλα cf. Evangelides, *Eph. Arch.* 1956 (p. 525 above).

Line 8. Evangelides suggests Θ[ιαυ]υ, comparing Τιαῖος in *SGDI* 1351. Another ethnic of the same length Θ[αριω]υ from Chaonia (Ugolini in *AA* 3. 117) will also fit. But the line is then of 18 letters

¹ Ὀρεστοὶ Μολοσσοὶ act as witnesses c. 167 B.C. (Evangelides, *Ep. Chron.* 1935. 248 no. 3).

only. If the initial theta is a misreading of omicron, then 'Ο[νοπερνο]υ will give a line of 21 letters.

Line 10. As Evangelides suggests, Γε[νοαιου Α]νεροίτα. This gives a line of 23 letters. But as we do not know of any other ethnic beginning with Γε, and as the name *Ἀνεροίτας* occurs in *SGDI* 1349 and in Petsas, *Eph. Arch.* 1950-1, p. 44, we should accept the restoration.

Line 12. Τ[ριπολιτ]α, giving a line of 23 letters, instead of Evangelides's Τ[ριφυλ]α, which repeats the word from line 7.

Line 14. 'Ομοστακ[ιου Κνεσ]του instead of Evangelides's 'Ομοστακ[ιου 'Ορεσ]του, which repeats from line 13; either restoration gives a line of 22 letters. For *Κνεστοῦ* cf. *Ep. Chron.* 1935 261; for 'Ομοστάκιος Evangelides quotes another instance of the name in an unpublished inscription from Dodona.

If these restorations are accepted, we find that all the ten tribes which are known from the two inscriptions of the time of Neoptolemus I (pp. 525 f. above) recur in this inscription. There are also five additional tribes: one uncertain tribe in either line 6 or line 8 (assuming 'Ονοπέρνον occurred in one of them), Φυλάτες, 'Ορέσται, Πάρωροι, and Κνεστοί. The greater number of tribes and therefore of representative officials is due evidently to an enlargement of the Molossian state since the time of the two decrees when Eidymmas was *prostates*. All three decrees were concerned with the same subject, a grant of citizenship; it is therefore likely that the same officials were involved although their title had changed from *damiorgoi* to *synarchontes*—a change made perhaps when the additional five tribes entered the Molossian state. The new tribes came from the highlands of the Pindus range: the Paroroi from central Pindus, the Orestai from the northern slopes facing Macedonia, and the Phylates and Kyestoi probably from the region between Triphylia (near Konitsa) and Orestis.

I reproduce the inscription with my restorations and with a note of the letters in each line:

	[Ἀγαθαι τυχαι. βασιλευοντ	(21)
	ος Νεοπτ]ο[λε]μο[υ ἐπὶ προστα	(22)
	τα] Δρρατου Κελαι[θου γραμ	(21)
	ματεος δε Πaus[Τρι	
5	πολιτα συναρχον[των	
	δα Κελαιθου Ἀλκ[ωνος Πει]	(20)
	αλος Μενεφυλου [Ταλαιανος	(22)
	Ἀντι[ρ]κα 'Εθνεστου [Δερκα Τ]	(21)
	ριφυλα Γενναδα 'Ο[νοπερνο]	(21)
10	υ 'Εκτορος 'Ονφαλος Δ[
	Ἀμυμνου Αἰροπου Γε[νοαιου Α]	(23)
	νεροίτα Ἀρκτανος Ν[
	ς Φυλατος Ἀνερεία Τ[ριπολιτ]	(23)

- α Φρυγίου Ὁρεστοῦ Ἀρχ[
 15 υ Παρωρου Ὁμοστακ[ίου Κυεσ] (22)
 του ἔδωκε το κοινον τ[ων Μο] (21)
 λουσων πολιτειαν . . . [Δι
 οκλεινον δα ΕΩΛΙΡ
 ι γενης ἐπ . . . δῆε . . . [εὐε]
 20 ργεταις εἶμεν των [Μολοσ] (19)
 σων και αὐτους και γ[ενεαν] (21)
 παντι Μολοσσων [ἀτελεια]
 ν και ἐντελειαν [και γας ἐγ] (21)
 κτασιν και ὅσα [τιμμα παντα] (22)
 25 τοις ἄλλοις [ἐνεργεταις π] (21)
 ολιτενομεν

We may now summarize the first stage of the 'Molossian state' which was founded probably before 385 B.C. and was operating c. 370 B.C. It then comprised ten tribes. Of these we know the nature of nine tribes. The Arctanes, Genoei, Triphylae, Omphales, and Peiales are Molossian tribes; the Ethnestae too are presumably a Molossian tribe, since they claimed descent from a son of Neoptolemus. The Tripolitae, Celaethi, and Onoperni are Thesprotian tribes. The attribution of the Amymni is uncertain. As we have seen above, a number of tribes were called 'Molossian' in the time of Hecataeus. The probability is that they then owed a theoretical allegiance to the Molossian king, but that he ruled in practice over a section only of this tribal group; for 'the Molossi' were a more restricted group in 429 B.C. Here we find the Molossian king as an official in a 'Molossian state', which contains only part of the tribes who were called 'Molossian' in the time of Hecataeus. On the other hand, the state contains three Thesprotian tribes and perhaps a Chaonian tribe, although the Thesproti and Chaones were not called 'Molossian' in the time of Hecataeus. It appears then that the 'Molossian state' has moved its centre of gravity southwards and has included some Thesprotian tribes in its embrace. Aristotle referred probably to this expansion (*Politics*, 1310^b36), when he attributed the longevity of the Spartan, Macedonian, and Molossian kingships to their ability in 'founding or acquiring territory' (ἡ κτίσαντες ἡ κτησάμενοι χώραν). Moreover, like Philip of Macedon later, the Molossian kings accepted their neighbours on equal terms; for the representatives of the Thesprotian tribes and perhaps of a Chaonian tribe rank with the Molossians as *damiorgoi*, so far as we can see from the inscriptions, and some members of a Thesprotian tribe held the office of *prostates* (e.g. in *SGDI* 1346).

The geographical position of some of the tribes may be conjectured.¹

¹ The belief of Dakaris in *Eph. Arch.* 1957, 90 f. that the *damiorgoi* are mentioned in

The Arctanes are in the plain of Ioannina (if Eurymenae is Kastritsa, see above, p. 527). Since the Cassopaei and the Eleatae of Elaeatis were independent, as we know from their coins (see p. 542 below), the Thesprotian tribes named in the inscription are inland of them. The Tripolitae may be placed in Lakkasouli (a self-contained area belonging to Molossia c. 330 B.C. as Livy 8. 24 shows), the Onoperni round Mt. Olytsika, and the Celaethi probably in the area of Metsovon (St. Byz.: ἔθνος Θεσπρωτικὸν προσεχὲς τῇ Θετταλίᾳ). If the Amymni were Chaonians, they are likely to have been in the northern part of the upper Kalamas basin; for the Atintanes, who were not members of the Molossian state, held the upper Drin valley. Of the Molossian tribes the Omphales probably abutted on the Parauaei (Rhianus, *Thess.* 4: σὺν δὲ Παραναίοις καὶ ἀμύμονας Ὀμφαλίῃς),¹ and the Triphylae came probably from the *Triphylia terrae Molottidos* (Livy 32. 13. 2), which is the area round Konitsa (see p. 280).² We are left with no clue as to the positions of the Genoei, who are 'Molossian', or of the Amymni if they were not a Chaonian tribe. The Peiales may be connected with Πιαλεία, which Nilsson p. 54 put near Thessaly in accordance with St. Byz. s.v., who placed Pialeia under Mt. Cercetius, an offshoot of Mt. Lacmon, on the Thessalian side of Pindus. As Strabo (8. 5. 1, C 430) placed some Molossians on the western fringe of Thessaly between the Aethices and the Athamanes, these Molossians were in the area of Mt. Cercetius and may well be the Peiales. The Ethnestae were 'a tribe of Thessaly' according to Rhianus (in St. Byz. s.v.), that is to say in the third century B.C., and we may therefore place them on the eastern side of Pindus. Subsequently five more tribes joined the Molossian state; the names and the probable positions of four of these are known—namely the Parori, Phylates, Kyesi, and Orestae.

The conclusion which we have reached about the extent of the Molossian state c. 370–368 B.C. is supported by the Thearodoci inscription of c. 360–355 B.C. In it 'Chaonia', 'Thesproti', 'Pandusia', and 'Cassopa' of the Cassopaei, 'Ambracia' and one unidentified place 'Artichia', if 'Poionos' is a name, were independently represented. The rest of Epirus was represented by the king on behalf of the enlarged

a special geographical order of tribes is disproved by the fact that the order is different in the inscriptions, even in those with which we have dealt so far.

¹ In St. Byz. s. *Parauaei*. There is an alternative reading Ἀμύμονας Ὀμφαλίῃς. If this is preferred, then the Amymni or Amymnones should be placed in the vicinity of the town Omphalium, which Ptolemy 3. 14. 17 called an inland city of the Chaones. However, Rhianus tends to use stock epithets, such as ἀμύμονες, and he does not use double names. A typical line is Κεστρίνοι Χαῦνοι τε καὶ αὐχέντες Ἑλινοί. Evangelides considers the Omphales to be a Chaonian tribe in view of Ptolemy's remark about Omphalium, but *SGDI* 1347 shows that a tribe of Omphales was Molossian and not Chaonian.

² So too Evangelides, loc. cit. p. 11.

Molossian state. The account of Ps.-Scymnus, which is based on Ephorus and refers to the period *c.* 360 B.C. (see p. 517 above), mentioned the three main groups—Chaones, Thesproti, and Molossi—but omitted the Cassopaei (whom he probably reckoned among the Thesproti); and it gave ‘assorted barbarians inland’ (ἐν τῇ μεσογειῳ . . . μυγάδες βάρβαροι) who lived near the oracle of Dodona—probably the members of the ‘Molossian state’, which centred on Dodona and Eurymenae in the southern part of the Ioannina plain.

The inscriptions of *c.* 370–368 B.C. give us a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the enlarged Molossian state. We may carry the *terminus* back to 385/4 B.C. Then ‘the Molossoi’ suffered losses of 15,000 men at the hands of the Illyrians; they were at that time in alliance with Sparta, who helped ‘the Molossoi’ to drive out the invading Illyrians.¹ The high number of losses shows that ‘the Molossoi’ came from an enlarged Molossian state, such as existed in 370–368 B.C. Now the alliance with Sparta is likely to date at least from the King’s Peace of 386 B.C., when Sparta was the leading state in Greece.² Alcetas was in exile in 385 B.C. We do not know the duration of his exile or how it came about. But the position of the king in the enlarged Molossian state is so important that it must have been created when there was a king in office. I should therefore attribute the beginnings of the enlarged Molossian state to some time before 386 B.C.³ It was probably after rather than before 429 B.C., because the Molossian group was then less strong than the Chaonian group (p. 501 above).

The pressure of the Illyrians on Epirus and on Macedonia was a continual threat to the Molossian state and the Macedonian kingdom; and they entered into an alliance *c.* 360 B.C. The striking success of Philip II of Macedon against the Illyrian Bardylis, who had previously invaded Molossia,⁴ led to a marriage alliance in 357 B.C. between the Macedonian and Molossian royal houses, when Philip married Olympias, the niece of the Molossian king, Arybbas.⁵ But in 350 Philip and Arybbas were at war with one another (D. *Olynthiacs*

¹ D.S. 15. 13. 3, where the source is probably Ephorus (so too Franke, *AE* 20): τῶν Μολοττῶν ἀντιταττομένων ἐγένετο μάχη καρτερὰ, καθ’ ἣν νικήσαντες οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ κατέκοψαν τῶν Μολοττῶν πλείους τῶν μυρίων πεντακισχίλων. τοιαύτη δὲ συμφορὰ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν περιπεσόντων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι τὰ συμβεβηκότα συμμαχίαν ἐξέπεμψαν τοῖς Μολοττοῖς. The disaster to the Epirotes refers both to the battle and to the ravaging mentioned earlier.

² There is no mention of Molossian aid to Sparta in 389–8, when Agesilaus invaded Acarnania; as the evidence for the campaigns is fairly full in Xenophon and Diodorus, it may be safe to assume that Molossia and Sparta were not then in alliance. The Aenianes and the Athamaneans were allies of Sparta before they revolted in 395 B.C. (D.S. 14. 82. 7).

³ Cross p. 32 puts this development after 385/4.

⁴ Frontinus *Strateg.* 2. 5. 19: ‘Harybbas rex Molossorum’ had inferior forces to those of Bardylis.

⁵ Justin 7. 6. 12.

1. 13; Paus. 1. 11. 3). Philip probably annexed the territories of Epirus which bordered on Macedonia, such as Parauaea and Tymphaea, and he certainly removed Alexander, the brother of Olympias (Justin 8. 6. 5). In winter 343/2 Philip drove out Arybbas, who was welcomed at Athens,¹ and placed Alexander on the Molossian throne; he also advanced into Cassopaea, reduced the three colonies of Elis—Buchtium, Elatria, and Pandosia—and another fortified site Batiae, and handed them over to the Molossian king ([D.] 7. 84; Theopompus in *FGH* 115 F 206, 207). He then turned against Ambracia but abandoned the attack in the face of opposition from Corinth and Athens (D. *Phil.* 3. 118; [D.] 7. 84). The enlarged Molossian state now included the rich north coast of the Ambraciote Gulf as far as the border of Ambracia's territory, and Philip strengthened the position of Alexander by giving him the hand of his daughter Cleopatra in marriage in 336 B.C. When Alexander the Great crossed into Asia, Alexander the Molossian accepted the invitation of Tarentum and campaigned in Italy from 334/3 to 331/30. We know from Aristotle, *frag.* 614, that he crossed to Italy with fifteen warships and many merchant ships, including cavalry transports, but no other details of his forces have survived. He issued coinage in Italy which was in the name of 'Alexander, son of Neoptolemus' (Head *HN*² p. 322), that is as the commander of the allied forces in Italy; but this sheds no light upon his constitutional position in Epirus.

An inscription, published by Carapanos (39, no. 1 and pl. 22), has been dated by the style of writing and the reckoning of generations to soon after 334 B.C., that is to the last years of Alexander I's reign 334–331 B.C.² In it some Zacynthians who made an offering to Zeus of Dodona describe themselves as *πρόξενοι Μολοσσῶν καὶ συμμάχων*. As these words were inscribed at Dodona, they are likely to be an official description of the position in Epirus. 'The Molossians and their Allies', like 'the Lacedaemonians and their Allies' and 'the Athenians and their Allies', is the title appropriate to a bicameral system, in which those first mentioned are the state which possesses the hegemony and 'the Allies' are represented by delegates in a council.³ Philip of Macedon instituted a similar organization for Macedonia and the Greeks, and he may have inspired the creation of 'The Molossians and their Allies' when he placed Alexander on the Molossian throne. The personal position of Alexander as Molossian king made him *hegemon* of the Molossian forces, and 'the Allies' evidently elected him or accorded

¹ Tod *GHI* no. 173.

² So Franke, *AE* 38, following Carapanos loc. cit. The inscription is now illustrated in S. I. Dakaris, *Οἱ γενεαλογικοὶ μῦθοι τῶν Μολοσσῶν* (Athens, 1964) pl. 4, which appeared when this book was in the press.

³ For the significance of these titles see Hammond *GH* 167, 195, 256, 486, and 571 f.

him by treaty the right of being *hegemon* of their forces. Philip and Alexander of Macedon had an analogous position in regard to Macedonia and the Greeks. When Alexander the Molossian crossed to Italy, he made alliances with Italiote states; but these were probably not admitted into membership of *Μολοσσῶν καὶ συμμάχων*.¹

Four inscriptions dated by the reign of an Alexander were discovered by Carapanos at Dodona. There has been much discussion as to whether they should be dated to Alexander I or Alexander II, the nephew of Pyrrhus, who lived nearly a century later. In the past the discussion has been controlled by the belief that any political development which resulted in an enlarged Molossian state must have come late, i.e. after 338 B.C.; but the inscriptions of the reign of Neoptolemus I and also a recently found inscription dating the Aetolian League at latest to 367 B.C. have disposed of the validity of this belief. The lettering of these four inscriptions and the lettering of a dedication made at Dodona were compared by P. M. Fraser, and he concluded on epigraphical grounds as follows. 'The inscriptions referring to King Alexander seem to be of earlier date (than those referring to Neoptolemus II): the letters are far more rigid and less elegant, and for this reason I would be inclined to regard the Alexander as the first Epirote king of that name (ob. 331 B.C.).'² Since Fraser wrote,³ the inscriptions of Neoptolemus I have been published, and they show that an enlarged Molossian state existed before Alexander came to the throne. It is now safe to conclude that our four inscriptions date to the reign of Alexander I.

The first (SGDI 1334) runs as follows: Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ προστάτῃ Μολοσσῶν Ἀριστομάχῳ Ὀμφαλος, γραμματιστῇ δὲ Μενεδάμῳ Ὀμφαλος ἔδωκεν ἰσοπολιτείαν Μολοσσῶν τὸ κοινὸν Σιμίαι Ἀπολλωνιάται κατοικοῦντι ἐν Θεππίνῳ αὐτῷ καὶ γενεῇ καὶ γεν[ει ἐκ] γενεᾶς. The circumstances here resemble those of the grant of citizenship made by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν in the reign probably of Neoptolemus I when Droates was *prostates* (see p. 530 above), except that here there are no *damiorgoi*. The *prostates* and the *grammateus* are again both of one Molossian tribe, this time the Omphales. The second inscription (SGDI 1335) has the same officials, and it records a grant of citizenship (or perhaps of isopolity). It contains the words ἔδ[ω]κε τ[ῷ] ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν []. There is room to restore either *Μολοσσῶν* or *Ἀπειρωτῶν*, but the fact that we have *Μολοσσῶν τὸ κοινόν*

¹ For a similar provision in the Second Athenian Alliance see Hammond *GH* 488.

² For the date of Alexander's death see P. Willeumier, *Tarente* (1939) 88.

³ 'A Bronze from Dodona' in *JHS* 74 (1954) 56 f., where full references to the controversy will be found; see also Franke, *AE* 38 f. Fraser wrote in a footnote: 'I feel fairly confident that they are of the fourth century and not the third, as would be necessary if Alexander II was the king in question.'

in the preceding inscription of this same year should be decisive in favour of *Μολοσσῶν*.

The third inscription (*SGDI* 1337) is fragmentary. It is published as follows in *SGDI*: βασιλεύοντο]ς Ἀλεξ[άνδρου ἐπὶ προστατά Μολοσ]σῶν βαγγ—[γραμματεῦ]ντος δὲ συν[έδροις Μολοσσῶν καὶ συμμάχων] τῶν Μολ[οσσῶν] — || — τὸ πολετείαν. The restorations are very uncertain. For instance, a name beginning with *Συν* is more likely after γραμματεῦντος, as in *SGDI* 1335; and κοινὸ]ν τῶν Μολ[οσσῶν], as in *SGDI* 1334, is as likely as συμμάχων]ν. Nilsson¹ pointed out that the facsimile in Carapanos's publication shows that Σκα should be read instead of *Συν*, and he suggested τὸ κοινὸ]ν τῶν Μολ[οσσῶν], as did Carapanos originally.

The fourth inscription (*SGDI* 1346) records the liberation of a slave: [βασιλεύοντος Ἀλε]ξάνδ[ρου προστατε]ύοντος Σαβύρ[ωνος Μολο]σσῶν Ὀνοπέρνου [Καρτα]τοῦ, Ἀμύμνων δὲ — [ἀ]φιητι φειδus — | — [ἐλ]εύθερον τὸν α[ὐτοῦ] . . . Μάρ]τυρες Ε — | — Γέλων — | — os Εὐ — || — [Εὐ]ρώπι[ος] — | — αιος — | — χο —. Here we have a (restored) *prostates* who is of a Thesprotian tribe, the Onoperni (cf. *SGDI* 1351), and an allusion to the Amymni who may belong to Chaonia, an allusion which I shall try to explain later.

The first three of these inscriptions record the acts of the Molossian state, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν, and they are dated by the king, the *prostates*, and the *grammateus*. The absence of any college of officials, whether *damiorgoi* or *synarchontes*, may be noted; but it does not seem significant of anything except economy in cutting the inscription. The fourth of these inscriptions is dated by officials of the Molossian state, but it is not apparently an act of the Molossian state; for the genitive plural Ἀμύμνων δέ would then be inexplicable. How is Ἀμύμνων δέ to be explained? The Amymni were an Epirote tribe according to Rhianus in St. Byz., s. Ἀμυμνοί. The explanation is, I think, found in an inscription from Radotovi, which is dated to the late third century by Evangelides (*Ep. Chr.* 1935, 261). In our inscription we have προστατε]ύοντος Σαβύρ[ωνος] [Μολο]σσῶν Ὀνοπέρνου [Καρτα]τοῦ Ἀμύμνων δέ . . . and in that from Radotovi προστατε]ύοντος Μολο]σσ[ῶν Λεον]τίου Κουεστο[ῦ Ἀτεράργων]ν δὲ [Ἀναξάν]δρου τοῦ Ἀμύντα Now the Radotovi inscription recorded a decision by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀτεράργων to renew friendship with the Pergamii, probably in the late third century, and this decision was dated by the Aterargian *prostates* and the Molossian *prostates*. It is clear that *SGDI* 1346 is similar. It records a

¹ Nilsson p. 57 n. 2 'die Ergänzungen stimmen auch nicht zu den Schriftzügen des Facsimiles (Carapanos Tf. xxxii, 5); dieses zeigt statt συν deutlich Σ, dann Υ d.h. Κ, und eine schräge Hasta die zu einem Α gehören muss, also den Namen des Schreibers Σκα Die Inschrift ergänzt sich ganz leicht nach *SGDI* 1334 τὸ κοινὸ]ν τῶν Μολ[οσσῶν].'

manumission which was approved by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμύμων and dated by the reign of Alexander I, the *prostates* of the Molossians, and the *prostates* of the Amymni. The Aterargi and the Amymni were evidently constituent tribes of the Molossian group.¹ There is another inscription, *SGDI* 1590, which records a question at Dodona by a κοινόν: ἐπερωτῶντι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν [5 letters]ων Δία Νᾶον καὶ Διώναν ἢ α[ὕ]τὶ αὐτοῖς συμπολιτεύουσι μετὰ Μολοσσῶν ἀσφαλῆ ᾗ. This κοινόν was not a Molossian one, but probably, like that of the Pergamii, a Chaonian one, or a Thesprotian one. Possible restorations are τὸ κοινὸν τῶν [Διαίτ]ων as 'the Diaitai' occur on an inscription from Dodona,² and τὸ κοινὸν τῶν [Ἐλεαί]ων.

The end of the autonomous and self-sufficient Molossian state is marked for us by the cessation of its coinage. The next coinage is that of the 'Apeirotai'. The change can also be seen in two inscriptions which were inscribed by the same hand,³ *SGDI* 1346 and 1347. The former of these recorded the manumission which we have just been considering and the latter mentions the Alliance of the Epirotes in the preamble: [Δύ] Νάοι κα[ὶ] Διώναι — | — Ἀ]πιρω[τᾶν] — | προστατε]ύοντ[ος].⁴ A *terminus ante quem* the Alliance of the Epirotes came into being, is supplied by Steph. Byz., s. Ἀμύνται . . . καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν πολιτείᾳ. For Aristotle can hardly have composed a *Politeia* after the year 326/5.⁵ A *terminus post quem* is the death of Alexander I in 331 B.C., because a change cannot have occurred in the last few years of his reign. It is probable then that the absorption of the enlarged Molossian state into the Epirote Alliance came between the death of Alexander in 331 B.C. and the year 325 B.C.

Returning to the statement of Theopompus that there were fourteen Epirote tribes, we may be confident that he was writing of Epirus in the reign of Philip II of Macedon.⁶ At that time the Epirote Alliance had not come into existence. As we have seen above (p. 461 and p. 469),

¹ These two inscriptions have not been connected with one another hitherto. Dakaris in *Eph. Arch.*, 1957, 101 f. thinks the Amymni are Cassopaeans.

² *PAE* 1932, 52 no. 1.

³ So Fick in Collitz ad loc.; so also Nilsson p. 61 n. 1: '*SGDI* 1347 stammt von derselben Hand die 1346 geschrieben hat.' Franke pp. 56 f., judging by the facsimile in Carapanos's text, argues that they are not by the same hand but only in a similar style, which may have lasted for ten to fifteen years or even fifty years. It seems best to follow Fick, who studied the inscriptions themselves.

⁴ Nilsson p. 61 restored after Διώναι the words [βασιλεύοντος Ἀ]πιρω[τᾶν] Ἀλεξάνδρου προστατε]ύοντ[ος]. Franke *AE* 55 rightly attacks him, because no inscription has a 'king of the Epirotes', and a restoration of this kind does not justify itself unless there is a parallel. Nilsson attributed *SGDI* 1346 and 1347 to Alexander II; Franke and Fraser attribute *SGDI* 1346 to Alexander I.

⁵ See the powerful arguments of Franke *AE* 37.

⁶ See Jacoby, *FGH* ii p. 358, for the fact that Theopompus referred to nothing in the lifetime of Alexander the Great.

Strabo derived from Hecataeus through Ephorus the eleven Epirote tribes he mentions (Molossians, Chaonians, Thesprotians, Athamanians, Aethices, Tymphaeans, Parauaeans, Orestae, Atintanes, Amphilochians, and Cassopaeans). Theopompus is unlikely to have included among the Epirote tribes the Parauaeans and the Orestae who had been annexed to Macedon by Philip, or the Athamanians and Amphilochians, who were usually regarded by fourth-century writers as separate entities. It is probable that Theopompus made an original selection from the numerous tribes and divisions of tribes in Epirus of which, as Evangelides reckons, more than sixty are known to us.¹

We have now sufficient evidence dating to the period before 330 B.C. to see that the enlarged Molossian state, called in Greek inscriptions either *Μολοσσοί* (as on coins) or *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν*,² had a fully fledged organization with its constitutional king or kings, *prostates* (president), and *grammateus* (secretary) of a council of tribal representatives, called *damiorgoi* or (later) *synarchontes*; and there was probably a board of *hieromnamones* (see p. 566, below) who at this time were concerned primarily with ritual. The units of the Molossian state were tribes. The majority were Molossian tribes, but there were certainly some Thesprotian tribes and there may have been one or two Chaonian tribes. Each tribe had its own *κοινόν* or tribal organization (with *prostates*, other officials, and assembly, presumably); we have an example probably in the case of the Amymni of which the *κοινόν* approved a manumission in the reign of Alexander I. The tribes which were not Molossian by origin had evidently been incorporated in the Molossian state, when it expanded southwards. They were given completely equal rights in the constitution, so far as we can judge from the inscriptions; for the tribes had their representatives among the *damiorgoi* and *synarchontes* (and *hieromnamones*, see below, p. 566), and a representative of a Thesprotian tribe, the Onoperni, was *prostates* of the Molossian state in the reign of Alexander I (*SGDI* 1346). That the Onoperni were Thesprotian is known not only from fragments of the epic of Rhianus, written in the third century B.C., but also because among the witnesses cited as 'Thesprotians' in *SGDI* 1351 there is one *Φίλιππος*

¹ Evangelides loc. cit. p. 13. Most scholars have tried to guess Theopompus' fourteen tribes by taking the eleven mentioned by Strabo and adding three more. For example, Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* 3. 393 n. 787 adds Agraei and Apodoti; Unger, 'Hellas in Thessalien' in *Philologus* Suppl. 2. 709 Lyncestae, Pelagones, Elimiotae; Bursian, *GvG* 1. 10 n. 1 Agraei, Abantes, Perrhaebi; Kuhn, *Über die Entst. der Städte der Alten* 89, Agraei, Apodoti, Amphilochi. Treidler p. 122 discarded Strabo's eleven tribes and gave Chaones, Abantes, Argyrini, Molossi, Thesproti, Cassopaei, Atintanes, Aethices, Tymphaei, Parauaei, Athamanes, Taraulii, Amymnones, Syliones. Nilsson p. 47, Klotzsch p. 10 n. 1, and Cross p. 5 do not attempt to name the fourteen tribes.

² For instance, in *SGDI* 1334 and 1335 with the same officials.

Φίλων Ὀνόπερνος. The Molossians in fact showed a genius for incorporation, which was later possessed by Philip II of Macedon.

The authority of the Molossian king extended over the members of the Molossian state, whether they were originally Molossian or had been included in the Molossian state during its expansion. The Molossian king represented his people in sacrificing to Zeus Areios and other gods,¹ and he called up and commanded the troops of the Molossian state in time of war. He was waited upon by his royal pages, who were recruited from youths of leading families (Livy 8. 24. 12 mentions a *minister ex regis pueris*), and he was attended by his *corps d'élite* in battle. His position as a commander was such that he took command also of any allies who joined the Molossian army. Thus Alexander I, ὁ Μολοσσός (Arist. frag. 614, Rose), ὁ Μολοσσῶν βασιλεύς (Aeschin. 3. 242), led the Molossians, their allies in Epirus, and their allies in Italy in 334–330 B.C.;² and later Pyrrhus exercised the military command wherever he went. The Molossian monarchy, like the Macedonian, was based on the heroic kind of monarchy, and it continued into the third century B.C. to command allegiance.

If the development of the Molossian state had continued on the same lines, a further expansion might have brought more Epirote tribes into the state. However, events took a new direction in the formation of the Epirote Alliance. We shall investigate the reasons for the change in the next chapter. But we should note one point now: the Molossian state of Alexander I was so firmly built that it continued within the Epirote Alliance and retained the loyalty of the Thesprotian members, some of their representatives rising to the position of *prostates* of 'the Molossians' (for instance, in *SGDI* 1351, an Onoperian, 1355 a Celaethan, and Evangelides, *Eph. Chron.* 1935, 264, a Cassopaeian). As we hear in *SGDI* 1370 of a κοινὸν τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν similar to the κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν, there were tribes of Thesprotian name in each of these states—just as there are Irishmen in the United Kingdom and Irishmen in Eire. If there were any Chaonian tribes in the Molossian state—which is uncertain—the same situation arose there; for we learn of 'the state of the Chaones' ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Χαόνων, which asked a question of the oracle at Dodona (*PAE* 1952, 279). This inscription is dated by Evangelides to the third quarter or so of the fourth century B.C.³ The question was whether to move:

¹ See the excellent account in Franke *AE* 73.

² See Carapanos 39 no. 1, mentioned on p. 534, above, for Μολοσσῶν καὶ συμμάχων, probably in Alexander's reign; the allies in this case were presumably in Epirus if the *proxenia* was to be effective.

³ Evangelides in *Eph. Arch.* 1953–4, 102. He and others have taken πόλις to be a city and believe the city to be Phoenix; but this would be a specialized sense of πόλις, and there would be no reason for not using the shorter ἡ Φοινίκη. The phrase ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ταραντίνων means the state and not the town of Taras (*SGDI* 1567).

'the temple of Athene Polias', that is the guardian deity of the state.

One other inscription on a bronze strip from Dodona is dated by Evangelides to the fourth century by the style of the lettering.¹ It concerns a manumission of which the witnesses were *Στράτων Ὀρραίτας*, *Ἐρχέλαος Δωδωναῖος*, *Γύρας Ἀργεῖος*. The ethnic adjectives here are probably those of towns. For Livy 45. 26 mentions Horreum as one of the four towns in Molossis which did not surrender at first to L. Anicius in 167 B.C. but yielded finally without being besieged; the Greek name which was translated by Livy was evidently *Ὀρραιον*. An ethnic *Ὀριάτας* was read by Carapanos in *SGDI* 1366 (= Carapanos 65 no. 25 and pl. 32, no. 7), but Evangelides points out that the letters which are fragmentary may be better read as *Ὀρραίτας* in the illustration published by Carapanos. The witness from Argos cannot be from Argos Amphiloichicum, which issued autonomous coinage from 350 to 250 B.C., but he must be from an Argos which belonged at this time to the Molossian state as Horreum and Dodona did. An Argos in Epirus is mentioned by Ampelius (*Lib. mem.* 8), if the emendation Argos for Arcis is accepted. This Argos, says Ampelius, was called 'Ippaton'; and 'Argos Ippaton' was famous for a remarkable bridge in the Acherusian plain. This Argos should be the Argos mentioned by Appian, *Syr.* 63, as τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ λεγόμενον οἰκίσαι Διομήδην ἀλώμενον; for no other Argos is known in the vicinity of the Ionian Gulf. Argos Ippaton is probably to be identified with Kastrion in the Acherusian plain or else a site near it. If this Argos became a member of the Molossian state, it was a gain by Molossia from the Thesprotian state, such as might have been obtained by the action of Philip II in 343/2. I should tentatively equate the Argos of the inscription with Argos Ippaton and date Evangelides's inscription c. 340 B.C..

THE COINAGES OF THE EPIROTE TRIBES

An important change occurred c. 350 B.C. in the coinages of the Greek cities of the north-western area. Apollonia and the Dyrrachii adopted staters of Corinthian weight instead of staters of Corcyraean weight.² This was part of a general change. The coastal towns of Acarnania, such as Alyzia, and also Argos Amphiloichicum did likewise. This so-called 'Pegasus coinage' came into vogue also at some states in South Italy and at Syracuse, Leontini, and Eryx in Sicily c. 350 B.C. It is maintained by Head that the Pegasus staters were issued 'chiefly for the purposes of trade with Italy and Sicily, where the largest finds of this class of coin have been brought to light', and

¹ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 247 f.

² Head 314 f.

not 'in pursuance of reciprocal treaties'.¹ It was in fact becoming by 350 B.C. the common coin of the maritime cities interested in the coastal trade between the Gulf of Corinth and the West; even Corcyra followed suit c. 338 B.C.

The fourth century saw developments in coinage in the Adriatic Sea. Corcyra Nigra, Heraclea, Issa, and Pharos began to issue bronze coins some time after 385 B.C. Pharos had a small issue of silver drachmas of Corinthian weight c. 350 B.C.;² the earliest silver coins of Damastium appeared not later than c. 395 B.C., according to May; and the rather barbarous coinages of Pelagia, Deparria, and the Tenestini were first issued in the decades which followed—the last being issued c. 340–330 B.C.³ The silver for these coinages of the Illyro-Paeonian region came from the rich mines at Damastium, situated probably to the north of Lake Ochrid (see p. 438, above); and the silver was used for the barbarous coinages in the areas north-east of Damastium rather than for the western side of the Balkan range, presumably because those areas were richer in natural resources and better placed for trade on the routes from Macedonia to the Central Danube valley.

A connexion between the silver Pegasi of the Greek cities and the coinage of Damastium can be seen in the hoard of some 250 to 300 silver coins found at the site of the ancient Rhizon in the Gulf of Kotor. Two-thirds were tetradrachms of the Damastian and related coinages, and one-third staters of the coinage of Corinth and her colonies. The period covered by the Damastian coins in the hoard is c. 350–325 B.C.; the Pegasi run from an earlier date down to 330 B.C.⁴ The two coinages were evidently rivals at this time in the ports of the Dalmatian coast and presumably had been since Damastium started to coin c. 395 B.C. Damastium had the advantage at any rate at Rhizon, but she ceased to coin c. 325 B.C. The Greek city nearest to this source of silver was Epidamnus, and the richness of that city in silver coinage, which surpasses the coinage of Apollonia, must be due to her having had access to the silver ore of the Damastium region; for the north-western area generally is devoid of silver. The number and the distribution of coins of the Dyrrachii, as revealed in hoards of coins, is very remarkable; they have been found in Sicily, Italy, North-western Greece, Albania, Dalmatia, Jugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Adrianople.⁵

The earliest coinages of Southern Epirus were those of the Molossi,

¹ Ibid. 407.

² Ibid. 317 f. and J. M. F. May, *The Coinage of Damastion* (Oxford, 1939) 200.

³ The one Sarnoa coin is later than c. 325–320 (May p. 196).

⁴ May, pp. 199 f.

⁵ S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, second edition (New York, 1937 = Numismatic Notes and Monographs no. 78) p. 325.

the Cassopaei, and the Eleaei. They came to an end in 331-325. The Epirote Alliance was formed then and it assumed the sole right of issuing coinage. The dates at which the Molossian state and the Eleaei began to coin are not clear. But the Cassopaei certainly began to issue coins in or after 342 B.C., because it was only with the reduction of the Elean colonies by Philip II of Macedon that the Cassopaei could become the dominant element in Cassopaea. The Cassopaei coined in bronze only from *c.* 342 to *c.* 325. Franke lists 107 specimens in three groups which are divided into 24 series; he notes that 65 dies were used in this period of some 15 years (*AME* 56 f.) and the weight of the coins was constant. The reason for the issue of these coins on a large scale, though only in bronze, is a matter for conjecture. The Elean colonies had not coined at all; they had evidently been content with a system of barter in trading with the interior and perhaps with Elis. On the other hand, Ambracia had coined since early in the fifth century, and her coinage had been copious. No doubt, then, Ambracia had been the exporter of the products of Southern Epirus to the international markets which attracted sea-borne commerce. But in 342 Ambracia was hostile to Macedon; in the winter of 343/2 B.C. she had received help from Corinth and Athens against Philip, and from late 338 B.C. she was held down by a Macedonian garrison. Philip certainly favoured the setting up of the Cassopaeans as the exporters of Epirote produce in place of the Ambraciotes. It is in this context that a peculiar feature of their coins is best understood. All the coins of the first group are overstruck on one particular type of Philip's coinage in bronze, and numerous coins of the very large second group are overstruck on the same type. In addition the second and third groups of the Eleaeian coinage (*AME* 44 f.) are overstruck, on the same type of Philip's coinage. Franke (e.g. p. 55) attributed this peculiar feature to Philip's campaign in the winter of 343/2 B.C. But this is not sufficient explanation; for it is not credible that Philip's army should have spent enough money locally to float the new Cassopaeian coinage and much of the Eleaeian coinage on overstruck specimens, and it is even less credible that his troops spent the coins of only one particular type of Macedonian coinage. The explanation must be either that Philip's coins of this type had been in use locally before 343-2 B.C., or that Philip supplied a stock of these coins for overstriking. We shall choose more easily between the alternatives when we have considered the Molossian coinage.

Franke has shown that the earliest Molossian coinage is recognizable from the fact that the last three letters of the title ΜΟΛΟΣΣΩΝ are written retrograde upon it alone.¹ This issue is in silver; only two

¹ Franke p. 89 thinks that the retrograde writing fits an early date in the fourth

triobols and one obol are listed; and they are on the Attic-Euboic standard. Coining in silver was evidently a short-lived experiment. On the other hand the bronze coinage is copious. Franke lists 100 specimens in two groups, which are divided into 25 series; he notes the use of 72 dies. The similarity of these figures to those of the coinage of the Cassopaeans is striking. Franke's allowance of 'at least 20 to 25 years' for the issue (p. 91) is on the generous side, as compared with fifteen years for the Cassopaeian coinage; but he notes that there is a strong stylistic break in the middle of the first of the two groups and that this probably indicates a longish interruption in the minting of coins (p. 92). Franke sees a strong Athenian influence in the earliest coinages in silver and in bronze (p. 89). The case for the silver is not very strong; it depends on the use of the Attic-Euboic standard, but this standard was commonly adopted for purposes of trade and not in deference to Athens in particular. But the case for the bronze is fairly sound. Here the earliest group has a head of Athena Parthenos of the Phidian type. This was an Athenian emblem originally; it was used towards the end of the fifth century, during the fourth century and in some cases to the end of the fourth century at places in Magna Graecia, at Pharsalus, at Tegea and at Salamis in Cyprus, as Franke points out (pp. 88 f.). It is possible that the Molossians may have adopted the emblem from Pharsalus, for instance when Alcetas was dependent on Jason of Pherae (X. *HG* 6. 17). But it is more probable that they adopted it from Athens; if so, they did so because of some direct contact with Athens but not necessarily as subordinates or dependents. Franke's expression, that the use of the Athena Parthenos 'kann nur als Anlehnung an Athen erklärt werden' (p. 94), is perhaps too strong. For it is to be observed that this is the only one out of many Molossian emblems which has a counterpart at Athens; therefore the relationship with Athens was not full or lasting.

When did the Molossians start to coin? Franke concludes, on the evidence which I have stated, that they did so 'soon after 400 B.C.'. He puts the first bronze coinage about 380 B.C. on p. 91 and then about 390 B.C. on p. 259, and he relies mainly on the fact that the Molossian king Tharyps, whom he dates *c.* 430 to 385 B.C., and his son Alcetas were granted Athenian citizenship.¹ There are serious reasons for doubting his conclusion. The reputation and the influence of Athens

century; but it occurs at Damastium on the latest issues and on coins of Pelagia, both being of the period after 350 B.C. See May *op. cit.* 149 and 175 f.

¹ p. 89, on Athenian influence: 'Das erlaubt uns, den Beginn der molossischen Münzprägung für die Zeit des beginnenden 4. Jahrhunderts anzusetzen.' p. 91: 'die molossischen Bronzemünzen können zeitlich nicht allzuweit von den bald nach 400 einsetzenden ersten Silbermünzen entfernt gewesen sein . . . der tatsächliche Beginn in die Jahre um 380 fallen dürfte.'

with the Molossian state (which issued the coins; for they were not in the name of the king) must have been very low in the period 400-380 B.C., when she had suffered military and diplomatic defeats at the hand of Sparta. Moreover, the Molossian state suffered a shattering blow in 385/4, when she lost 15,000 men to the Illyrians and was saved from occupation only through the intervention of Sparta; such a blow must have had severe financial effects, and Molossia could not have recovered sufficiently to issue a copious coinage in 380 B.C. A comparison with the Cassopaeian coinage in the matter of dies suggests that the Molossian coinage in bronze commenced later than 385 B.C., indeed nearer 355 B.C., if we disregard the important break in the issues which we have mentioned above. It seems to me that the Molossians began to coin for the same reason as the Cassopaeians did later, namely to trade not through the intermediary state Ambracia but directly with those who called at the harbours of Epirus. Molossia acquired a coastal strip on the Ambraciote Gulf after 380 B.C. and before 360 B.C., if our dating of the accounts in Ps.-Scylax and Ps.-Scymnus is correct, and she thus gained the opportunity of a direct trade. Access to a market other than that of Ambracia and Corinth was needed. It came only with the formation and the expansion of the Second Athenian Alliance. In 375 B.C. Alcetas and Neoptolemus, the official representatives of the Molossian state, entered this great Alliance. It seems likely that the head of Athena Parthenos was put on the first coinage in bronze soon after 375 B.C. as a compliment to Athens.

The short period of issuing a silver coinage may have been at this time. The emblem—the Molossian hound—gives no clue to the origin of the coinage. The hound on the bronze coinage of Argos Amphilo-chicum is close in style to that of the Molossian silver coinage.¹ The earliest coin of Pelagia in silver (c. 360-350 B.C.) has its inscription arranged round its shield in the manner in which the Molossian inscription is arranged round the Molossian shield.² The influence may have originated with either place in each case.

As Epirus has no precious metal, we must ask who supplied Molossia with silver. Corinth could have done so, but her policy was evidently to provide Pegasi, not bullion. Damastium too seems to have supplied coin to her Illyro-Paeonian clients; but it cannot be excluded as a source of silver for Molossia. Two states had a political interest to further. Jason of Pherae, who claimed that Alcetas was subject to him, could have supplied silver; but he himself seems not to have issued

¹ Franke 92 f. has a full discussion of the Molossian hound and the portrayals of it. For the comparison which I have drawn see Franke pl. 8, iv. 1 and iv. 2 and Carapanos pl. 72 no. 24. The Argive coins are dated by Head from c. 350 B.C.

² May op. cit. 172.

coinage, and Pharsalus, for instance (which had the head of Athena Parthenos on the coins of the 370's), used the Pheidonian standard. The most likely candidate is Athens. In 373 B.C. she made a great effort to save the democratic party at Corcyra which was being blockaded by the forces of Sparta, Corinth, Ambracia, Leucas, Elis, Zacynthos, and other states.¹ As Athens was unable to send a fleet in time, the only hope lay in obtaining the services of Alcetas, if he was willing to act in defiance of Sparta, Corinth, Ambracia, and their allies, and in sending a force across from the mainland. This was done. Ctesicles and 600 peltasts were ferried across at night and saved the situation.² It is likely that Athens paid for this in silver, of which she had supplies from Laurium. But her influence declined after 371 B.C. when the star of Boeotia was in the ascendant in North Greece.

The next problem is that of the break in the Molossian bronze coinage. This break occurred in the middle of the first group, which is itself less large than the second group, the two groups covering the period down to 330-325 B.C. Molossia presumably interrupted her coinage because she ceased for some time to be a free agent. Here the connexion between this interruption and the problem of the overstruck Macedonian coins of the Cassopaeans and the Eleaeans becomes clear. For there was evidently a time when Philip's bronze coinage with a young male head on the obverse, a rider on the reverse and his own name displaced the Molossian coinage in Epirus; it caused the interruption in the Molossian series and it resulted in a stock of coin which was called in after 342 B.C. and was reissued with the names of the Cassopaeans and the Eleaeans. The literary evidence is very much in support of this supposition. After Philip's marriage to Olympias in late 358 B.C. he intervened in Molossia in 350 B.C., when he removed Alexander and probably annexed some territories in Epirus. The particular type of Philip's coinage with which we are concerned was minted first not in 359 B.C., as Franke says (p. 55 and p. 303), but in 356 B.C. when he was king of Macedon and his racehorse won at Olympia (Plu. *Alex.* 3); for this coinage evidently commemorated that event.³ My conclusion then is that Philip's coins were current in Molossia between 350 B.C. and 342 B.C.⁴ Arybbas was in these years a dependent,

¹ The number of Sparta's allies in X. *HG* 6. 2. 3 may be compared with the number in 435 B.C. (Th. 1. 27). The occasions were equally important in deciding who should control the route to the West.

² X. *HG* 6. 2. 10; D. S. 15. 46. 3 and 47. The account in Diodorus is abbreviated; Ctesicles was probably in Zacynthos already, as Diodorus says, and went on from there to the north shore of the Ambraciote Gulf and so to Alcetas in Molossia; we do not know how Alcetas acquired the shipping to take Ctesicles and his troops across the channel to Corcyra.

³ Head 224.

⁴ When Philip intervened in Thessaly in 344 B.C. he stopped the autonomous cities from coining and imposed his own coinage (see Hammond *GH* 559).

subordinate king, and Alexander was held no doubt as a security for his good conduct. When Philip expelled Arybbas and set up Alexander I as an independent king in 342 B.C., Molossia resumed its right to coin. The total period of Molossian coinage, i.e. *c.* 374–*c.* 350 B.C. and 342–330/325 B.C. is some forty years; and this period is already a long one as compared with that of the coinage of the Cassopaeans when we take the number of dies into consideration.

The last of the early coinages is that of the Eleaeans. The first three series of the first group there are earlier than the second and third groups, which are mainly overstruck on Philip's coins, as we have mentioned.¹ The emblems on the first group are distinctively Corinthian, namely a Pegasus and a trident; neither emblem occurs on coins of the second and third groups which are dated from 342 B.C. onwards. Franke (p. 301) believes that the coins are those of a town Elea and that it was a Corinthian colony, founded in the fourth century. This conclusion is not warranted by the evidence; for, as we have seen, the Pegasus coinages of the fourth century are widespread in the north-west area and in the words of Head 'the various cities would seem to have selected the Corinthian types independently of one another and for their own individual convenience and profit' and 'the system appears to have spread . . . among towns which, as members of the Acarnanian League, were quite beyond the influence of the "city of the two seas".'² It seems more likely, therefore, that the Thesprotians were still friendly with Corinth, as they had been before and during the Archidamian War, and that the Eleaeans chose to base their first coinage in bronze on the current common coin of the coastal areas of North-west Greece. This coinage was short-lived; only six specimens are extant, and they are allocated by Franke to four series. He dates them to the years *c.* 360–340 B.C. As he attributes the thirty-three specimens of the other three groups to the years *c.* 342–335 B.C., his allowance is rather generous. The period *c.* 350–340 B.C. may be preferred. The other supposition of Franke is that the earliest coins are those of a πόλις Eleae. Now the name ΕΑΕΑΙ for 'Ελεαίων occurs on the first three series of Group 1 and on the two series of Group 2, and ΕΑΕΑΤΑΝ occurs on the last series of Group 1 and on the one and only series of Group 3.³ He claims that the place, therefore, had two names, 'Ελέαι from which a Corinthian ethnic 'Ελεαῖος was formed, and 'Ελέα from which a North-west-Greek ethnic 'Ελεάτας was formed.⁴ He argues

¹ Franke *AME* 44 f.; Head *HN* 321.

² Head 407. Head thinks that these coinages spread from the mints of Anactorium and Leucas; Franke notes that the combination of emblems on the Eleaeans coinage occurred at Leucas (p. 301).

³ Head 321 read ΕΑΕΑΤ for ΕΑΕΑΙ. Franke has noted the correct form.

⁴ p. 300.

that 'Ελέαι was a Corinthian colony and its citizens were οἱ 'Ελεαῖοι; that it was conquered by Philip II in 343/2, handed over to Alexander I and re-named 'Ελέα, and that its citizens were then called οἱ 'Ελεᾶται; and that there was a confused period c. 342–340 when one series of coins with the old Corinthian emblems and the new ethnic ΕΛΕΑΤΑΝ was being coined at the same time as two series of coins with new Thesprotian emblems and the old ethnic ΕΛΕΑΙ[ΩΝ].¹ This argument strains one's credence; could the new owners have got into such a tangle and stayed in it for two years? He maintains also that Thucydides' word 'Ελαίατις is incorrect for 'Ελέατις and that Ptolemy's 'Ελαία is incorrect for 'Ελέα. One inscription² gives the name of a Thesprotian witness as Πείανδρος 'Ελεαῖος and this inscription may be dated by the forms of the letters 'close to one of 317–312 B.C.' Franke here remarks that one would have expected 'Ελεάτας (on his theory).³ Another inscription,⁴ which Franke places between the end of the fourth century and the middle of the third century, has a place-name 'Ελέα. This name at least is in accordance with his theory, but it is considerably later in date.

It is, I think, better to keep the texts unaltered and to look for a less involved and perhaps less improbable hypothesis. The word 'Ελαίατις is the name of a district in Thucydides (1. 46. 4—a passage derived from Hecataeus), and the entry in Ptolemy 'Ελαίας λιμὴν (3. 14. 5) is the harbour either of a place 'Ελαία or of a district 'Ελαία. These readings in fact support one another. Elaeatis is the district in which Ephyra (near Likouresi) lay; 'the harbour of Elaea' comes in Ptolemy between the mouth of the Acheron river and Nicopolis, so that it is probably at Kerentza, the harbour just south of the mouth. Elaeatis and Elaea are therefore in the same district. The name 'Ελέα may be a variant of 'Ελαία, or the name of a different place; for an inland Chaonian town of a similar name Elaeous in Ptolemy is certainly different. The name 'Ελέα may appear in Ps.-Scylax 30, when he is describing the coast of Thesprotia: ἐνταῦθά ἐστι λιμὴν ᾧ ὄνομα ΕΛΕΑ which is emended most economically to 'Ελέα, the Α having been corrupted to Δ. This λιμὴν 'Ελέα was a harbour at the mouth of the Acheron c. 380–360 (that is when the description of Ps.-Scylax applied to this coast). A town developed there later (see p. 63 above); it was called 'Ελέα in the first half of the third century. However, the early coinages were certainly, I think, those of tribal states and not of towns. The Molossians showed the way. The Cassopaeans were a

¹ pp. 44–45.

² SGDI 1351.

³ p. 302. It is equally awkward that a citizen of Ambracia's village Krancia was called a Kranciatis (St. Byz. s.v.); for on his theory this is not a Corinthian form.

⁴ *Ergon* 1955, 56 and *PAE* 1955, 171. 13; *BCH* 80 (1956) 300.

tribal group, originally included in the Thesprotian group but independent for many centuries. The conquest of the Elean colonies gave the Cassopaeans a free hand, and they issued their first coinage c. 342 B.C. It may have been minted at Cassopa, which was in existence as we know from the Thearodoci inscription, but Cassopa was the centre of a tribal state and not a *polis*. I see no grounds for supposing that Elea or Eleae was either a town or a *polis* before 342 B.C. The coining body was the *Ἑλεαῖοι*, a tribal group which was included in the Thesprotian group. The name *Ἑλεαῖοι* is claimed by Franke to be 'durchaus eine korinthische Bildung'; it may be, but it is also typically Epirote, since Cassopaei and Dodonaei are similarly formed and an Epirote inscription gives us the form *Ἑλεαῖος*. The name *Ἑλεᾶται* may simply be a local variant of *Ἑλεαῖοι*; or it may represent a larger group. The coins of Byllis have the names ΒΥΛΛΙΟΝΩΝ and ΒΥΛΛΙΣ,¹ and those of Amphilochicum Argos have the names ΑΡΓΕΩΝ, ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ, and ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΩΝ; in these cases we can see variant forms of Argos, and also the names of a smaller area and then of a larger group. Here it is probable that *Ἑλεαῖοι* and *Ἑλεᾶται* are variant forms of the same tribal name, and I imagine that *Ἑλαίας* in Thucydides is the Attic form of *Ἑλέατις*, the territory of the *Ἑλεαῖοι* (like Thesprotis, the territory of the Thesprotoi) and that *Ἑλαίας λιμὴν* is similarly given in the *koine* for Ps.-Scylax *λιμὴν ᾧ ὄνομα Ἑλέα*. Otherwise we shall be faced, as the peoples of the area would have been, by the need to distinguish Eleai, Eleatae, Eleatis, and Elea from Elaeatis, Elaea, and presumably Elaei.

The identification of these districts and places will now be of some help. We have already seen that Elaeatis in Thucydides 1. 46. 4 included Ephyra and the Acherusian lake, so that it certainly comprised the Acherusian plain and may have extended up the Cocytus valley, famous for its olive-groves. The Eleaei were then the members of the tribe who held this the richest part of the Epirote coast. Ps.-Scylax said that Thesprotia was *εὐλίμενος*, but he mentioned only one harbour, Elea (if this emendation of ΕΛΕΔ is accepted). It was therefore the main harbour or outlet for Thesprotia, that is for the Acherusian plain. This was the mouth of the Acheron in the time of Ps.-Scylax (*εἰς τοῦτον τὸν λιμένα ποταμὸς ἐξίησιν Ἀχέρων*). In the time of Ptolemy the *Ἑλαίας λιμὴν* is to be identified with Port Kerentza (see p. 63, above). This is just south of the mouth of the Acheron river, which Ptolemy mentioned as a separate place. The history of the coinage then is that the Eleaei (also called Eleatae), a tribal group owning the rich plain, issued its first coinage c. 350 B.C. with the Corinthian emblems which are familiar at Leucas and in the Pegasus coinages of

¹ Head 314.

the north-west area. Franke's Group 1 is of the period *c.* 350–342 B.C., and his Groups 2 and 3 are of the period *c.* 342–338 B.C. The Thesprotian group then became the issuer of this coinage, which carried the initial letters ΘΕ for the period *c.* 335–330/325 B.C.¹ The emblems which were used continuously from 342 to 330/325 B.C. were those of the Nekyomanteion, for which Elaeatis and Thesprotis alike were famous in the Greek world; similarly an emblem of the Molossian tribal state's coinage was the thunderbolt of Dodonaean Zeus.

The coinages which carry the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ were probably struck for use in Italy. The Corcyraean standard was employed for these coinages, as it seems to have been for coinages in Epirus with the exception of the Molossian silver coinage, the Pegasi of the Eleaei and the issues of Ambracia.² Alexander coined as *hegemon* of the armed forces in Italy; meanwhile the Molossian state was coining in its own name. The concurrence of the two coinages is shown by their use of the same emblems—the eagle, the round shield, and the thunderbolt in a wreath of laurel.³ In the same way Tarentum issued a gold coinage with the emblems which occurred on Alexander's gold coinage—the head of Helios and the thunderbolt; and Tarentum added to her silver coinage of this period the seated eagle with closed wings which Alexander had on his bronze coinage and the Molossian state had on its coinage.⁴

The coinages show that in the reign of Alexander I (342–331 B.C.) the Molossian state coined in its own name and the Molossian king had no powers of coining except in Italy, where he did so as *hegemon* of a coalition. The other states which coined after 342 B.C. were autonomous states outside the Molossian state. One was the tribal state of the Cassopaei. Another was the tribal state of the Eleaei or Eleatae; this in its turn was replaced by the larger tribal group to which it belonged, the Thesproti. Ambracia and Argos Amphilochicum, and probably within this period the Amphilochi who included Argos, issued their own autonomous coinages. Thus the whole of Southern Epirus had a monetary economy in the time of Alexander I. On the other hand, the peoples of northern Epirus had not yet started to use coinage. They were still dependent in this respect on Corcyra, Apollonia, and Epidamnus.

A bronze coinage of which three specimens are known must also be mentioned. One came from the district of Ioannina, one from Chalcis in Euboea and one from 'Nistora-Kastanochorion', which is in

¹ Franke p. 48 was the first to see the reference to the Thesproti; Babelon thought the letters ΘΕ stood for a magistrate. Head 321 cites Molossian coins with ΜΟ, which provides a parallel; Franke does not include these coins in his catalogue.

² See Franke 88.

³ See Franke 89 f.

⁴ Head 58, 61, and 322; Franke *AE* 82 f.

South-west Macedonia (see p. 276, above, for the Kastanochoria).¹ The reverse has the name of the issuer, the Argeioi, and the emblem of a rushing bull. The obverse has a head of Zeus laureate, facing left, and to the left ΖΕΥΣ and to the right ΕΘΕΤΩΝ. The coins were published by Svoronos,² who dated them on stylistic and typological grounds to c. 342–330 B.C.; and Franke expresses agreement with this dating.³ Svoronos attributed the coinage to Argos Amphilochicum; he explained the word 'Εθετων as the genitive plural of a tribe, the Ethetae, who transferred their name to Zeus and called him Ζεὺς 'Εθετων. He then identified the 'Εθέται with the 'Εθνέσται, mentioned by Rhianus in St. Byz., s. 'Εθνέσται. ἔθνος Θεσσαλίας ἀπὸ 'Εθνέστου τῶν Νεοπτολέμου παίδων ἐνός, ὡς 'Ριανὸς δ' καὶ ε' (FGrH 265 F 12), and he maintained that this Thessalian tribe moved from Thessaly into Athamania. The view of Svoronos is accepted by Dakaris, but with the difference that he places the Ethnestae in South-west Macedonia as neighbours of the Orestae and identifies Argos with Argos Oresticum. Franke expresses some doubts and leaves the question open.

The difficulties in the view of Svoronos and Dakaris are considerable. 'Εθέται and 'Εθνέσται are words with different roots as well as different terminations; therefore they do not look like official variants, such as 'Ελεαῖοι and 'Ελεᾶται. The idea that Ζεὺς 'Εθετων can mean 'the Zeus of the Ethetae' is difficult to accept; we have Zeus Dodonaeos, Zeus Pelasgikos and Zeus Kasios in North-western Greece, and one would expect Zeus Ethetes *vel sim.* Even if we accept the equation, we are left with the problem that since the Argives issued the coinage, we should expect Argos Ethetikon or Ethnestikon; but according to Svoronos this Argos is Argos Amphilochicum, or according to Dakaris Argos Oresticum. But the most serious objection to the views of Svoronos and Dakaris is that the Ethnestai belonged to the Molossian tribal state (for they appear in two inscriptions, as Dakaris points out); therefore they had no possibility of issuing coins in their own right, since the Molossoi and not the constituent tribes issued the coinage. It seems best to regard 'Εθετων as a nominative and to leave it as an unexplained epithet of Zeus. The Argeioi are likely to be those of Amphilochicum Argos; for it was issuing autonomous bronze coinage c. 350–250 with the inscription ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ. Amphilochia was famous for its cattle; Heracles was said to have taken the cattle of Geryones from the district round Ambracia and Amphilochia (FGrH 1 Hecataeus F 26). The emblem of the charging bull is therefore appropriate

¹ Dakaris in *Eph. Arch.* 1957, 93 is incorrect in saying that the three coins come from 'the region of Ioannina'; he writes Katsano- for Kastano-choria (the former villages lie south of Ioannina in the plain).

² *Jahrb. int. Arch. Num.* 8 (1905) 227 f.

³ Franke pp. 285 f. Dakaris loc. cit. thinks the coins might be from the time of Pyrrhus.

to coins of Argos Amphilochicum. On the other hand, Argos Oresticum had been absorbed into Philip's greater Macedonia before the period 342–330 B.C., and it never issued any autonomous coinage so far as we know. The last Argos in the West is Argos Ippaton (see p. 540, above). The citizens of this Argos were probably members of the Molossian tribal state c. 340 B.C., as we see from the inscription mentioning one *Γύρας Ἀργεῖος*.¹ They could no more issue an autonomous coinage than other individual members of that state in 432–330 B.C. On the other hand, the dating of the inscription is only approximate. It is possible but unlikely that Argos Ippaton issued an autonomous coinage for a few years before 342 B.C., as the Eleaei did, but ceased to do so on being absorbed into the Molossian state.

The silver coinage of Argos Amphilochicum in 350 to 250 B.C. forms an interesting contrast to the coinages of the Epirote tribes. She adopted the Pegasus coinage of the Corinthian system, and her coins are found in the hoards which contain the coins of the Corinthian group at a number of sites in Italy and Sicily.² It seems that she held a position of equality with Anactorium and almost with Ambracia in the Ambracian Gulf, and that she was equally engaged in the seaborne trade which was carried to and from the West along the coast of the mainland. Her bronze coinage was for local use among the Amphilochi. On the other hand, the Epirote tribes coined almost entirely in bronze and only two coins of Epirus are noted in the contents of hoards elsewhere (one from Elis and one from Pellene in Achaëa).³ Their coinage was designed to improve the system of exchange internally within Epirus and indirectly to increase her power to export goods. The ability of Argos Amphilochicum to hold a strong position in trade may have been based on the export of timber, especially for shipbuilding; for the whole of inland Amphilochia is thickly wooded today and may have carried a great amount of large timber in antiquity.

3. THE FORTIFICATION OF THE SITES IN 480–331 B.C.

The sites of the fifth century which were fortified are not numerous. We have already mentioned Apollonia, Ambracia, three Elean colonies and Argos Amphilochicum, since they were fortified already in the sixth century; and we considered Buthrotum but came to no conclusion. There is no piece of walling at these places which must be allotted specifically to the fifth century, but it is probable, as we have seen

¹ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 247 no. 2.

² S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, second edition (New York, 1937), in hoards nos. 108, 193, 497, 684, 784, 900, 970, 1002, and 1016. For instance at Salve, Lecce (Iapygia), the Greek coins included 8 from Anactorium, 13 from Argos and 11 from Thyrrheum.

³ *Ibid.* no. 383 and no. 1186.

(p. 497, above), that the extension of the fortifications at Argos Amphiloichicum by the addition of two long walls was done on the advice of Phormio, whose action there we have dated *c.* 456 B.C.; for the building of such long walls was an Athenian idea in the First Peloponnesian War. The style of these walls approximated to ashlar; towers and recesses were not employed, except that each ended in a tower at the edge of the plain. Rabbeting and deep drafting of corner-stones were not used (see p. 239, above). The fortifications at Agrilouvouni, which I have identified with Olpae, were deliberately smashed in antiquity, so that we cannot tell what they were like in the Archidamian War. The site at Paleokoula was probably a fortified site at the end of the wars between Ambracia and Argos in the fifth century, and the walls of the inner fort may be of that period. They are ashlar in style, have large and small blocks, use no rabbeting or deep drafting at the corners and have towers, of which one is built internally (see p. 150, above).

We have seen that the wall across the neck of the Hexamili peninsula, on which Buthrotum is situated, was a fortification built by the Corcyraeans to protect their possessions on the mainland. The style is ashlar, the blocks are large, well cut, and smooth-faced, and some were once fitted with clamps. Some of the small forts and pill-boxes in the Chaonian plain may also be Corcyraean *τείχη* (Th. 3. 85. 2); the fort at Çuke, for instance, is built in the same style, and clamps were probably used there (see p. 99, above). Kirsten, in *P-K* 2. 1. 208, thinks a part of the plain was included in Corcyra's Peraea. The conclusion that Corcyra held the Hexamili peninsula in the fifth century and later explains the absence of the Pelodes Limen and Buthrotum from the accounts which described the coast of Epirus. Further, it entails the belief that Buthrotum was not then the large and strongly fortified site which has been revealed by the excavation of the Italian Archaeological Mission; for Thucydides would have used a stronger expression than *τείχη ἃ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ*, if Corcyra had held Buthrotum as a fortified town. The city mentioned by Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F 106) as *Βουθρωτός πόλις* was either unfortified in the late sixth century or else its fortifications were destroyed before the present walls were built. It is possible that another Corcyraean fort was at Ligaria near the mouth of the river Thyamis; for Papageorgiou has reported that the walls there are in ashlar style, and the site is very suitable for seizure by Corcyra.

In the fourth century we have the first mention of the locked harbour of Ambracia, called Ambracus, which Ps.-Scylax described as it was *c.* 380-360 B.C. It may have been built in the late fifth century or in the early fourth century. The style is ashlar, the blocks are large, there

is no rabbeting and no drafting at the corners, and there is one square tower. There is then a general similarity in the style of masonry and in the small use of towers; and there is also an absence of certain features, and this absence is common to the fortifications we have considered as being of fifth-century or early fourth-century date.

It has been held, for instance by S. I. Dakaris, that some towns of the native Epirote tribes were fortified at the end of the fifth century or early in the fourth century. We have seen that some towns existed in the fourth century; they figure in the Molossian inscriptions and in the list of Thearodoci. But it does not follow that they were fortified. Equally the discovery of tiles of the late fifth century or early fourth century at Cassope and of a *scyphos* of similar date at Kastritsa does not indicate that the sites were fortified. The literary evidence seems to me to be decisively opposed to the view held by Dakaris and others. Ps.-Scylax says of the Chaonians, the Thesprotians, the Cassopi and the Molossians—individually in each case—that they lived by villages (*κατὰ κώμας*), whereas he calls Amphilochicum Argos, for instance, a city (*πόλις*). His account is of the period *c.* 380–360 B.C. If we take Cassope as an example, the site is not one which has an inner acropolis; it is a very large site which was clearly fortified as a single unit. If so large a walled city as this existed in the early fourth century B.C., Ps.-Scylax could not have said that the ‘Cassopi’ lived by villages. Ps.-Scymnus, who was referring to the time *c.* 360 B.C., called Oricum and Anactorium cities and labelled the Chaonians and Thesprotians ‘barbarian’ and the tribes of the interior ‘mixed barbarians’. Such a description is in accordance with that given by Ps.-Scylax.

A stratagem of Arybbas when he was attacked by the Illyrians under Bardylis can be dated to the year 360 B.C., the year before Bardylis’ defeat of the Macedonians. As the Illyrians had rather larger forces, Arybbas removed the civilians from Molossia and sent them to Aetolia; he placed his troops in ambushes in the mountains and on rocky ground. He then spread a rumour that he was handing over his country to the Aetolians. The Illyrians, deceived by this rumour, pressed forward in disorder to seize the spoil before the arrival of the Aetolians. The troops of Arybbas then took the Illyrians by surprise and routed them (Frontinus *Strat.* 2. 5. 19; see p. 278, above). The tactics of Arybbas are suitable for the defenders of an unfortified area. If he had had large, strongly fortified sites at Gardhiki and at Kastritsa, for example, he would have placed his civilians or his troops there as he thought fit. Here then we have evidence in support of the geographers’ descriptions.

Ps.-Scymnus did not mention the Cassopaei. Evidently he included them among the Thesproti, and this may suggest that they had been

absorbed into the Thesprotian tribal state by 360 B.C. But it is probable that the Cassopaei stayed independent. For Cassope was an independent place in the Thearodoci inscription soon afterwards, and the three Elean colonies retained their independence until Philip II reduced them in 343/2 B.C. It is only after this date that we should see the possibility of Cassope being fortified as the chief city of South-west Epirus; for the reduction of the Elean colonies enabled the Cassopaeans to have access to the main routes and to the Ambraciote Gulf for the first time. We hear of *Κασσωπία πόλις* in 312 B.C. (D.S. 19. 88. 3); but that is in the Hellenistic period.

The intervention of Philip II in Epirus is mentioned in [D.] *Halon*. 32 as an example of his abuse of the freedom of the Greeks. Philip deprived the Elean colonies, which were Greek cities, of their freedom and threatened Ambracia, a Greek city. There is no mention of any abuse of the freedom of Epirote tribes, such as the Parauaei, who were annexed in 350 B.C. There can be little doubt that the author of the speech regarded such tribes as barbarians, just as Ps.-Scymnus did. At Pandosia, Buchetium, and Elatria Philip burnt the territory and forced his way into the cities (*κατακαύσας τὴν χώραν καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος*)—tactics which are normally used against walled cities. When he had taken them, he made them subject to Alexander, the Molossian king. One does not know whether the walls of the cities were partly dismantled, but there is no doubt that they were fortified cities later, e.g. when Polybius mentions Buchetium. At Pandosia (Trikastron) the ashlar style predominates over the polygonal and is probably earlier, to judge from other sites in Epirus. At Elatria, if we identify it with the site at Paliorosforon, there are both ashlar and polygonal styles, and we have already reckoned that the earlier fortifications were those in ashlar style. At Buchetium (Rogous) the earliest part of the site was fortified with a wall in ashlar style (see p. 57, above). I noted three periods of building at Buchetium, and the intermediate period (represented by the walls B–D–F–C in Plan 4) is polygonal in style, both in the curtain and in the towers, which are larger and project much more than the towers of the earliest period. But we have not sufficient data to decide whether the walls in the intermediate style, that is the polygonal style at Buchetium, which is also the second style at Pandosia and Elatria, were built before or after 343/2 B.C.

PART FIVE

THE GROWTH OF THE EPIROTE STATE IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

XIII

THE EPIROTE ALLIANCE

I. THE HISTORY OF THE ALLIANCE DOWN TO THE DEATH OF PYRRHUS

THE changes which came about in Epirus as well as in Macedonia in 360–330 B.C. are most remarkable. Both countries were in danger of conquest by the Illyrians of Bardylis in 360–359 B.C., and both were not only safe from any threat of invasion by 330 B.C. but had shown themselves capable of expansion. The change in internal conditions was no less remarkable. The famous words which were addressed by Alexander the Great to his Macedonian troops at Opis¹ might well have been said of the Epirotes. 'Philip found you living a nomadic life, most of you pasturing a few sheep on the mountains, paupers in your goatskin cloaks (the *kapa* of the Vlach shepherd to-day), fighting unsuccessfully with Illyrians, Triballians, and Thracians on your borders. He gave you coats instead of cloaks and brought you down from the mountains to the plains, making you worthy opponents of the neighbouring barbarians, so that you relied for your safety no longer on the ruggedness of the ground but on your own courage; he made you live in cities, he brought order into your society by introducing good laws and customs . . . and he opened up your country to commerce by seizing districts on the coast which were most advantageous' (Arr. *An.* 7. 9. 2–3).² The decisive step for Epirus came with the intervention of Philip in 343/2 B.C. and the subjection of the Elean colonies to the Molossian state. The Molossians then had an advantageous seaboard, and Alexander was able to organize the Epirote tribes for a seaborne invasion of South Italy in 334 B.C. The economic development of the tribes in Southern Epirus and the tendency towards urbanization, which had begun c. 360 B.C., received a great impetus from the experience of the Epirotes overseas. Their eyes were opened to new horizons and to new ways of life. It was clear to them that a united Epirus, if ably led, was much stronger than any single city-state. When Alexander crossed to Italy with his vanguard of fifteen warships and a greater number of cavalry transport and supply ships (Aristotle, *frag.* 614: *Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μολοττός* . . .

¹ Arr. *An.* 7. 9. 2–3; the words may be *obiter dicta* but they represent the situation well.

² The speech was delivered in 330 B.C.; see Schaefer, *Demosthenes III*² 220 n. 1.

ἐξέπλευσε ναυσὶ μὲν πεντεκαίδεκα πλοίοις δὲ συχνοῖς ἵππαγωγοῖς καὶ στρατηγικοῖς), he had at his disposal a great reserve of manpower in the Molossian state and in the allied Epirote states.

The crucial problem after the death of Alexander was how to keep Epirus united. Although Macedonia and Epirus were closely related in culture and in way of life, yet there was one great difference. All Macedonia was united under its monarch, but all Epirus was not so united. In 331 B.C., when Alexander died, his three-year-old son became king of Molossia as Neoptolemus II, and his mother Cleopatra (daughter of Philip of Macedon and Olympias), who had been regent in Alexander's absence (Lyc. *c. Leocr.* 26, corn exported ἐκ τῆς Ἡπείρου παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας), acted as his guardian, at first alone and then in conjunction with her mother, Olympias, who was a sister of the late Molossian king (Aeschines 3. 242 and Livy 8. 24. 17). Their position is shown in *SEG* 9 no. 2, which covers the years 330–326 B.C.; corn was then sent from Cyrene twice to Olympias, once to Cleopatra, and twice to the Ambraciotes. During these years there was much friction between Olympias and Antipater, the representative in Macedonia of Alexander the Great. In the end Olympias left Macedonia. She came to Molossia because it was an independent kingdom, equal in status and not subject to Macedon; she expressed this point in a letter, written to Athens just before 330 B.C., in which she said that the land, Molossia, in which the oracle of Dodona lay, was hers (Hyperides, *Pro Euxenippro* 36: ὡς ἡ χώρα εἴη ἡ Μολοσσία αὐτῆς ἐν ἣ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν).

When Alexander the Great set off on the invasion of the Persian Empire, he made arrangements for the exercise of his authority in the Balkan peninsula by Antipater. Some of these arrangements have become known to us through the allocation of powers by the Successors after his death, powers which were recorded by Hieronymus of Cardia¹ and were later summarized by Diodorus (18. 3), Quintus Curtius (10. 7. 8), Arrian (*FGrH* 156 F 1, § 7), and Dexippus (*FGrH* 100 F 8, § 3). The most detailed summaries are in Arrian and Dexippus. The former gives geographical limits (e.g. for Thrace's neighbours up to Salmydessus on the Euxine Sea), and in the case of Epirus the limit is 'up to the Ceraunian mountains'. Dexippus is more explicit: Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Μακεδόσι καὶ Ἑλλήσι καὶ Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Τριβαλοῖς καὶ Ἀγριᾷσι καὶ ὅσα τῆς Ἡπείρου ἐξέτι Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐτέτακτο. A verb is understood with Ἀντίπατρος, as with the generals mentioned in the preceding sentences, and the pluperfect ἐτέτακτο refers to the lifetime of Alexander the Great (ἐξέτι Ἀλεξάνδρου). Antipater's authority then ran in Chaonia at least ('up to the Ceraunian mountains'), and he had powers of command presumably over those

¹ See F. Jacoby *FGrH* ii D p. 553.

parts of Epirus which were not included in the Molossian state.¹ I take it that the tribes of these parts—Chaonians, Thesprotians, and others—were in alliance both with Alexander of Macedon and with Alexander of Molossia in the years 334–331 B.C. One problem which concerned both Antipater, as the deputy of Alexander of Macedon, and Olympias, the ambitious guardian of Neoptolemus II of Molossia, was whether these allies should be used to the advantage of Macedon or Molossia.

When Alexander of Macedon returned from India in 325 B.C., he was informed 'of the faction raised by Olympias and Cleopatra against Antipater and of their division of power—Olympias taking over Epirus and Cleopatra Macedonia' (Plu. *Alex.* 68. 3).² As Cleopatra joined Olympias in this faction, it is probable that the dispute concerned the kingdom of Molossia and its relations with Antipater. As we have mentioned, an Epirote Alliance was formed between 331 B.C. and 326/5. Franke held that Olympias brought about its formation; but it seems to me that the Epirote Alliance weakened rather than strengthened the Molossian kingdom and the Molossian state, not only in theory but also in practice; for within a few years its king, who was then Aeacides, was banished by the Epirote Alliance 'through hatred of Olympias', the Epirotes refused to march against the Macedonians, and Olympias was abandoned to her fate. I conclude that Antipater was influential in creating the Epirote Alliance as a means of checking the growth of the Molossian state and the ambitions of Olympias and Cleopatra, that Alexander was told of this development in 325 B.C. and that, as usual, he supported Antipater's decision in a matter of state.

The earliest dated mention of the Epirote Alliance is in Diodorus 19. 36. 3, where the source is Hieronymus of Cardia. Aeacides, who was then the Molossian king, was banished *κοινῷ δόγματι . . . τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν* in 317 B.C. The first inscription we have of the Epirote Alliance³ is *SGDI* 1336: *θεὸς τύχ[α·Κ]λεωμάχῳ Ἀτιντᾶνι οἱ σύμμαχοι*

¹ See Droysen, *GdH* ii² (1878) p. 32 n. 3: 'das bezeichnet wohl dass ein Theil von Epeiros unter Makedonien, das Königreich Epeiros unabhängig unter Aeakides stand'. He made the mistake of confusing the kingdom of Epirus and the kingdom of Molossia. Fraser, *JHS* 74 (1954) 57 n. 10, considers that the evidence admits the possibility that Epirus was only in part a Macedonian protectorate, while the rest of the country remained, as it had been in the time of Alexander the Great, independent.

² The idea that Olympias and Cleopatra actually divided up Epirus and Macedonia is absurd so long as Antipater and Alexander were alive, and it is a mistake to draw any deductions from it; Klotzsch p. 89 thought that Cleopatra moved in 325 to Macedonia (into Antipater's control!), and Franke, *AE* p. 42 n. 189, supposed that she renounced her rights in Epirus (but surely not the rights of her son, Neoptolemus). I imagine both Olympias and Cleopatra stayed in Molossia out of Antipater's reach, and advanced their claims from there.

³ *SGDI* 1347, which is by the same hand as *SGDI* 1346, may be as early as *SGDI* 1336; it contains the restoration *Ἀ]τιρω[τᾶν* at the proper place in the preamble.

τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν ἔδωκαν ἐν Ἀπείρῳ ἀτέλειαν ἐπὶ βασιλέος Νεοπτολέμου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ προστά[τα] Δέρκα Μολοσσῶν καὶ ἐντέλειαν. This inscription is to be dated between 317 and 297 B.C.; for Neoptolemus II was sole king of Molossia¹ from 317 to 312 B.C. and again from 302 to 297 B.C.² A very probable *terminus ante quem* for the Epirote Alliance lies in the mention of ἡ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν πολιτεία by Aristotle (frag. 494 *apud* St. Byz. s. Ἀμύνται); for, as Franke argues,³ Aristotle is unlikely to have written this work later than 326/5. Other signs of the new Epirote Alliance are the appearance of coins with ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ and the cessation of the independent coinages of the Molossians, Cassopaeans, Eleaeans, and Thesprotians. There is, therefore, good reason to place the creation of the Epirote Alliance between the campaigns of Alexander I in Italy in 334 to 331 B.C., to which the inscription in Carapanos 1. 39. 1, mentioning Μολοσσοὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι (the 'allies' being apparently in Epirus), is to be dated, and the year 325 B.C., in which Alexander the Great heard of the complaints by Cleopatra and Olympias.

The difference between 'the Molossians and their allies' and 'the Epirotes' is one of power politics. In the former the Molossian state had in practice that superior authority which Sparta had had in 'the Lacedaemonians and their allies' and Athens had had in 'the Athenians and their allies'. It hinged upon the bicameral system. On the other hand, 'the Epirotes' was a single body, of which the Molossian state was only one member. We have relatively little information about the working of this body. Its title in *SGDI* 1336 is οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν. Here 'the allies' are 'the Epirotes'. In the same way in the titles ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Χαόνων or τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν 'the state' is 'the Chaonians' or 'the Molossians'.⁴ I have therefore called it the Epirote Alliance rather than the Epirote League. The Greek terminology is an accurate one: there was no federal citizenship to bestow on others,⁵ because the Epirotes were bound together in an Alliance with a military purpose and not in a sympolity with common

¹ The argument of Cross pp. 106 f., following a theory advanced by Reuss, that Alexander I did not have a son Neoptolemus, need not be discussed, because we now have a considerable number of inscriptions which name Neoptolemus as a son of Alexander. Franke, *AE* 41, has argued convincingly for his existence, following Klotzsch 87 f., 104 f., Beloch *GG* 4. 2. 144, Nilsson 74 f., Berve, *Alexanderreich* i. 322, and Bengtson, *Strategie* i. 33.

² The period 331–322, when Neoptolemus was a child, is usually excluded, e.g. by Franke *AE* 35. This is probably correct; but we may note that in *SGDI* 1348 Ptolemy is mentioned as king, though he was probably a minor (see pp. 591 f., below).

³ Franke *AE* 36 f.

⁴ Franke, *AE* 35 calls it 'ein epexegetischer oder explikativer Genitiv'.

⁵ So Franke, *AE* 30 f., supported by G. Dunst in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 77 (1956) 499, against Schwahn in *RE* s. *συμμαχία* cols. 1193 and 1194 and s. *συμπολιτεία* col. 1240.

articles of citizenship. The Epirote Alliance took decisions in its corporate name. We find the formula *ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀπειρώταις* only in a later period (*SGDI* 1339, line 10), but a decision of the Alliance in 317 B.C. was called a *κοινὸν δόγμα τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν* by Diodorus (19. 36. 3). The powers of the Epirote Alliance included the granting of *ἀτέλεια καὶ ἐντέλεια*, that is of immunity from tax, within 'Epirus' (*SGDI* 1336). Its financial powers are visible also in the issue of coinage with the title *ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ*. The Epirote Alliance could banish persons from the confines of 'Epirus', and it could presumably grant safe residence within them. 'Epirus' in this sense was conterminous with the territory of the allies. There was no doubt a council of delegates; but we do not have any mention of a council until after 232 B.C. The executive body exercised powers in matters of recruitment, finance, and so forth over the tribes which were members of the Alliance. The most important office in such an Alliance was that of the military commander, and on this we are fortunately well informed.

When Alexander the Great died in 323 B.C., Olympias tried to strengthen herself against Antipater. She recalled from exile the previous king Arybbas, not to displace the child Neoptolemus but to act as joint king with him. Arybbas, therefore, was the military commander of the Molossians; and it was his Molossians, *Μολοσσοὶ οἱ περὶ Ἀρυπταῖον* (D.S. 18. 11. 1, using a common variant of the name Arybbas) who fought in the Lamian War in 322 B.C. against Antipater. Arybbas evidently died soon afterwards. His son Aeacides succeeded him as joint king with Neoptolemus. A young man, Aeacides was under the influence of Olympias (*κατήκοος ὦν Ὀλυμπιάδι*, Paus. 1. 11. 3); and he answered her appeal for help in 317 B.C., when she was besieged at Pella in Macedonia by Cassander. The account in Diodorus (19. 36), who is here following a good source, Hieronymus of Cardia,¹ is as follows. The troops of Cassander occupied the passes from Epirus into Macedonia in advance (*τὰς ἐξ Ἑπείρου παρόδους προκαταλαβομένου*). When the Epirotes came to the frontier, the majority of the Epirotes (*τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν*) were unwilling to campaign against Macedonia and voiced their disagreement on the spot (*στάσιν ἐποίει κατὰ τὴν παρεμβολήν*). Their commander Aeacides let the malcontents depart and in consequence was left with only a small force. He stayed in the field; but the others returned to their several countries, intrigued there in the absence of the king and sentenced Aeacides to exile by a *κοινὸν δόγμα* (*οἱ δὲ χωρισθέντες τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας*

¹ Cf. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* 2. 63: 'If modern source-analysis has led to one result more certain than others, it is that the main source of Diodorus' books XVIII-XX, omitting the Sicilian parts, is Hieronymus of Cardia; but even so he inserts at his pleasure items from other writers or from his own knowledge.' Klotzsch p. 106, n. 1 suggests that Diodorus may have made use also of Proxenus in this chapter.

κατεστασίασαν ἀπόντα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κοινῶ δόγματι φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καταγνόντες).¹ From this account it is clear that the Molossian king was *hegemon* of the Epirote Alliance's forces; and that he could call them out for war without declaring his aim in advance, just as the Spartan kings had been able to do with the forces of the Spartan Alliance until 506 B.C. Otherwise it is impossible to explain why the great majority of the Epirote troops went to the frontier and found only then that the enemy was to be the Macedonians. In other words, the Molossian king had the same full powers of military command and initiative in war in the Epirote Alliance as he had in the Molossian kingdom. But he could be removed from his command by the Epirote Alliance. In the present case he was not only removed but also banished. The way in which this came about is fairly clear. The malcontents went back to their respective tribal κοινά. There they aroused feeling against Aeacides, and this feeling was evidently expressed by tribal delegates in a Council or Congress which passed the κοινὸν δόγμα sentencing Aeacides to banishment. It also concluded a treaty of alliance with Cassander. The right of the Molossian king to command the forces of the Epirote Alliance evidently continued; for we find it exercised in 322 B.C. by Alcetas. Thus the Molossian king was not in any sense king of the Epirotes. As Molossian king he was *ex officio* commander of the Epirote forces. In this sense, and in this sense only, he was called at times king of Epirus—βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν (e.g. in Diod. 19. 36) and *rex Epiri*.²

The effect of the Epirote Alliance on the Molossian state was to freeze its development. The neighbours of the Molossian state joined the Alliance and thus preserved their independence against any Molossian encroachment. Molossians, Chaonians, and Thesprotians sent their contingents to serve under the command of Pyrrhus, and were under treaty not to attack one another. However strongly the powers of command were vested in the Molossian king, the policy of Molossia in foreign affairs was now limited. Instead of the original Molossian tribes holding a majority in the enlarged Molossian state,

¹ Cf. Paus. 1. 11. 4 and Justin 17. 3. 16. Klotzsch p. 107 argues that the decision was made by the Molossians and not by the Epirotes, and Franke, *AE* 43 f., seems to follow Klotzsch. The evidence is contrary to their view; and how could the Molossian state make an alliance with Cassander on behalf of the Epirote Alliance?

² Franke, *AE* 43, assumes that the Epirote Alliance gave the power of hegemony to the Molossian king in a defensive war only. There is no evidence to support his view, and the adventures of Pyrrhus can hardly be interpreted as defensive. He discusses the king's position on pp. 75 f. He holds that good sources always name a king as 'king of the Molossians' and weak sources only spoke of a king as 'king of the Epirotes'. But this argument is beset with difficulties; for the source of Diodorus at 19. 36. 2 is a good source, namely Hieronymus of Cardia, and so is the source of Plu. *Pyrrhus* 5. 2, namely Proxenus, and yet they both have 'king of the Epirotes'.

now the Molossian state was in a minority *vis-à-vis* a combination of Chaonians and Thesprotians. The logical outcome of being in a minority was seen in the débâcle which ensued when Aeacides attempted to help Olympias. It is, therefore, likely that Antipater played a part in the formation of the Epirote Alliance *c.* 326 B.C. At that time the Epirote tribes had recently served together in Italy as *Μολοσσοὶ καὶ σύμμαχοι* and the Molossian state was weakened by having a child as king. The tendency in North and Central Greece had been for some time towards the formation of tribal alliances and leagues,¹ and it suited Antipater to see the power of Molossia submerge itself in a larger organization.

The Epirote tribes as a whole gained in security in their relations with one another and in joint action against the Illyrians or other enemies. They were willing to accept the leadership of the Molossian king in time of war, because his position was normally undisputed and his Molossians formed the strongest single army in Epirus. In warfare against other powers the tribes were not necessarily restricted by their membership of the Epirote Alliance. For example, some Molossians acted independently in entering the Lamian War. Politically the Epirote Alliance was undemanding. The tribal states continued to conduct their own affairs. An unnamed *κοινόν* considered entering into a sympolity with Molossia (*SGDI* 1590); and *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν* (*SGDI* 1370, partly restored) had dealings with the temple officials at Dodona. These cases were before 230 B.C.² Thus the term *Ἀπειρώται* had a military and geographical significance much more than a political one. A list of mercenary soldiers at Athens *c.* 300 B.C. has the entry *Ἑπειρώται· Βοϊσκος*;³ and an honour was conferred by the Aetolian League *c.* 262 B.C. on *Σωσάνδρῳ Νικομάχου Ἀπειρώται*.⁴ The name was adopted, because it had come into general use in its geographical sense (see p. 506, above). We find even a member of the Molossian royal family described as *Ἀνδρομάχα ἐξ Ἀείρου* in an inscription at Epidaurus;⁵ she was a wife of Arybbas, doubtless the king of that name.

¹ Franke, *AE* 43, argues that Olympias formed the Epirote Alliance in order to strengthen herself against Antipater: 'ihre Macht in Epirus auf eine breitere Grundlage zu stellen.' If so, the results proved her absolute stupidity. Franke's view is condemned by G. Dunst in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 77 (1956) 499 f.: 'daß die von den Epiroten gehaßte Olympias zur Zeit der völligen Schwächung der Äakidenhauses eine Symmachie geschaffen hätte, die von den molossischen Königen geführt wurde, und in der der molossische Stamm ein deutliches Übergewicht besaß, ist kaum glaublich.'

² Dated by Ziebarth, *Phil. Wochenschrift* 1939, p. 828, on account of the lettering.

³ *IG* ii. 2. 963. 58.

⁴ *IG* ix. 1.² 17. 63.

⁵ *SGI*² 2. 803 l. 60 = *IG* iv. 1.³ 122. 60. The inscription records her dream in which the god touched her.

It was believed by Nilsson and others that the Molossian state—*τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν*—was replaced by the Epirote Alliance.¹ It is clear from the inscriptions we have already mentioned that the Molossian state existed within the Epirote Alliance and was unaffected by it in the matter of internal arrangements. The extent to which this is so has been revealed by an inscription which Evangelides published in *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 245. He dated the lettering to 'towards the end of the fourth century B.C.', and Fraser agreed with his verdict;² and we thus have a decree by the Molossian state at a time when the Epirote Alliance was fully established.

Θεός. Λαγέται Λαγέτα Θεσσαλῶι Φε
 ραίῳι Μολοσσοὶ ἔδωκαν εὐεργέται ἐόν
 τι καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, πολι
 τείαν, ἔγκτασιν, ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἐντέλει
 5 αν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ αὐ
 τοῖς καὶ χρήμασι[ν] πολέμου καὶ εἰράνα
 5 προστατέοντ[ο]ς Λυσανία Ὀμφαλος, γρα
 μματιστᾶ [Δο]κίμου Ὀμφαλος, ἱερομνα
 μονευ[ό]ντων ρι . [Ὀμφα]λος, Φιλίππου
 10 Γενοα[ί]ο[υ] Ὀνοπέρνου, Σί
 μου Λ [Ἀτιν]νᾶνος, Ἀνα
 ξάν[δρου] Λυκκαόρτα ι
 Ταλε[ᾶνος] Μ]ενεδάμου
 Γοιαλ του Ἀλεξά
 15 νδρου

The length of line (after the opening one) is thirty or thirty-one letters, and the bronze sheet on which the letters are punctured was a regular rectangle, as the photograph shows (pl. 26 in *Ep. Chron.* 1935). Some fragments were also found, but they are not illustrated.

If we assume the normal length of line, then in line 10 we can allow twelve letters for one person's name; in line 11 fifteen letters, if Λ[αρισαίου] is restored, as Evangelides suggested, and this leaves six letters for a person's name; in line 12 fourteen letters which will suffice for a longer name than Anaxandros and then an ethnic; in line 13 fourteen letters which are adequate for a person's name and an ethnic (e.g. Σίμου Ἀρκτᾶνος); and in line 14 eighteen letters.

Since this inscription was published, Evangelides has discovered the two new inscriptions of Neoptolemus I's reign which record acts of the

¹ Nilsson p. 61 equated *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν* with the Molossian empire until it was replaced in the reign of Neoptolemus II by the 'Bund der Epeiroten', under which he held that there was a 'king of the Epirotes', until the monarchy fell, and thereafter there was a 'general of the Epirotes'.

² In *JHS* 74. 57 n. 7. See Evangelides also in *Eph. Arch.* 1953-4, 102. Franke, *AE* 40, seems to think the lettering could be 'before 330 B.C.'.

'Molossi'. He did not connect them together in his publication, but they have much in common. In our inscription the *prostates*, *grammateus* (or here *grammatistes*),¹ and senior member of the college are all members of one tribe; and a similar thing happens in *SGDI* 1334 when *prostates* and *grammatistes* are both 'Omphales'. There are three tribes common to our inscription and to those of Neoptolemus I's reign—Omphales, Onoperni, and Genoei—and probably also the Peiales if, as Evangelides suggested, Πειαλ[ος] is read in line 14 for Γοιαλ, the first two letters being uncertain. The ethnic [Ατν]ντάνος or rather [Ατι]ντάνος, the double ν being a slip in the publication, raises a difficulty, because the Atintanes were outside the Epirote Alliance during the reign of Neoptolemus II c. 317–312 B.C. (cf. *SGDI* 1336). It is indeed very likely that they were not in the Molossian state at any time. The letter on the photograph looks more like a κ than a ν, and [Αρ]κτάνος seems a probable restoration. In line 12 there is probably room for an ethnic, a name, and an ethnic after Ἀναξάν[δρου], since fourteen letters is too long for an ethnic. At the end of line 12 there is an iota which is due to a mistake by the scribe; for Ταλε[άνος] seems correct, since *SGDI* 1349 has Ταλαιάν as an ethnic. In line 13 a name and an ethnic are to be supplied in fourteen letters. The last lines present a problem because the inscription ends not with an ethnic or a month in the genitive but with the name Ἀλεξάνδρου, there being space in line 15 for a continuation. Moreover, τοῦ is unlikely in this sort of inscription² as indeed is a patronymic at all for ordinary officials or persons (cf. *SGDI* 1349, for instance). The photograph does not show the end of the upper part of the τ. I therefore suggest reading μ and restoring Πειαλ[ος, βασιλέος Νεοπτολέ]μου Ἀλεξά[νδρου], which gives thirty-one letters to the line, or, if the τ is certain, Πειαλ[ος, βασιλέος Νεοπτολέμου] τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου which makes thirty-four letters and a cramped line. In *SGDI* 1336 the phrases which date the act are put late in the inscription as here and read ἐπὶ βασιλέος Νεοπτολέμου Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐπὶ προστά[τα] Δέρκα Μολοσσῶν καὶ ἐντέλειαν.

If my restorations are correct, we have an act of the Molossian state—Μολοσσοί—of the period when Neoptolemus II was sole king of Molossia in 317–312 or in 302–297 B.C. The three leading officials are from one Molossian tribe, and there is a board of ten magistrates, probably each from a different tribe. They come from four Molossian tribes (Omphales, Genoei, Arctanes, if correctly restored, and Peiales), two Thesprotian tribes (Onoperni and Larisaei, both in

¹ Both forms are used in the reign of Alexander I in *SGDI* 1334 and 1335.

² I note two early cases at Dodona Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Ἀλκέα in Evangelides *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3; and two others in late inscriptions, *SGDI* 1338 and 1339. Three of these are on stone.

SGDI 1351), a tribe of unknown affiliation Talaeanes, and three tribes to be restored (two in line 12 and one in line 13). Two inscriptions of Neoptolemus I's reign gave three leading officials from one Molossian tribe and a board of ten magistrates, drawn from five Molossian tribes (Omphales, Genoei, Arctanes, Peiales, and Triphylae), three Thesprotian tribes (Onoperni, Tripolitae, and Celaethi), and two tribes of uncertain attachment. A third inscription which is probably of Neoptolemus I's reign had officials from fifteen tribes which, if my restorations are correct, included all the tribes mentioned so far except either the Larisaei or the Talaeanes (there being room for one or other, but not both). It seems likely that the Larisaei, being definitely a Thesprotian tribe, have entered the Molossian state since the reign of Neoptolemus I, and that some northern tribes have left it—tribes such as the Orestae, Phylates, and Kyestoi. Our inscription gives *ιερομνάμονες* instead of the earlier *δαμιοργοί*, and *συνάρχοντες*. We have thus a later stage in the development of the enlarged Molossian state. The proportional representation of Molossian tribes and Thesprotian tribes is about the same.

This inscription shows not only that the formation of the Epirote Alliance imposed little restraint on the Molossian state, which could confer its citizenship, freedom from tax, right of owning property and various honours on a Thessalian of Pherae, but also that the Molossian state itself had a continuous and little changed system of organization between 370–368 B.C. and 317–312 B.C. (or 302–297 B.C.). The board of ten *damiorgoi* is here replaced by a board of ten *hieromnamones*, but the system of tribal representation and tribal equality is unchanged; and many of the tribes represented in 370–368 B.C. are represented again in 317–312 B.C. In the same way, the tribes which were the units of the Molossian state continued to act as they had done before the institution of the Epirote Alliance. For example, in *SGDI* 1347, which is dated to the years c. 330–310 B.C. (see p. 537, above), the *Μολοσσοί* *Ὀμφάλες Χιμῶλιοι* make an official liberation of slaves, and we have seen above that the *κοινά* of tribes or divisions of tribes continued to function in the period 330–230 B.C.

When an act of the Epirote Alliance was recorded at Dodona, or when it was desired to record a tribal act there in relation to the Epirote Alliance, the document was dated in the local manner by the reigning Molossian king and by the annual *prostates* of the Molossian state (*SGDI* 1336 and 1347). In the same way, no doubt, acts of the Epirote Alliance were dated in Chaonia by the annual *prostates* of the Chaonians (*AA* iii. 115: *προστατοῦντος Χασόνων*, dated by L. M. Ugolini to before 250 B.C.) and in Thesprotia likewise. These practices do not in themselves mean that the Molossian king and the annual

prostates of this or that tribal state held official positions in the Epirote Alliance.

When the Epirote Alliance banished Aeacides and made alliance with Cassander, it came under the control of Macedon for some years. In this there were some advantages, as a larger state developed. For Cassander defeated Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, and forced him to respect the allies of Macedon (D.S. 19. 67); he captured Apollonia and Epidamnus; and he probably founded Antipatreia in Illyria c. 314 B.C. Antipatreia is usually identified with Berat, where large blocks and Roman tiles are incorporated in the east wall and in the gate of the large fort. With Aeacides in exile the Molossians relied on the other branch of the royal family;¹ but Neoptolemus II, being about seventeen years old, was too young to exercise military command in 317 B.C. Therefore Cassander sent his own representative, Lyciscus, to act as *ἐπιμελητής καὶ στρατηγός* of the Epirote Alliance (D.S. 19. 36). The term *ἐπιμελητής* was used of Demetrius of Phalerum whom Cassander sent to Athens, which was then nominally his ally (D.S. 18. 74. 3). It means that Lyciscus had wide and discretionary powers in Epirus. His position of *στρατηγός* enabled him to call upon and command the forces of the Epirote Alliance. To this time, when his influence was so strong, we may refer the dedication in his honour *Syll.*³ 653, 4 by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν τῶν περὶ Φοινίκην, which is evidently a tribal state of Chaonians and others centring on Phoenice. In 313 B.C. Aeacides seized the Molossian kingdom by force (D.S. 19. 74. 3). An Epirote army which supported him was defeated by Cassander's brother Philip, and Aeacides was mortally wounded (Paus. 1. 11. 5). After his death the Molossians recalled Alcetas, who had been expelled by his father Arybbas, and elected him king in 312 B.C. The Epirotes apparently accepted him as *hegemon* in time of war. Lyciscus attacked Alcetas without delay. Alcetas sent two of his sons, Alexander and Teucer, 'to the states' (*ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις*, which I take to be the centres of the tribal *koina*) to call out a full levy of troops; he was entitled to do this as commander of the forces of the Epirote Alliance. When Alcetas was defeated near Cassope, he fled to Eury-menae, that is to Kastritsa in the plain of Ioannina (see p. 527, above), where the troops raised by his son Alexander came to his aid and won a resounding victory. But a second Macedonian army enabled Lyciscus

¹ Plu. *Pyrrhus* 2. 1 οἱ Μολοσσοὶ . . . τὸν Αἰακίδην ἐκβαλόντες ἐπηγάγοντο τοὺς Νεοπτολέμου παῖδας. The descendants (not sons) of Neoptolemus I were headed by the son of Alexander and Cleopatra, who was called Neoptolemus after his grandfather. Franke, *AE* 44, and others think that Neoptolemus had been exiled and was now recalled; but the word *ἐπηγάγοντο* is no synonym for *κατήγαγον* (e.g. in Paus. 1. 6. 8. *κατήγαγε Πύρρον*) and means that the Molossians now brought Neoptolemus into office as king. Klotzsch 112 n. 1 is of my opinion. See Kienast 116.

to reverse the situation and to plunder Eurymenae (D.S. 19. 88; Paus. 1. 11. 5). At this stage Cassander made peace with Alcetas; but he left some troops in Epirus.

The settlement with Alcetas did not last long. For Alcetas and two of his sons were put to death by the Epirotes, because he treated the common people harshly (D.S. 19. 89. 3). Intervention then came from Glaucias, king of the Taulantii in Illyria, who was an enemy of Cassander and had already won over Epidamnus and Apollonia. He was married to Beroa, a princess of the Molossian royal house (Justin 17. 3), and he had given protection to Aeacides' infant son, Pyrrhus, in 317 B.C. Later he adopted him as his own son (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 2 f. where the source is probably Proxenus; Justin 17. 3. 18 f.; Arr. *An.* 1. 5. 1). Now, c. 307 B.C., he entered Molossia with an army and installed Pyrrhus, a boy of twelve, as king of Molossia with suitable guardians (Paus. 1. 11. 5; Plu. *Pyrrh.* 4; Justin 7. 3. 21). The advisers of Pyrrhus sided with Demetrius against Cassander, and the sister of Pyrrhus, Deidameia, was married to Demetrius. But Cassander prevailed once again, and he expelled Pyrrhus in 302 B.C. The Molossians then banished the leading supporters of Pyrrhus and handed over their affairs to Neoptolemus II again (οἱ Μολοσσοὶ συστάντες . . . Νεοπτολέμῳ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 4; Paus. 1. 11. 5)). But the ambitions of the Successors involved Epirus in further change. In 297 B.C. Ptolemy of Egypt sent a fleet, troops, and money to support Pyrrhus, who landed in Epirus and shared the Molossian throne with Neoptolemus II (κατήγαγε Πύρρον ἐς τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα ἡπειρον (Paus. 1. 6. 8; 1. 11. 5; Plu. *Pyrrh.* 5)). A year or two later Pyrrhus invited his fellow-king to dinner and assassinated him. The grandson of Arybbas was now firmly in power (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 5).

The first ambition of Pyrrhus was to increase the territory of the Epirote Alliance. He therefore intervened on the side of Alexander, one of Cassander's sons, in a dynastic quarrel in Macedonia and obtained as his reward Tymphaea and Parauaea as well as Ambracia, Amphilochia, and Acarnania (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 6. 2: τὴν τε Στυμφαίαν καὶ τὴν Παραναίαν τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῶν ἐπικτήτων ἐθνῶν Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἀκαρνανίαν, Ἀμφιλοχίαν).¹ At this stage he evidently acquired Atintania also, which lay on his side of Parauaea.² It had been outside the Epirote Alliance in the time of Neoptolemus II (*SGDI* 1336, if the restoration *Ἀρκτᾶνος* is correct in Evangelides, *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 245). All these tribes and also Ambracia were probably incorporated in the Epirote Alliance, and Pyrrhus later moved his capital to Ambracia (Str. 7. 7. 6; Florus

¹ The emendation of Acarnania to Athamania, suggested by Unger in *Philol.* 43. 205, was rejected by Beloch *GG* 3. 2. 319, and Klotzsch 171 and 177.

² So Klotzsch 171 and Lévêque 128; the area is Epirote in Polyb. 2. 56.

1. 25. 2; Zonaras 9. 21). Acarnania, however, which had its own long-established League, was probably attached to Pyrrhus by a personal bond and owed him allegiance in a defensive war. This may have been set out in a treaty between Pyrrhus and the Acarnanian League of which a copy was placed in the temple of Apollo at Actium. A fragment of this copy has been noted, but it is now lost.¹ We do not know what arrangements he made when he gained possession of Corcyra and Leucas.

The tribal contingents and the Ambraciote contingent served as separate units in the Epirote army (D.H. 20. 1), and they also supplied picked troops for the king's special use (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 28. 2: *Χαόνων λογάδας*, 30. 2: *τοὺς Μολοσσούς ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντας*, and 30. 5: *τοὺς ἱππεῖς τῶν Μολοσσῶν*). 'The cavalry of the Molossians' resembled the Companion cavalry of Macedonia; they acted as the king's body-guard and as the assault force. The king's 'friends' were the *élite* among them and fought at his side (Plu. *P.* 16 *fin.*). The 'friends' travelled with him (Plu. *P.* 15), were his advisers on a campaign, for instance in Sicily (D.S. 22. 10. 3 and 22. 10. 6), and joined him in state ceremonial (Plu. *P.* 5). This institution was probably Molossian as well as Macedonian, and the title 'friends of the king' is found also in Ptolemaic Egypt. The infantry were well trained on the Macedonian model. Indeed, the Epirote army inflicted a severe defeat on the Macedonian phalanx and took 5,000 prisoners in a pitched battle in 289 B.C. There was evidently a special group of men who served under the king's immediate command, 'the hypaspists' (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 24. 3). The army of Pyrrhus which first crossed to Italy in Tarentine shipping in 280 B.C. numbered 20 Indian elephants, 3,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, 2,000 archers, and 500 slingers (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 15, the numbers probably coming via Proxenus from the memoirs of Pyrrhus). The great bulk of this force must have been supplied by the Epirote Alliance. The numbers are credible, even allowing for a defensive force in Epirus, when we recollect the loss of 15,000 'Molossians' in a war with Illyria in 385/4 B.C. (D.S. 15. 13). Of Pyrrhus' original force 500 cavalry and 8,000 infantry returned to Epirus in autumn 275 B.C. (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 26. 2), and perhaps an equal number remained in Italy for a time as garrison troops.² Even after these losses Pyrrhus drew upon the Epirotes to support his adventures in Macedonia and the Peloponnese.

¹ Cf. Lévêque 192, Klotzsch 172 f. and F. Courby and Ch. Picard, *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos*, 62. For the fragment of the inscription see Klaffenbach in *Historia* 4 (1955) 47 f. Acarnanian mercenary troops served with Pyrrhus in Italy in an offensive war (D. H. 20. 1).

² See Lévêque 295 and 534, who accepts these numbers as reliable; so too Cross 71 and 83.

Franke, following Aymard, holds that Pyrrhus was, 'like the other Successors, almost an absolute monarch'.¹ This does not seem to be correct. The chief evidence they adduce for a change in the nature of the monarchy is that he used the title βασιλεύς on his coins, whereas his predecessors on the Molossian throne had not done so. He used the title also in diplomatic relations with Greek states and with Rome (*Syll.*³ 392, 369, 393, 453; *CIL* i.² 192). Both these uses are natural, in that Pyrrhus was concerned with a wide range of states and in many of them the use of the title 'king' was customary in the third century B.C. If Ptolemy in addressing Pyrrhus began βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλεῖ Πύρρῳ χαίρειν (*Plu. Pyrrh.* 6. 4), it does not follow that their types of kingship were the same.² The Molossians had shown themselves strong-handed in dealing with kings such as Aeacides, Neoptolemus II, and Alcetas II when they acted in an arbitrary or undemocratic manner (*D.S.* 19. 36 and 89 *fin.*; *Plu. Pyrrh.* 5). Their loyalty to Pyrrhus is likely to have been due not only to his personal prowess but also to his keeping the oath 'to rule according to the laws' (*Plu. Pyrrh.* 5. 1). The inscription on the spoils which Pyrrhus won in Italy (*SGDI* 1368) shows him as *hegemon* of the Epirote Alliance and of the Tarentine forces: βασιλευ[s] Πύρρο[s] καὶ Ἀπειρῶ[ν]ται καὶ Τ[αραντῖνοι] ἀπὸ 'Ρωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων Διὶ Να[ίωι].

As the dedication was made at Dodona, the title 'king' refers to his kingship of the Molossians. It was used in the case of Neoptolemus II in dating a decree (*SGDI* 1336), and the word βασιλεύοντος was used similarly in the case of Neoptolemus I. The dedication, then, is in the name of 'Pyrrhus, king of the Molossians, *hegemon* of the Epirotes and *hegemon* of the Tarantines'.³ In Sicily too he held the position of *hegemon* and was able to requisition troops as he wished. When Polybius (7. 4. 5) describes him as ἡγεμῶν καὶ βασιλεύς of the Siceliotes, it is doubtful if βασιλεύς means more than ἄρχων τῆς Σικελίας meant in the days of Dionysius I. It is probably an unofficial title, which recognizes his actual authority in Sicily. An inscription at Callion in Aetolia (*Syll.*³ 369) gives to Pyrrhus and to his father the title of king: βασιλέα Πύρρον βασιλέως Αἰακίδα. There is no earlier instance of a Molossian king being described in Aetolia, but this is in accordance with normal diplomatic usage. When Polybius had occasion to describe Pyrrhus, he named

¹ Aymard in *REA* 50 (1948) 236 and Kienast 119; Franke remarks, *AE* 53, 'das altüberkommene institutionelle nationale Königtum... wird unter Pyrrhos kurze Zeit zum personalen, übernationalen und ungeschränkten Königtum hellenistischer Prägung'.

² Such letters as this may be late inventions but are in the idiom of the time; cf. E. Bickerman, 'Apocryphal correspondence of Pyrrhos' in *Class. Phil.* 42 (1947) 137.

³ Arrian 1. 16. 7: Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες shows the relationship between Macedon and the Greek League in the same way as the inscription at Dodona does between Molossia and the Epirote Alliance and also Tarentum. The king was *hegemon* of other allied powers also.

him twice 'Pyrrhus the Epirote' (8. 26. 1 and 12. 25 k 2), once 'Pyrrhus the king' (1. 23. 4), and once in a fragment, which is not necessarily a verbal quotation from Polybius, 'Pyrrhus the king of the Epirotes' (frag. 16). I do not think Pyrrhus is described in any way as an absolute monarch. Most important of all is the way in which he described himself. Cross, who talks of the absolutism of Pyrrhus¹ and says he is always described as 'the Epirote', has overlooked Pyrrhus' description of himself in dedicating the spoils won from the Gauls of Antigonus—a dedication which is all the more significant, because it was made outside Epirus at the temple of Athena Itonis. He styled himself simply *ὁ Μολοσσός* and he boasted not of his powers but of his family's prowess:

αἰχμηταὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι.

Pyrrhus certainly strained the resources of the Molossians and of the Epirote Alliance, but there is no evidence that he strained the positions which he held as constitutional monarch in Molossia and as *hegemon* of the Epirote Alliance.

Only one inscription which records an act of the Molossian state may be attributed to the reign of Pyrrhus. In *SGDI* 1340 'it seemed good to the Molossians to grant *proxenia* to the Acragantines'. This grant of a collective *proxenia*² is a rare distinction. Some special occasion must lie behind it. The inscription simply says 'on the arrival of Hipposthenes, Teichermon and Selinis', who were evidently Acragantines. The occasion is probably provided by Diodorus Siculus 22. 10. 1, when Acragas joined Pyrrhus in Sicily, and Pyrrhus took over its army, '8,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, all picked men and in no way inferior to the Epirotes'. They shared in his triumphant campaign up to the walls of Lilybaeum. It is possible that the three Acragantines reported the victories of the two armies. The act of the Molossians is dated only by the *prostates* Leu(c)arus, for whom an ethnic is not given. There is no mention of the king. It seems probable that the Molossian state had ceased by this time to date its acts by the name of the reigning king; for there are a number of Molossian inscriptions which do not mention the king. In any event, there is no indication in this case that Pyrrhus did anything to augment the position of the monarchy in the Molossian state.³

¹ Cross, 54 f., e.g. 'the old Molossian kingship became a Hellenistic monarchy extending not only over all Epirus but far beyond its boundaries and including at one moment the Greeks of Italy and Sicily'.

² Franke, *AME* 276, notes two cases of a collective *proxenia* granted by Delphi and one case in Thessaly where Phalanna granted it to Metropolis; neither case is as striking as this one.

³ Franke *ibid.* dates the inscription to 'the time soon after 338 B.C.' and Cross 112 to 317-312 B.C. because he thought the lack of mention of the king meant that Molossia was a republic.

2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN 330-272 B.C.

The full benefits of the hellenization which came with the expansion of the Greek world through Alexander's conquests were reaped by the tribes of Epirus in the period 330-272 B.C. Their country was now thoroughly involved in the affairs of the Graeco-Macedonian world, and the Molossian royal house had diplomatic contacts with the rulers of the Hellenistic kingdoms and with the states of Sicily and Italy. The marriages of Pyrrhus, who was as polygamous as Philip II and Alexander of Macedon, are indicative of his interests and alliances.¹ He married Antigone, who was a daughter of Berenice by Philip, an obscure Macedonian,² and a step-daughter of Ptolemy Soter; and after her death the daughter of a Paeonian king, the daughter of an Illyrian king Bardylis, and the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, Lanassa, who probably claimed descent from Heracles.³ The formation of the Epirote Alliance brought cultural development to Chaonia as well as to Thesprotia and Molossia, which had hitherto led the way, and the increasing relationship in trade and in war between Sicily, South Italy, South Illyria, and Epirus brought added importance to the cities of the Gulf of Valona and to Apollonia and Epidamnus. The Southern Illyrians, too, were becoming hellenized through the occupation of their country by Pyrrhus and his successors and through the infiltration of Illyrians into the Greek cities, especially into Epidamnus.⁴ At this time the Hellenistic world combined economic prosperity and frequent wars. The Epirotes, and the Molossians in particular, were outstanding fighters, worthy of comparison with the Macedonians themselves; and they possessed the specialized equipment and the fine horses which Hellenistic warfare needed. Defence was equally important in this period of mobile warfare, and defence depended now on walled sites and on the fortified camp, in which Pyrrhus had a high reputation.⁵ The most massive walls in Epirus are those of the acropolis of Phoenice, the capital of the Chaonian tribe, and we are able to date these walls fairly accurately to the period 325-300 B.C.; for the builders of the walls were influenced by the style of the walls which were built in 350-325 B.C. on the Pnyx at Athens (see

¹ Plu. *P.* 4 and 9. See Lévêque 677 f. with references.

² Paus. 1. 7. 1.

³ Cross 102. Justin 24. 1. 8 reports a further marriage to a daughter of Ptolemy Ceraunus, which Lévêque rejects as a confusion with the daughter of Ptolemy Soter (278 and 678).

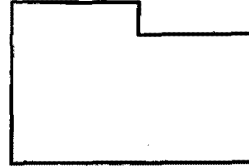
⁴ *BUST* 16 (1962) 2. 70 f. marks an increase in Illyrian names on the gravestones of Epidamnus in the fourth century B.C. Glaucias held the city in the last decades of the century; and Apollonia sided with the Illyrians in 312 B.C. (D.S. 19. 89. 1).

⁵ Frontinus 4. 1. 14: 'Pyrrhus, Epirotarum rex, primus totum exercitum sub eodem vallo continere instituit.' Frontinus reports that the Romans learnt from Pyrrhus the art of fortifying a camp.

p. 116, above). There are very similar walls at Kalivo and at Kara-Ali-Bey. They are built of massive blocks of sandstone in ashlar style, with deep edging of the blocks and a roughish surface on the face; the walls are faced on both sides with these blocks, and the width of the walls at Phoenice was 3.60 m. This style of building is not found elsewhere in Epirus, and the conclusion is beyond reasonable doubt that the acropolis of Phoenice (some 680 paces in circumference), and the fortified sites at Kara-Ali-Bey and Kalivo were all constructed in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. Phoenice was the traditional capital or seat of the Chaonian royal house. It was mentioned as a *polis* by Hecataeus, if our deductions are correct. Now a relatively small acropolis was fortified on the top of this high isolated hill. The other two sites are those of towns, built on low hills in the plain and near the lake (see Map 4). The site at Kalivo is particularly interesting, because it relies for its defences on the lake itself; for the side facing the lake is not walled. It follows that the Chaonians controlled the lake in 325–300 B.C., and therefore the entry to the lake, which means that the Hexamili peninsula and the site of Buthrotum were in their hands, and no longer in those of Corcyra. This area had thus been regained by the Epirote tribes at some times between 360 B.C. and 325–300 B.C.

It is most probable that the acropolis at Phoenice was fortified before any other site in the plain which stretches from Delvinë to Konispol. It was soon followed by the fortification of Kara-Ali-Bey and Kalivo. The selection of these sites shows that the Chaonians were concerned primarily to defend themselves against attack from the west, that is from the coastal belt, whether by Corcyraeans or by Illyrian raiders. On the other hand, as they did not build fortified sites on their inland frontiers they presumably did not fear attacks from inland. This is natural in 325–320 B.C., when the Epirote Alliance was well established. The second stage of fortification at Phoenice was an extension of the acropolis and the enclosure of the first part of the residential area (see p. 113 and Plan 11). The style of building is different from that of the first stage. Now large and medium-sized blocks were laid in regular horizontal courses, some rabbeting was used and the vertical joins were often oblique. This style is the earliest style at Buthrotum; but rabbeting is more common at Buthrotum and there is more variation in the size of the blocks. As the site at Buthrotum was of great importance in controlling the entry up the channel into the lake, and was almost the counterpart of Kalivo, we may assume that the interval between the fortification of Kalivo and Buthrotum was a short one. Indeed, I should date the earliest fortification, including the west gateway, towards the end of the fourth

century B.C. The use of rabbeting at Buthrotum is a distinctive feature. It must have been an expensive technique. The block was presumably cut from the quarry face as a rectangular piece of stone and was then recut thus:



When it was cut in this way, it had the advantage that it was less easily forced apart from its neighbour by a battering-ram; but it had the disadvantage that it spoilt any appearance of regularity, such as we find in true ashlar masonry. It was accompanied by less regard for perpendicular vertical joins than in ashlar masonry; the slanting joins may also have proved stronger. At Kalivo there is also a polygonal wall. This is evidently a later repair, but we do not know how late it is.

The importance of Phoenice as a political centre appears from the dedication in honour of Cassander by 'the *koinon* of Apeirotai round Phoenice' (*Syll.*³ 653, 4; see p. 567, above). A small temple at Phoenice has been dated to the last decades of the fourth century;¹ it may be the temple of Athena Polias, as 'the state of the Chaonians' asked a question about moving it some few years earlier (*PAE* 1952, 298). The *Thesaurus* which Ugolini excavated was probably connected with the administration of this group of Epirote tribes. It was dated by Ugolini to the fourth century, and it probably belongs to the last decades of the century. It seems likely that this group of Epirote tribes took a different attitude from that of the Molossians to Cassander's intervention in Epirus; a similar division in policy occurred later in the time of Perseus of Macedon. The fortified site at Buthrotum is a fairly small one, only some 750 m. in circumference. Its size is dictated by the nature of the ground. We should expect that the first fortifications followed more or less the same lines as the circuit-wall which has been excavated. This expectation is supported by the date which Ugolini gives for the stone theatre there, namely late in the fourth century, and for the wall enclosing the sacred water of the Nymphaeum there, namely the fourth or the third century (see p. 110, above). 'The *koinon* of the Apeirotai round Phoenice' evidently included some peoples who were not Chaonians (otherwise 'the *koinon*' or 'the *polis* of the Chaonians' would have been the dedicator); and we may include the citizens of Buthrotum among such peoples.

¹ By B. Pace, *Rendiconti d. Acad. naz. d. Lincei, Classe di. sci. morali* 6 (1951) 330.

At Dodona there is now more black-glaze pottery and less pottery of the prehistoric type, though the latter continued in use into Hellenistic times.¹ The large number of dedications in the form of helmets, cheek-pieces, shield-strips, spurs, and bits, on which Carapanos commented 'on y remarque surtout des débris de casques et boucliers',² seem to belong mainly to the latter half of the fourth century and the first half of the third century. A bronze helmet of the simple Boeotian type, which was favoured by the Macedonians, is probably that of a cavalry-man (cf. Xen. *Eq.* 12. 3), and the bronze spurs and heavy bits are more suitable for cavalry than for horse-racing.³ They are likely to have been dedicated by οἱ ἱππεῖς τῶν Μολοσσῶν. One cheek-piece from a helmet is inscribed with the letters MO.⁴ Heuzey reported that Carapanos possessed another helmet of the same kind which was found in a tomb in the country of the Athamanes in Pindus.⁵ Of the many cheek-pieces from helmets some are of heavy metal, intended for war, and others are of thin bronze sheet, beautifully worked with reliefs, which were perhaps used for ceremonial parades by the bodyguard of the Molossian king. Evangelides has illustrated a piece of the latter kind; the relief portrays the contest between Heracles and Apollo for the tripod at Delphi, and is beautifully worked in an archaizing style. Carapanos found three pieces with the same subject.⁶ The swallow-tails of Apollo's cloak and the animated manner date these pieces to the fourth century or to the early Hellenistic period. Another beautiful cheek-piece of the late fourth century portrays a battle probably between Pollux and Lynceus, and there are three cheek-pieces portraying the head of Omphale with a lion-skin, which are of this period.⁷ Other thin plaques of bronze, coming perhaps from protective armour, show the struggle between young Heracles and the Cretan bull, between Heracles and the Hydra of Lerna, and perhaps between Hector and Patroclus.⁸ One fine piece shows the head of Zeus and two pieces that of Dione, in each case full-face.⁹ The most remarkable cheek-pieces are those which portray the wearer himself, rather in the manner of the death-masks at Trebenishte. The thunderbolt of Zeus, which is a local emblem, figures on another cheek-piece.¹⁰

¹ e.g. Evangelides in *Ergon* 1959, 75.

² Carapanos 231.

³ Ibid. pl. 56, 7; pl. 52, 1-9. See pp. 231 f. and 237, where it is suggested that the spurs, etc., were dedicated by victors in local games at Dodona.

⁴ Ibid. pl. 56, 10.

⁵ Ibid. 232.

⁶ Evangelides in *PAE* 1930, 67 and fig. 10; Carapanos pl. 15, 1 and p. 188; Dakaris agrees with this dating rather than with one to Roman times in *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960)

⁷ n. 7.

⁸ Carapanos 187 and pl. 15; and 191 and pl. 17, 4.

⁹ Ibid. 190 and pl. 16, 4; 189 and pl. 16, 2.

¹⁰ Ibid. 191 and pl. 17, 2; 193 and pl. 17, 11.

¹¹ Ibid. 233 and pl. 55, 1 and 2; pl. 55, 3.

The inquiries at Dodona are again often of a simple kind such as 'Did Thopion steal the money?' or 'To which god should I sacrifice?' One lead strip has two or more inquiries on it.¹ Two have a single word on the back and the letters ΠΕ, which may be concerned with the answer; one of these asks whether Aeschylus should sail to the people of Tisa in the Adriatic (a city in Italy, as St. Byz. records s. *Tisia*).² One inquiry is probably in the Thessalian Aeolic dialect.³ There is an inquiry dated by Evangelides to the fourth century, which is made by Glaucias; it concerns a woman Panpasia. One wonders whether the inquirer was the father by adoption of Pyrrhus.⁴

Although no building in the last decades of the fourth century is noted at Dodona, there is an important temple which Evangelides excavated near Radotovi. He dated it 'to the end perhaps of the fourth century' because of its resemblance to the small temple at Dodona (see p. 183, above). It was considerably larger and more elaborate than the temple at Dodona, and it must have marked a very important centre for the Molossians. The relief which came from the vicinity (see p. 184, above) may have represented Zeus Areios, and the inscription on it may have alluded to the sack of Thermum; if so, Zeus Areios was worshipped near Radotovi in the late third century B.C. One inscription of the late third century which Evangelides found at the temple recorded a decision of the *koinon* of the Aterargi, dated by the Molossian *prostates*. Another inscription of the early second century recorded an act of the 'Apeirotai'.⁵ These inscriptions show that Radotovi was an administrative centre which served the Aterargi, a group within the Molossian state, and later the Epirote Alliance. It is, then, likely to have been such a centre in the fourth century also.

These points fit well into Plutarch's description of the ceremony which Pyrrhus and Neoptolemus carried out at Passaron c. 295 B.C.: *Εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν Πασσαρῶνι, χωρίῳ τῆς Μολοττίδος, Ἀρείῳ Διὶ θύσαντες, ὀρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἑπειρώταις καὶ ὀρκίζειν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους* (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 5. 1). As such an exchange of oaths between king and people was traditional, it is likely to have occurred at an administrative centre of the Molossians and to have been at a convenient meeting-place in early summer or early autumn when the shepherds are in transit between the lowlands and the uplands. The place

¹ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 259 no. 32 and 254 no. 18.

² *PAE* 1931, 90 dated by Evangelides. I am using the symbolic letters ΠΕ to date the other, namely *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 252 no. 9.

³ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 257 no. 21.

⁴ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 254 no. 11.

⁵ *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 261 f.

which best fits the requirements is Radotovi. It has the temple and the inscriptions. It lies on the best route from the coastal plains to the plain of Ioannina, from which there is ready access to the mountain pastures. The tile which is reported to have had the letters ΠΑΣΣΑΡ (see p. 190, above) was found near Kourenda, which is not very far from Radotovi (see Map 7). It therefore seems reasonable to identify the temple at Radotovi with that of Zeus Areios at Passaron.

The hill Gardhiki, rising south-east of the temple which is in the open plain, is strongly fortified. The question arises whether this fortified site was the acropolis of Passaron. We hear of Passaron as a fortified place in the disastrous events of 168–167 B.C. when the Roman armies met in Molossis to wipe out the Molossian centres. The army of Anicius came from Illyria. As Chaonia and Thesprotia were his allies, he came evidently through their territory and approached Molossis from the lower valley of the Kalamas, where the fleet could land supplies. The first enemy post was at Phanote. It surrendered. Anicius then entered Molossis. On his arrival all the cities in Molossis surrendered except Passaron, Tecmon, Phylace, and Horreum. He proceeded first against Passaron, presumably as it was the first of these cities on his route from the Kalamas valley into the plain of Ioannina (see Map 7). The leaders of the pro-Macedonian party, Antinous and Theodotus, shut the gates, but their opponents opened the gates and gave themselves up. The other three cities then surrendered. Anicius camped at Passaron; and Aemilius Paullus came from Macedonia and joined him at Passaron. They organized the surprise attack on the Molossian cities from there. It is clear from these accounts in Livy 45. 26 and 45. 33 that Passaron was the administrative centre of the Molossian state. The leaders of the Molossian state were at Passaron in 168 B.C., and the Roman armies occupied Passaron in 167 B.C. before they carried out their sudden attack. Passaron must have been strongly fortified if the Molossian leaders hoped to hold it against the army of Anicius. The only large and strongly fortified site near the temple at Radotovi is Gardhiki. Therefore I identify Gardhiki as the acropolis of Passaron.¹

It is probable that the acropolis of Passaron was fortified at about the same time as that of Phoenice; for it too was near the administrative centre of a large tribal group. The walls at Gardhiki extend for some 1,500 paces and contain a variety of styles, due no doubt to extensions and repairs at different times. We shall gain some clue to the earliest style at Gardhiki from a comparison with Antigonea.

¹ So too S. I. Dakaris in *Ch. S.* 73. Other identifications were suggested before the discovery of the temple at Radotovi.

Pyrrhus founded Antigonea in the 290's as a military stronghold.¹ The identification of Antigonea with the site at Lekel is as certain as any identification can be (see p. 278, above), and its walls were laid out in the style of the 290's. The blocks are long and narrow, the style is ashlar, and the circuit-wall, 3.40 m. wide, is strengthened by cross-walls which are built through its width (see p. 213, above). Now strengthening by cross-walls is not common in Epirus, and other examples are likely to be more or less contemporary with the use of cross-walls at Lekel. Gardhiki has walls in places as wide as 3.50 m. and strengthening by cross-walls occurs; the style in parts of the walls approaches ashlar. It seems likely, then, that the acropolis of Passaron was built during the reign of Pyrrhus; but a larger area was enclosed within fortifications at a later time.

Antigonea is described by Stephanus Byzantinus as πόλις Χαονίας ἐν Ἡπείρῳ, and as being in Chaonia by Livy, who is translating Polybius. The extent of Chaonia in this district may be assessed from Livy's account of the expedition sent by Philip of Macedon: 'principio veris . . . in Chaoniam per Epirum ad occupandas quae ad Antigoneam fauces sunt' (Livy 32. 5). As the snow is usually deep on Grammos and Pindus in early spring, the Macedonian troops are likely to have used the lowest pass, that is from Kastoria to Konitsa (see p. 275, and Map 2). On reaching Mesoyefira they would naturally follow the Aous valley to Kelcyre and pass through the Aoi Stena towards Tepelene and Lekel. The area between Kelcyre and Tepelene, including Zagorie to the south of Kelcyre, is mainly Tosk and partly Liap; the upper Drin valley, on the one hand, is Tosk and the Kurvelesh is Liap (see p. 231, above). It seems that something similar happened in antiquity; for the Atintanes occupied the upper Drin valley and the Chaones occupied the Kurvelesh and also Lekel. The probable frontier of Chaonia to the east was at Kelcyre. The district east of the Aous between Kelcyre and Mesoyefira was no doubt Parauaea, 'the district by the Aous', and this area was part of Epirus in 198 B.C. when Philip's troops came 'in Chaoniam per Epirum'. As the source of Stephanus Byzantinus is likely to have been Proxenus, the court historian of Pyrrhus, the region round Lekel was a part of Chaonia in his time too (see Map 16).

Stephanus Byzantinus tells us also of Pyrrhus' other foundation, Berenice, one of six cities of that name, and Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 6) says 'Pyrrhus the younger' founded Berenice, πόλιν ἐν τῇ χερρονήσῳ τῆς Ἡπείρου.² The 'Chersonese' or peninsula of Epirus is the peninsula

¹ Named after his first wife Antigone, daughter of Berenice; she died a few years after her marriage.

² So named after Berenice, mother of Antigone (wife of Pyrrhus) and wife of Ptolemy

of Preveza (for the only other peninsula, that of Hexamili, was occupied already by Buthrotum), and it is probable that Pyrrhus named his city Berenice not only in honour of his mother-in-law Berenice but also in commemoration of the landing of troops by the Egyptian fleet at his restoration in 297 B.C. (perhaps at Preveza, anticipating Cleopatra's fleet of 31 B.C.).¹ The new city was probably intended to provide a port which was lacking for the seaward side of the peninsula (Buchetium and the mouth of the Louros river served the side facing the Ambracian Gulf). The southern part of the peninsula is too flat for an ancient fortified city. S. I. Dakaris has suggested that Berenice was at Mikhalitsi; but that site was already occupied in the time of Philip II of Macedon (see p. 51, above); no fortifications have been found there and it is, as it were, the outer port of Buchetium. The most suitable site is that at Kastrosikia, which looks south over the peninsula of Preveza and faces the open sea (see Map 3). There was a fortified acropolis, a temple, and a harbour there in the Hellenistic period (it is to be noted that the fourth-century geographers, Ps.-Scylax and Ps.-Scymnus, did not mention it), and it may be appropriately identified as Berenice. The site was pillaged for stone when Nicopolis was built, and there are only a few blocks left at Kastrosikia. A fine relief of Greeks and Amazons fighting, which was found at Nicopolis, is of good Hellenistic style and may well have come from Pyrrhus' city, Berenice.²

The great development in the prosperity of Epirus was certainly linked with overseas trade. The choice of Ambracia as his capital and the founding of Berenice showed Pyrrhus' concern with export. The coastal districts of Epirus gained particular advantages from his policy, and one of the richest was the plain of the Acheron valley and the valley of the Cocytus, running up to Paramythia, the modern capital of this canton. An indication of the prosperity of this area is given by a remarkable collection of bronze statuettes, which were found in 1796. So far as it is known, all these bronzes except one were acquired two years or so later by Hawkins, Payne Knight, and the Czernicheff family, and Hawkins and Payne Knight gave theirs to the British Museum. The description of the place where they were found was given inaccurately in 1899 by H. B. Walters in his *Catalogue of the*

Soter. Plutarch is probably contrasting Pyrrhus with his mythical ancestor and does not mean Pyrrhus II (see Lévêque 112, n. 8).

¹ The translation in the Loeb edition of Appian *Mith.* 1. 4 'Bernice (*sic*) a small town in Epirus' is, I think, incorrect; for in the sequel of the story they go to Attalus, and this context shows the *ἡπειρος* here is the mainland of Asia Minor. Lévêque 122, n. 9, and Kienast 119 follow the translation. The foundation of Berenice is discussed by V. Tscherikower, 'Die Hellenischen Städtegründungen' in *Philologus* Suppl. xix. 1 (1927) 5 and by Oberhummer in *RE* s. *Berenike* 2.

² *PAE* 1937, 81 fig. 6.

Bronzes in the British Museum as 'the Paramythia group, found near Dodona in Epirus in 1792 and 1796'. The site of Dodona was, of course, unknown until 1878 when the publication of the excavations of Carapanos established its position, and Paramythia is not in its vicinity. The problem of the origin of these bronzes was discussed in 1840 by J. Arneth (*Ueber das Tauben-Orakel von Dodona*, Vienna, 23), but the really significant evidence was that of Leake who visited Paramythia in 1809. He wrote of the 'remains of a village named Labovo in a valley to the north of the town which is watered by one of the tributaries of the Vouvo' where he saw shafts, capitals, and an ancient sepulchral *stele*. 'It is said', he continued (*NG* 4. 62), 'that here were found these exquisite specimens of the ancient toreutic art in bronze which now belong to Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Payne Knight.' Labovo is not marked on the Greek Staff Map, but a place Labovitra is mentioned as below Liboni, which has yielded inscriptions, sarcophagi, and a marble statue of Artemis (see p. 73, above). There is no doubt, then, that Labovo and Liboni are close together.¹ Hawkins himself was told at Ioannina that the Hermes and other bronzes were found together at the same time in the neighbourhood of Paramythia and then were brought from Paramythia to Ioannina. The final reason for accepting Leake's account is that, if these bronzes had been found in 1796 at the actual site of Dodona below Alpothori, there would have been further illicit excavation and further discoveries of bronzes. This did not happen. The rich site of Dodona remained unknown until the time of Carapanos.

The bronzes from the vicinity of Liboni are described by H. B. Walters as follows:

An Apollo in the position of stringing his bow (*Catalogue of Bronzes*, 272 and pl. 5 = pl. 18 in *Select Bronzes*).

A mask of Apollo (no. 273).

A Poseidon, [whom I regard, as Neugebauer and Lamb do, as a Zeus] (no. 274 and pl. 6; Neugebauer, 44 and pl. 20, 4; and Lamb, 173 and pl. 63 a).

A Zeus somewhat similar to the Poseidon (no. 275 and pl. 7 = pl. 20 in *Select Bronzes*).

Zeus Serapis (no. 276 = pl. 21 in *Select Bronzes*), and a small silver statuette of the same.

A Dioscurus, probably Castor (no. 277 and pl. 6).

A Ganymede (no. 278 and pl. 7).

A Dione or Aphrodite with a dove on her head (no. 279 and pl. 6 = pl. 24 in *Select Bronzes*, where the dove has unhappily become a vulture).

¹ *BCH* 16 (1892) 174 or 31 (1907) 38.

An Aphrodite wearing a *sphendone* and loosening her sandals (no. 280 and pl. 7 = pl. 25 in *Select Bronzes* = Bernouille, *Aphrodite*, 332, no. 17).

A fragment of the foot of an animal, probably a bull (no. 281).

A relief of Odysseus escaping from Polyphemos (no. 1446).

A Hermes seated on a rock (*Select Bronzes*, pl. 26).

A relief of the visit of Aphrodite to Anchises on Mount Ida (*Select Bronzes*, pl. 27).

A Zeus, a Satyr, an Eros, a triple Hecate, and a Hera, which were acquired by the Czernicheff family (*Catalogue of Bronzes*, p. xiv).

A Heracles, which found its way to Russia (*Spec. Antient Sculp.* 2, 65).

It is generally agreed that, though some of these bronzes are in the tradition of fourth-century artists, most of them are to be dated to the third century and a few to a later period, and that the best among them are 'among the finest specimens of Greek bronze casting'. The serenity of expression and the lack of a passionate striving for effect date them to the early part of the Hellenistic period. A very similar bronze to that of the Poseidon, whom I regard as a Zeus, was found at Dodona and is now in Berlin; it is contrasted by Miss Lamb with the Loeb Poseidon, which has later characteristics of passionate expression.¹

While there is no reason to doubt that these bronzes were found at or near Liboni, either in one group in 1796, or perhaps in two groups (one being in 1792, as alleged by H. B. Walters), the question remains to be answered whether they were in their original place of dedication or whether, as Miss Lamb put it (p. 172), they 'may have come originally from Dodona'. So large a group of bronzes could not have been removed from Dodona except by a marauding expedition (e.g. of the Aetolians or the Gauls), and such an expedition would not have used the difficult route by Paramythia to the west nor would it be likely to have deposited its loot near Paramythia. The dedication of a Zeus Serapis at Dodona has improbable implications. We may therefore conclude that they were dedicated where they were found, near the source of the Vouvo, that is the Cocytus. Some of the bronzes are certainly associated with a cult of the dead—Zeus Serapis, Hermes, and the triple Hecate—those of Castor and Heracles may have been so associated, and the immortalized Ganymede may have been the *genius* of the sources of the Cocytus, as he was of those of the Nile.

The majority of these bronzes belong to the early part of the Hellenistic period and their remarkable excellence shows that the dedicators commanded the services of the finest artists of the time. There can be little doubt that they belong to the period when Pyrrhus was king of

¹ Berlin 8395; see Lamb *GRB* 172 and pl. 63 c.

the Molossians. The introduction of the cult of Serapis here and of those of Serapis and Isis at Ambracia, which became the capital city of Pyrrhus, may be ascribed to the young king who had lived for a time at the court of Ptolemy in Egypt and owed his throne to his support. While some of the bronzes may have been dedicated at a local shrine associated with the sources of the Cocytus, it seems likely that Liboni and the area round it had an importance which exceeded that of a shrine. I suggest that the centre of a tribal group, namely the Eleaei, was situated here. It is the most convenient centre between the Acherusian plain, the canton of Margariti, and the southern side of the Kalamas. The city of Photice, situated here, ranked later with Nicopolis and Phoenice (see p. 74, above). The coinage of the Eleaeans (later superseded by the coinage of the Thesprotians) implies that the Eleaeatis was a district in which the Thesprotian centre was not situated (see p. 548, above); and we know from later evidence that the Thesprotian centre was at Gitana. The valley of Paramythia is famous for its olives and Eleaeatis means the olive-growing area. The concentration of fortified sites near Liboni, like the concentration of sites near Passaron at Gardhiki, is in favour of this suggestion. The two main sites are at Paramythia and at Veliani. The former is the earlier, because the walls contain some masonry of ashlar style. The latter is the later, because its walls are in a massive polygonal style. I conclude, then, that Photice was the fortified capital of the tribal group of the Eleaei, and Labovo-Liboni was its religious centre. They correspond to the fortified site of Passaron and the religious site in the plain below at Radotovi.

The greatest monument to Pyrrhus is the magnificent stone theatre at Dodona. S. I. Dakaris has dated with strong probability the *cavea*, the orchestra, the stone *skene*, the wooden *proskenion*, and the *stoa* connected with it to the reign of Pyrrhus. As the sides of the *cavea* were artificially built up, its retaining walls are of the same date. These walls are built of large, long, narrow blocks, and the style is mainly ashlar, but some blocks are rabbeted and the vertical joins are not always perpendicular (see p. 170, above).¹ The walls are not built with a core of rubble. They consist usually of two blocks laid lengthwise side by side, but occasionally of blocks set as headers and stretchers; this latter method presents the same appearance on the face of the wall as the use of cross-walls built through the main wall presents at Antigonea (Lekel) and Passaron (Gardhiki). The construction of walls with no rubble filling and built of two blocks laid side by side lengthwise is found at Lekel and also at Labovë and Buthrotum. A marked

¹ See also *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 20 f. and excellent illustrations in pl. 4 and 5 in *BCH* 84 (1960) 746 f.

feature in the retaining walls of the theatre is the use of towers as buttresses; these too are original, except that an addition has been made to one of them. Buttresses are uncommon in fortified sites in Epirus, but they occur at Phoenice in the first extension to the original acropolis, where the style of masonry is the same as in the retaining walls of the theatre. The indication, then, is that the original acropolis at Phoenice, which was built before the end of the fourth century, was extended during the reign of Pyrrhus; and it is likely that a residential area was also fortified with a circuit-wall of the same style within his reign (see pp. 113 f., above).

The other buildings constructed by Pyrrhus in the sacred area at Dodona were, according to S. I. Dakaris, a larger *peribolos*, 20.80 × 19.20 m. with internal colonnades of Ionic pillars,¹ which replaced the earlier *peribolos* round the Sacred Oak; a small Doric temple which is convincingly identified by Dakaris as the temple of Heracles from part of a metope;² and a small Ionic temple, 9.65 × 9.40 m., of which the upper structure was in brick. As this last temple is next to the 'Sacred House', it is identified by S. I. Dakaris as a temple of Dione. He found in it remains of what is probably the base of a statue of Dione and he refers to a passage in Hyperides, *Eux.* 35 (Teubn. ed.), in which Olympias censured Athens for some neglect of the cult at Dodona and Hyperides praised Athens for adorning the seated statue of Dione in accordance with the orders of Zeus Dodonaeus. The complaint of Olympias was made shortly before 330 B.C.; there may, therefore, be grounds for dating this last temple to the reign of Alexander rather than to that of Pyrrhus.³ Another small temple of the Ionic order is attributed by Dakaris to the period of Pyrrhus on the ground that it is built of the same stone as the lower part of the temple of Dione, namely a soft sandstone, which was later abandoned in favour of the hard local limestone; but he notes that a technical device in the treatment of the stone steps is found at the end of the third century B.C. The date of this temple is, therefore, rather uncertain, and its identification as a temple of Aphrodite depends on the rather general consideration that she was worshipped at Dodona in the third century B.C.⁴

The fortifications of the town of Dodona are dated by Dakaris to the time of Pyrrhus, because the style of the walls resembles that of the buttresses and towers of the theatre-*cavea*. The walls of the town are in ashlar style when they stand on level ground; but the vertical joins are often slanting, and rabbeting is used where the ground slopes (see

¹ *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 6.

² *Ibid.* 7 and *PAE* 1929, 111 f. and fig. 4.

³ *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 7 f.

⁴ *Ibid.* 8 with note 13. The evidence for the worship of Aphrodite is in *SGDI* 1372.

p. 169, above). There is also an important resemblance to the fortifications at Antigonea and at Passaron, in that cross-walls are built through the thickness of the circuit-wall, which is 3.60 m. wide.¹

One of the most conspicuous features of many fortifications in Epirus is the deep drafting of the corner-stones at the angles of towers and in curtain walls. The drafting sometimes produces only one edge, thus:



the other part of the face being left rough;² but sometimes it results in two edges, thus:



I have not made any distinction between these two types of drafting, because the general effect on the spectator is much the same, namely the effect of a sharply defined edge. This drafting is not found at any of the fortifications which we have ascribed to the sixth, fifth, or fourth centuries; nor, for that matter, is rabbeting found. At Phoenix, for example, the massive blocks have a deep edging, but this is not conspicuous at the angles. The fashion of deep drafting at the angles and the increasing use of rabbeting appear together at Dodona in the retaining walls of the theatre and in the fortifications of the town. Both are lacking at Antigonea (Lekel), which we know was built early in the reign of Pyrrhus. I think it is likely that the fashion of deep drafting and the increase in rabbeting were characteristic of the last stage of Pyrrhus' reign.

When Pyrrhus made Ambracia his capital, he added a new fortified suburb, which was called the Pyrrheum (see p. 145 and Map 6). Unfortunately the walls of the suburb have disappeared; only 'some smaller vestiges' survived at the time of Leake's visit. But the extension is interesting in two respects: it shows that the walls of Ambracia already enclosed a very large city and that there was a considerable increase in the city's population during the reign of Pyrrhus. This period was the acme of Ambracia's prosperity. It was probably now that the second theatre was built, a large stone theatre like that at Dodona;³

¹ Evangelides in *PAE* 1956, 156 established the earliest date for the south gate as the Hellenistic period.

² See fig. 10 in Dakaris, *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 21.

³ Dion. Halic. 1. 50 mentions two theatres.

the *cavea* is still visible and the city wall which forms the back of the *cavea* has a large semicircular tower. The theatre and the back wall are contemporary structures, and it is therefore likely that the semicircular tower here and the others on the circuit of the walls were built in the reign of Pyrrhus. The semicircular tower seems to have been built first by Philip II of Macedon, for instance at Cytinium, but his occupation of Ambracia was too short for it to be refortified. The blocks of the towers at Ambracia are large, and some are cut with the outer face in a convex curve and the inner face in a concave curve. The semicircular tower is relatively rare in Epirus. It is likely that towers of this shape at other sites should be dated to the reign of Pyrrhus. There is one at Paramythia (Photice), the centre of the tribal group of the Eleaei in the time of Pyrrhus. Another is on the acropolis of Goumani, that is the ancient Gitana, which was the centre of the Thesprotian tribal group (see Pl. XIXb and *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 2. 207). This magnificent tower is strengthened by three cross-walls, which are similar to those at Lekel (Antigonea) and Gardhiki (Passaron). Another semicircular tower was uncovered in the last excavations at Buthrotum (see Plan 21, 7). It was evidently an addition to the original defences of the city. Some blocks were laid through the thickness of the wall, as at Dodona in the retaining wall of the theatre, and as in the cross-walls at Goumani, Lekel, and Gardhiki. Another peculiarity was that the walls of the tower were only two blocks thick, that is with no rubble core. This peculiarity is found also at Lekel (Antigonea), at Dodona in the retaining wall of the theatre and at another site with a curving tower, Labovë (Plan 21, 8). Mustilli dated the tower at Buthrotum to the Hellenistic period, and we can confidently place it in the reign of Pyrrhus. A part of the circuit-wall beside the theatre at Buthrotum was also uncovered.¹ It had small buttresses, a feature which we have already noted in the second stage at Phoenice and in the retaining wall of the theatre at Dodona. This piece of wall at Buthrotum is, therefore, likely to be a repair or an extension of the time of Pyrrhus or later.

The curving tower at Labovë in the Suhë valley is a very fine one. It defends a gateway, as does that at Buthrotum. The wall consists of only two blocks as at Buthrotum, Lekel, and Dodona, and the stones are large, long, and narrow as at Lekel. The circuit-wall is in ashlar style without rabbeting and without deep drafting of the angle-stones. It seems likely that it is more or less contemporary with that at Lekel (Antigonea) and with the semicircular towers elsewhere in Epirus, that is in the time of Pyrrhus. At the other sites, apart from Ambracia

¹ The circuit-wall here is not part of the theatre, as it is at Ambracia. The theatre at Buthrotum is inside the circuit.

—that is at Gardhiki (Passaron), Dodona, Paramythia (Photice), Goumani (Gitana), Buthrotum, and Phoenice—the building in Pyrrhus' reign was at the administrative centre of a tribal group.¹ It is likely, then, that Labovë was such a centre. Its position is well fitted for this, and we shall discuss later which tribal group was in this area.

The last semicircular tower I have noted is in an acropolis of a Greek type to the north-east of Berat at Kalaja e Irmajt in Gramsh. The site was first reported in *Riv. d. Alb.* 3. 157. Greek coins were found there, and it was thought that the site came to an end about 229 B.C. The site has recently been excavated; the preliminary report dates its occupation from the fourth-century B.C. into the period of the Roman Empire. The illustrations of the circuit-wall show that the walls contain headers and stretchers which, as we have seen, occur at Lekel and other sites fortified in the time of Pyrrhus. The earliest coin is one of Alexander the Great. This site may be a Pyrrhic foundation; or it may be a Macedonian one of earlier date.²

It is tantalizing that so much is known of the conflicts of Pyrrhus with Rome and with other states, but so little of his activities in Illyria and Epirus. The clearest statement that Pyrrhus annexed a considerable part of South Illyria is made by Appian in writing the introduction to the first Illyrian war of Rome in 229 B.C. 'Agron was king', he writes (*Illyr.* 7), 'of a part of the Illyrians by the Ionian Gulf—which Gulf was held by Pyrrhus and by those who succeeded to the power of Pyrrhus.' The part of Illyria which is washed by the Ionian Gulf is the coast from Lissus to the Gulf of Oricum. As regards the southern part of this area it is generally agreed that Pyrrhus held Apollonia when he invaded Italy; for Pliny (*HN* 3. 101) reports a foolish story that Pyrrhus thought of making a bridge from Apollonia to Hydrus across the Straits of Otranto. The destinies of Apollonia seem to have been closely linked with those of Corcyra and Epidamnus in this period; as Pyrrhus held Corcyra for a time, it is likely that he held Epidamnus too.³ The emphasis of Appian, however, is less on the Greek cities than on the Illyrians. Justin, summarizing the unbeaten record of Pyrrhus in many wars, lists them as 'Illyriorum, Siculorum, Romanorumque et Carthaginiensium bellis' (25. 5. 5). Dio Cassius mentions that 'the dynasts in Illyricum' paid court to Pyrrhus (*frag.* 40, 3). One dynasty is mentioned by Strabo as ruling over the Enchelii, and the most southerly of the dynasties was that of the

¹ We know this from inscriptions except in the case of Paramythia.

² *BUST* 1963, 4. 3–60 with headers and stretchers shown in fig. 5b. In my forthcoming article in *JRS* 1966 I suggest that the site is the place Codrion (*Livy* 31. 27. 4); this is the opinion also of the excavators, F. Prendi and D. Budina.

³ He did not hold it continuously as Monunius occupied it sometime between 300 and 280 B.C.; see Head 316.

Taulantii, whose king Glaucias adopted Pyrrhus as his son. The marriages which Pyrrhus contracted in the north were with a daughter of Bardylis, grandson of Bardylis I, and with a daughter of Autoleon, king of the Paeonians. These various pieces of evidence suggest that Pyrrhus occupied Central Albania, that is the country of the Taulantii, inland of Epidamnus and Apollonia.¹ He may have done so as the adopted son of Glaucias, but he certainly fought campaigns against the Illyrians, and we learn from Frontinus a stratagem which he employed 'adversus Illyrios' in capturing a 'civitas quae caput gentis erat' (3. 6. 3).

Southern Illyria was annexed by Pyrrhus within the first ten years of his reign and was retained by him and his immediate successors (Appian, *Illyr.* 7). It protected his flank from the northern Illyrians, and it helped to secure Northern Epirus against invasion by Macedonia. The control of this large area in Illyria must have been ensured by the building of fortified sites and of military roads. We have seen that the piers of a bridge over the Shkumbi below Elbasan were built in a good Hellenistic period (p. 236, above). The masonry is in ashlar style; the blocks are finely cut with drafted edges and with drafting of the corner-stones at the angles. All these characteristics are seen in the retaining walls of the theatre at Dodona. It seems probable that this bridge was built in the reign of Pyrrhus, and its position implies that he held territory north of the Shkumbi river, that is territory inland of Epidamnus.

'Pyrrhus was essentially a soldier', wrote W. W. Tarn, 'and lived for war only. . . . His men thought him a second Alexander; except in military talent, few resembled Alexander less.'² This judgement is too one-sided. Pyrrhus strengthened Epirus to an unparalleled extent. At one time he controlled all the western areas from the Gulf of Corinth to the interior of Epidamnus, and he left at his death a territory which still extended far to the north. This area was certainly organized by Pyrrhus. We have already noticed the extensive building operations of his reign; there were probably many more which have gone unmentioned in our sources. The great wealth of Ambracia, which provided such loot for the Romans, was largely amassed in the time when it was his capital city. The co-ordination of Southern Illyria, Epirus, Amphilochia, and Acarnania brought greater economic strength to this whole area, and the choice of Ambracia as his capital shows that the main direction of trade from Epirus was towards Greece and the Mediterranean area. Livestock must have been one of the

¹ For the Illyrian kingdom see my forthcoming article in *BSA* 1966; Lévêque 174 n. 4 holds that the part annexed by Pyrrhus should correspond with the kingdom of the Taulantii.

² *CAH* 7. 83. Lévêque 642 f. finds Tarn's portrait very unjust.

chief sources of wealth in Epirus, and we know that Pyrrhus took steps to improve the breed of cattle for which Epirus became famous. The theatre at Dodona, larger than that at Epidaurus, bears testimony to his interest in Greek culture and to the size of the population. He wrote treatises on the art of war, and he kept his own Diaries (*ὑπομνήματα*).¹ There can be no doubt that he completed the process begun by Alexander, the hellenization of the Epirote tribes.

3. THE LAST PHASE OF THE MOLOSSIAN MONARCHY, 272-c. 232 B.C.

When Pyrrhus was killed at Argos, Antigonus gave him an honourable funeral. He placed the ashes in a golden urn and sent them to Epirus in the charge of Helenus, a son of Pyrrhus; he treated 'the friends of Pyrrhus' well and gave the Epirote troops their freedom.² The action of Antigonus may have been a successful gesture of conciliation; for we do not hear of any clash between Macedon and Epirus for some years. The heir presumptive, Ptolemy, a son of Antigone, had been killed in the attack on Sparta (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 30); but his son, an infant called Pyrrhus, was now adopted by his uncle Alexander, who was a son of Pyrrhus by Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles.³ Alexander became king of the Molossians in 272 B.C. He inherited plenty of commitments, and he immediately recalled the Epirote garrison from Tarentum. He became involved in a war against an Illyrian king Mytilius (Trogus *Prologue* 25). During the war the Illyrians came inside the area claimed by Pyrrhus, but they were expelled by Alexander; for a successful stratagem by Alexander is reported by Frontinus (2. 5. 10). It was evidently a war of major importance, because it figures in the epitome by Trogus. The Chremonidean War of 266-262 B.C. found the kingdom of Epirus powerful and perhaps unimpaired since the death of Pyrrhus; for Alexander felt strong enough to invade Macedonia in 264 or 263,⁴ when Antigonus was attacking Athens. The motive which is given by Justin (26. 2. 9) for the invasion was a desire to avenge the death of Pyrrhus, but another reason may have been an understanding with Ptolemy of Egypt, who had inspired the rising at Athens. In Justin's account Alexander defeated Antigonus at first, but he was later driven out of Macedonia and then out of Epirus by a Macedonian army. He took refuge in Acarnania, presumably therefore still a part of his alliance, and from there he regained his throne in Molossia 'non minore Epirotarum

¹ Plu. *P.* 8. 3; Cic. *ad Fam.* 9. 25. 1. For the Diaries see Lévêque 12 f. with full references.

² Plu. *P.* 34 *fin.*; Val. Max. 5. 1. 4; Justin 25. 5. 2.

³ See the genealogical table on p. 594.

⁴ So Tarn, *CAH* 7. 708; the date is disputed.

desiderio quam sociorum auxilio' (Justin 26. 3. 1), perhaps about 259 B.C., as Justin associates the event with the death of Magas of Cyrene.

The relationship between the Epirote Alliance and Acarnania was probably one of alliance under Pyrrhus (see p. 569, above) and also under Alexander. The Acarnanians presumably figured among the *socii* mentioned by Justin, as they received him when he was an exile. It has usually been held that a treaty made between Acarnania and Aetolia about this time entailed a break-away by Acarnania from Epirus (*IG* ix². 1. = *Syll.*³ 421). But this is not necessarily so or even probably so; for the terms of the treaty were to be inscribed 'at Olympia, Delphi, and *Dodona*', which would be odd if Acarnania was rejecting the Epirote Alliance in favour of the Aetolian League. It is more likely that the treaty, which was one of mutual assistance with isopolity, was made with the agreement of the Epirote Alliance and brought about a peaceful period in the whole area. Such an *entente* may account for the inaction of Acarnania and Aetolia in the Chremonidean War. As the style of the lettering of the inscription suits a date in the first half of the third century, we are at liberty to place the treaty before the Chremonidean War.¹ The act which estranged Epirus and Acarnania came later when Alexander and the Aetolians made a pact to enslave and dismember Acarnania (ἐπ' ἐξανδραποδισμῷ καὶ μερισμῷ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, *Plb.* 9. 34. 7) and partitioned the states of the Acarnanian League. A stratagem in Frontinus 3. 4. 5, whereby Alexander intensified an attack on Leucas from the mainland side, may have belonged to this affair; for it is clear from Justin 28. 1. 1 ('in portionem belli') that the partitioning was done by force.² The horror with which it was related (*Plb.* 2. 45. 1; 9. 34. 7; Justin 28. 1) suggests that Pyrrhus and Alexander had not in the past robbed the Acarnanian League of its independence. The partitioning of Acarnania and Aetolia's plan to partition the states of the Achaean League with Antigonos Gonatas are mentioned in one clause in Polybius 2. 45. 1; as the latter was in 243 B.C., it is possible that the partitioning of Acarnania was of a similar date. It is mentioned again in a speech which purports to have been delivered in 211 B.C., and again together with, but this time after, a mention of the plan of Aetolia and Antigonos Gonatas (*Plb.* 9. 34. 6-7). It is mentioned also in Justin 28. 1. 1,

¹ The Aetolian League conferred *proxenia* and isopolity on an Ambraciote c. 272-260 B.C. and *proxenia* on another Ambraciote c. 262 B.C. (*IG* ix². 1. 11. 19; and 17. 42 and 95). As the court of the Molossian king was at Ambracia, the implication is that the Epirote Alliance and the Aetolian League were on friendly terms at this time.

² O. Seel in the Teubner edition of Trogus p. 142 associates the passage with the Illyrian War of Alexander; but there is no reason in the tradition or on general grounds for making such an association.

where on the death of Alexander *c.* 240 B.C. the Aetolians wished to seize the half of Acarnania 'quam in portionem belli . . . (Alexander) . . . acceperat'; here again the reference seems to be to a fairly recent event and not to one which had occurred some twenty or thirty years earlier.¹ I should, therefore, date the partitioning of Acarnania *c.* 243 B.C. An inscription recording Aetolia's success in this operation is dated to the period 266–233 B.C. by its lettering.²

If this interpretation is correct, the power of the Epirote Alliance ran from Central Albania to the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf,³ and its relations with the Aetolian League and with Acarnania were peaceful until *c.* 243 B.C. Important markets were available, especially in Central Albania, which was less developed than Epirus. There was thus a relatively long period of undoubted prosperity and a great opportunity for economic growth in the thirty years which followed the death of Pyrrhus. When Alexander died, *c.* 240 B.C., the reputation of his realm and of his power was such that a few years afterwards marriages were arranged between his daughter Phthia and Demetrius II, king of Macedon, and between his great-niece Nereïs⁴ and Gelon, ruler of Syracuse.⁵ This period coincided with important developments across the Sicilian and Adriatic Seas. Rome took control of Southern Italy and was friendly with Hiero of Syracuse in the interval between the departure of Pyrrhus and the outbreak of war with Carthage in 264 B.C., and she issued her first silver coinage in these years; these events must have improved the trading power of Southern Italy. The First Punic War of 264–241 B.C. imposed an immense strain on Italy's manpower and economic resources, while Sicily became a theatre of war. During these years Italy stood in need of imports; she was now a seapower and the Adriatic Sea was safe from Carthaginian intervention. The Epirote Alliance with its control of the coast from Central Albania to the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf was uniquely well placed for trade with Italy, and it is in this period *c.* 270–240 B.C. that we may see a high level of prosperity in all parts of Epirus.

¹ Tarn in *CAH* 7. 217 dates the event to about 270 B.C.; Klaffenbach in *Historia* 4 (1955) 46 f. holds that Acarnania was subject to Pyrrhus in 294 B.C., independent in 283 B.C. when Lysimachus invaded Epirus, in treaty with Aetolia 263/2 B.C., and partitioned *c.* 262 B.C. There is an excellent note on the problems in Walbank i. 239.

² *Fouill. de Delphes* 3. 4 (1954) 178.

³ I do not share the view mentioned by Walbank on *Plb.* 2. 5. 6 that Atintania passed from Macedonia to Illyria in this period.

⁴ I follow Cross 125 in supposing her to be the daughter of Pyrrhus, son of Ptolemaeus.

⁵ The dates of these marriages are uncertain. Tarn discusses the date of the former in *CQ* 1924. 18 and Franke *AME* 280 that of the latter. I disagree with Franke's belief that this marriage was after the end of the Molossian monarchy; such a marriage was a dynastic arrangement, made when the Molossian monarchy still existed.

The next decade 240–230 B.C. found the Epirote Alliance without an experienced king to command its forces, and the scene was overshadowed by the growth of well-organized enemies in the central part of the Balkans. Demetrius of Macedon was repeatedly attacked by the Dardanians and on his death in 229 B.C. Macedonia was overrun by them (Trogus, *Epit.* 20). Meanwhile the Illyrian tribes in North Albania and in the area of Kotor were united by Agron c. 240 B.C.; they were powerful allies of Demetrius in this decade and they expanded southwards, wresting Central Albania and τῆς Ἠπείρου τινα (Appian *Illyr.* 2. 1) from the control of the Epirote Alliance, but failing to capture the strongly fortified Greek cities, such as Dyrrachium and Apollonia. Italy had now less need of imports from the areas hitherto controlled by the Epirote Alliance. The piratical raids of the Illyrians disrupted maritime trade in the Adriatic Sea. It was against this darkening background that the last phase of the Molossian monarchy was enacted.

On the death of Alexander his widow and half-sister Olympias acted as regent for the two young sons of Alexander, Pyrrhus and Ptolemy (Justin 28. 1). As we shall see from an inscription, *SGDI* 1348, Ptolemy was a son of Alexander, and Justin makes it clear that both Pyrrhus and Ptolemy were sons of Olympias and Alexander (Justin 28. 1: 'filiorum ex eo susceptorum', and 28. 3: 'Olympias filiis regna tradiderat'); Pyrrhus was no doubt her first son and was given the honoured name of his grandfather, and Ptolemy took his name from his uncle, the oldest son of Pyrrhus.¹ Olympias, it is stated, became unpopular in the Epirote Alliance, and her unpopularity prompted the Aetolians, with help from the Achaean League, to attack Epirus and to try to seize the Epirote half of Acarnania. The Aetolians may not have needed such prompting. Olympias turned to Demetrius of Macedon for help; but he was hard pressed by the Dardanians at this time. She sought help also from Hiero of Syracuse, and received from him a force of Gauls (Justin 28. 3. 4). The Epirotes and the Acarnanians seem to have held their own against Aetolia for some years, during which Pyrrhus came of age, only to die young, and Ptolemy became king. He too died c. 234 B.C. on a campaign (Justin, 28. 3. 1) or else by assassination at Ambracia (Polyaenus 8. 52), and Olympias died of grief in her bereavement (Justin *ibid.*). Deidameia, daughter of Pyrrhus, occupied Ambracia which had revolted; and she made terms with the citizens through the mediation of the Epirote Alliance. A group of Epirotes plotted to kill her, but their would-be

¹ The genealogy in Cross 124 f. omits reference to *SGDI* 1348 and rejects the statements of Justin. As my genealogical table shows, there were three members of the royal family called Pyrrhus and two called Ptolemy.

assassin, Nestor, a bodyguard of Alexander, turned away in remorse, and she reached the altar of Artemis Hegemone in safety. There she was killed by Milo, a criminal, who then did away with himself.¹ The citizens of Ambracia opened the tomb of the great Pyrrhus and scattered his ashes (Justin 28. 3; Polyaeus 8. 52; Ovid, *Ibis* 307-10). Some of them at least were Greeks, not Epirotes, and as Greeks they celebrated the end of the Molossian monarchy and the inauguration of autonomy. The last tribute to the Aeacidæ was paid by Nereïs, wife of Gelo of Syracuse, who set up statues of the last members of the royal house at Delphi and Olympia but not at their ancestral shrine, Dodona. Fragments of the inscription recording the dedication still survive.² The coins of Hiero and of Hieronymus, son of Nereïs and Gelo, carried the emblems introduced by Pyrrhus, which were reminiscent of the great days of the Molossian house.³ A branch of the royal house lived on near, or at Pydna in Macedonia, into the first century B.C., and the epitaph of one of its members carries the proud words *Αἰακίδης γένος εἰμί*.⁴

Our accounts of the last stages of the Molossian monarchy come from different traditions. One is hostile to the monarchy; it is found especially in Ovid, *Ibis* 307 f., where Olympias is said to have poisoned Pyrrhus. The other is favourable to the monarchy and hostile to the republic. Pausanias (4. 35. 3) makes Deïdameia, being childless, entrust affairs to *ὁ δῆμος* when she was on the point of dying, but he emphasizes the unworthiness of *ὁ δῆμος*, because he attributes the collapse of Epirus to *ἀναρχία* and he describes the behaviour of *ὁ δῆμος* under the republic as hubristic and disobedient to those in office. Polyaeus (8. 52) says that Ptolemy was assassinated, Deïdameia was treacherously deceived by the Epirotes (*λαβοῦσα πίστει ἐξηπατήθη*), and she was dispatched in the *temenos* of the goddess. Justin (28. 1 and 4) probably draws on a third tradition which is less prejudiced; for he mentions the death of Pyrrhus as due to natural causes ('Pyrrhi defuncti') and that of Ptolemy as due to illness ('infirmirate correptus'). The tradition followed by Justin is probably the most worthy of trust. It is accepted in the construction of the genealogical table of the descendants of Pyrrhus (see p. 594).

From this period we have only one inscription which is dated by a king, namely *SGDI* 1348, which records the manumission of a woman and her children at Dodona: *βασιλεύ[υτος Πτολεμαίου Ἀλεξ]άν[δρου*

¹ Tarn's picture of Deïdameia 'barbarously murdered by the Ambracian mob' seems to be drawn without reference to Polyaeus 8. 52.

² *Inscr. Olymp.* 310 = *Syll.* 3 453 (cf. 393).

³ See Franke, *AME* 265 f.

⁴ See C. F. Edson, 'The Tomb of Olympias' in *Hesperia* 1949, 84 f. Another descendant of the royal house may be seen in the name [*Βερ*]ενίκη *Ἡπειρώτις* of the third to second century B.C. at Athens (*Hesperia* 1954, 270).

ἐπὶ ναϊάρ]χου δὲ Ἀμυνάνδρου. Although many letters are restored, no other name of a king will fit the surviving letters except those given here. The inscription, then, is of the period *c.* 237–232. After the fall of the monarchy a similar document, *SGDI* 1356, is dated by the *naiarchos* and the Molossian *prostates*.

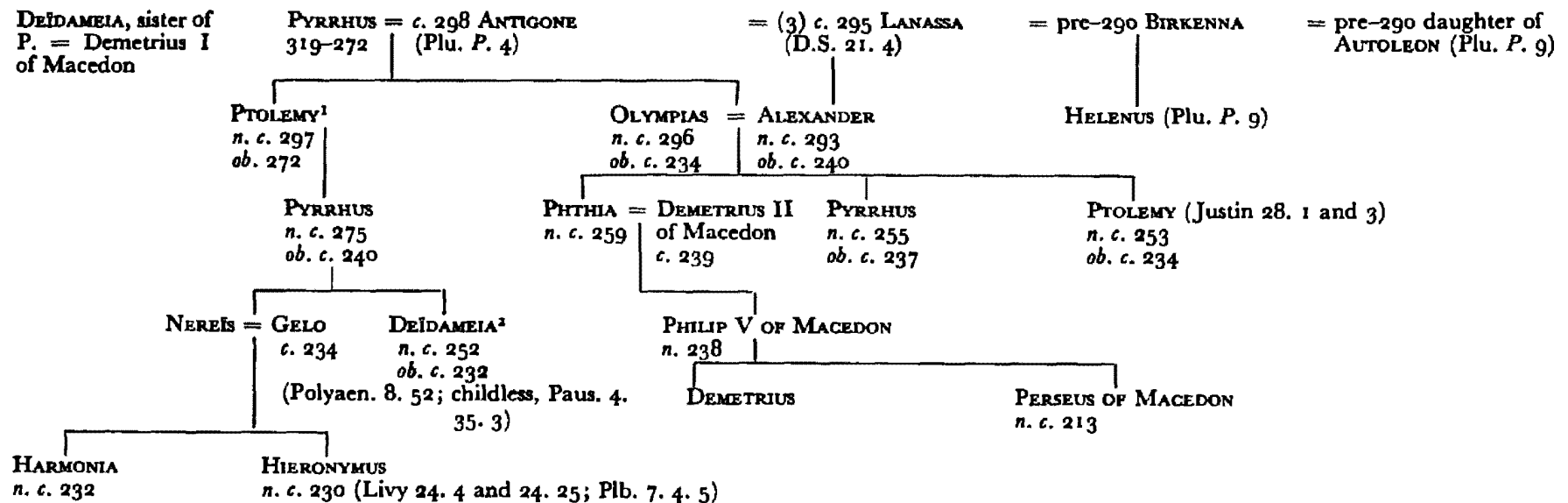
There is an interesting inscription from Buthrotum which is dated by L. M. Ugolini to before 250 B.C.¹ A manumission is made in the form of a dedication of a woman and her daughter to Asclepius, and it begins as follows: προστατοῦντος Χαόνων Βοίσκου Μεσσανέου, ἱερέον[τ]ος δὲ τῷ Ἀσκληπίῳ Νικάδα Καρτωνοῦ, μηνὸς Ἀγριανίου ἀνέθηκε Τειμαγόρα Νικολάου Ὀφυλλίς. We see here an annual *prostates* of the Chaonian state exactly similar to the annual *prostates* of the Molossian state. The adjectives Μεσσανέος, Καρτωνός, and Ὀφυλλίς are evidently ethnics of individual tribes, which were members of ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Χαόνων (*PAE* 1952, 298; see p. 539, above). It is clear that the Chaonian state in the first and the Molossian state in the second half of the third century were both still in the tribal stage, and the use of the *prostates* of the large tribal group and of the temple official is common to this inscription and to *SGDI* 1356.

In the middle of the third century the official colleges at Delphi included some representatives from parts of Epirus. One of them, Ἀντάνορ Εὐθυμίδου Χάων (*R. Flacelière, Les Aitolians à Delphes*, 1937, in ii. 95 a; cf. *BCH* 1928, no. 24), was on the College of Bouleutae at Delphi. Others also are mentioned, as Ἀμβρακιώτας (i. 39, 40, 43), Ἀργεῖος Ἀμφίλοχος (i. 44, 45; ii. 9 a, 14 a, 26 a, 28 a), and Θεσπρωτός (ii. 75 a). It is noteworthy that a man does not describe himself as an 'Epirote' (there was, of course, no Epirote citizenship in the Epirote Alliance) but as a citizen of the Chaonian or Thesprotian state or of the Greek cities Ambracia and Argos Amphiloichicum.² On the other hand, where there was a common citizenship, a man was adequately described as Ἀθαμάν (i. 41), Αἰνιάν (i. 12, 3, 6), Ἀκαρνάν (ii. 80 b), Δόλοψ (ii. 35 b), Αἰτωλὸς ἐκ Βότρου (i. 46). The nearest parallel to the practice of describing an Epirote by his state is to be found in the description of Macedonians, e.g. Ἐλειμιώτης ἐκ Πυθείου and Μακεδὼν ἐξ Αἰγείων; here we find one man described by tribe and city and the other by Macedonian nationality (perhaps in the narrower sense) and city. Epirus was even less developed towards an over-all citizenship in the middle of the third century than Macedonia.

¹ *AA* 3. 115.

² In ii. 37 a (= *SGDI* 2589) Asclepiades, son of Gorgias as *Phoenix*—probably from Caria; the *proxenia* decrees of the Aetolians refer to Ἀμβρακιῶται (*IG* ix.² i. 11. 19; 17, 42, and 95).

The Descendants of Pyrrhus



This genealogical table is in accordance with all the evidence of Plu. P. 4 and 9; Paus. 4. 35. 3; Justin 28. 1 and 3; Plb. 7. 4. 5; Polyaeus 8. 52 with the exceptions noted in footnotes 1 and 2. The only unusual feature is the late births to Olympias, the older half-sister of her husband Alexander. In 272 B.C. he had no children and he adopted Pyrrhus as his son; by 272 B.C. he had evidently been married to Olympias for some years, so that the marriage was at first childless. Phthia must have married at the usual age for a princess, and therefore she was born when Olympias was relatively old. The evidence has to be seriously altered to produce the genealogical trees of Cross, Beloch *GG* 4. 2. 150, *CAH* 7, table 1 and Kienast 167.

¹ So Plu. P. 9. ² Wrongly called Laodameia in Justin 28. 3.

XIV

THE EPIROTE LEAGUE

I. EVENTS FROM 232 TO 205 B.C.

THE attacks by the Illyrians on the northern territories which the Epirote Alliance claimed as its own and the attacks by the Dardanians on Macedonia had fired the ambition of the Aetolian League, which tried to seize the Epirote half of Acarnania and so went to war with the Epirote Alliance. Justin 28. 2 states that the Acarnanians appealed to Rome, that a Roman embassy to Aetolia was insulted by the Aetolians and that the Aetolians then ravaged the borders of Epirus and Acarnania. The passage has been rightly rejected in this context by Holleaux and others; it is clearly an insertion between the two sections dealing with Epirus which were consecutive in Justin's source, and the last point is inept in that 28. 1 implies that the acts of war between Aetolia and Epirus-Acarnania had already occurred. The decisive argument against the veracity of Justin's statement is the categorical remark by Polybius (2. 12. 7) that the first diplomatic involvement of Rome with the Greek states arose from the clash with the Illyrians in 230 B.C. This clash in turn arose from the situation in Acarnania.

There, when the Aetolians attacked the Acarnanians in the Epirote half of Acarnania, they laid siege to Medeon. Demetrius of Macedon, being unable to come to the help of the Acarnanians himself, bribed his ally Agron to intervene, and in 232 B.C. or 231 B.C. an Illyrian fleet of 100 *lembi* landed a force of 5,000 Illyrians off Medeon, which surprised and defeated the Aetolian army (Plb. 2. 2-3). Agron's successor, Queen Teuta, sent out in 230 B.C. another force of the same size, which raided Elis and Messenia and then called at the coast near Phoenice.¹ The Epirotes, being at war with the Aetolians, accepted the Illyrians without suspicion; but the Illyrians entered into a plot with some 800 Gallic mercenaries in Phoenice and with sudden treachery seized Phoenice (Plb. 2. 5 and 2. 7. 5). The Epirote army came up *πανδημεί*, and encamped outside Phoenice. On hearing that another Illyrian force of 5,000 men under Scerdilaïdas, a member of Agron's family, was marching overland towards the pass by Antigonea (at

¹ The account by Holleaux in *CAH* 7. 830 omits the raids on Elis and Messenia of Plb. 2. 5. 1 and mentions one force, not two forces; Walbank ad loc. includes the raids.

Lekel), the Epirote army sent a force to protect Antigonea. The fact that Scerdilaïdas could come south so soon means that the Illyrians still held τῆς Ἡπείρου τινα, captured and garrisoned by Agron (Appian, *Illyr.* 7); they probably held the interior between Berat and the lower Aous valley.¹ The main body of the Epirote army outside Phoenice became careless;² the Illyrians slipped out of Phoenice and defeated their opponents (see pp. 117 f., above, for the details of these operations). The defeated army fled in the direction of the Atintanes (2. 5. 8), that is towards the valley of the upper Drin. The Epirote League now sought help from the Aetolian League—which had suffered from the Illyrians so recently—and from the Achaean League, which agreed to come to their help. The Epirote League thus passed fully into the camp of these two Leagues, which were hostile to Macedon and to Acarnania.

The forces sent by the Aetolians and the Achaeans came overland, that is through the plain of Ioannina. Some weeks must have passed between the defeat at Phoenice and their arrival. Meanwhile, the combined forces of the Illyrians had no doubt pillaged the plain of Phoenice and the Drin valley. When they arrived, the Aetolians and the Achaeans adopted a defensive position either in the vicinity of Kalbaki or near Ktismata (formerly Arinista); for the Illyrian forces, 10,000 or so strong, advanced to meet the Achaeans and Aetolians at Helicranum (Plb. 2. 6. 3). The probable line of advance was along the Drin valley, which affords far the easiest route; it was the chief route used by the Italians in 1940 (see p. 277, above). At Helicranum the ground was difficult for the Illyrians, who were heavily armed; while they were there, a message came from Teuta, ordering them to return by the quickest route (τὴν ταχίστην), which was through the pass by Antigonea. But before they went, they plundered Epirus (ληλατήσαντες τὴν Ἡπείρου) and made a truce with the Epirote League, in accordance with which they received ransom for Phoenice and its free population but put the goods and the slaves on their *lembi*. Helicranum is best identified with the site at Khrisorrakhi (see Maps 7 and 16). The site is much stronger and the ground much rockier than at Ktismata (Arinista), and the position is less easily turned by a force attacking from the north. It protects the entry to the plain of Ioannina and threatens the flank of any force raiding down the Kalamas valley.

¹ Walbank 156 maintains that the expedition was 'part of a policy of planned expansion into Epirus'; so too Badian in *BSR* 7 (1952) 73. But Polybius' account is of a piece of opportunism which was exploited by calling in Scerdilaïdas. A message went to him from Phoenice in the interval during which the Epirote League mustered its forces.

² It must have relied on its numbers, which therefore exceeded the 5,000 Illyrians and 500 Gauls even after sending troops to Antigonea. The Epirote levy in all may have exceeded 10,000 men on this occasion.

Moreover, it is sufficiently far south to provide a possibility of the Illyrians' pillaging τὴν Ἡπειρον, that is the extensive part of Epirus to the north of Helicranum, before their final withdrawal. The direct route home was via Lekel where the Drin runs into the Vijosë.¹

The success of the Illyrians in sacking Phoenice, τὴν ὀχυρωτάτην ἅμα καὶ δυνατωτάτην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἡπείρῳ (Plb. 2. 6. 8), τὴν εὐδαιμονεσ-τάτην πόλιν (Plb. 2. 7. 11), alarmed the coastal peoples of Western Greece and led the Epirote League to make a sudden shift of policy. They obtained an alliance with Teuta and so joined the camp of the Acarnanians and Macedon against the Aetolian League and the Achaean League. Such sudden shifts of policy—which their quondam allies always regarded as treacherous—were to prove characteristic of the Epirote League. Teuta was delighted with the spoil—πολὺ γὰρ ἡ Φοινίκη διέφερε τότε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἡπειρον πολέων εὐδαιμονία (Plb. 2. 8. 4). The great wealth of Phoenice, the richest city in Epirus by far, is a clear indication that the trade of Epirus was directed north-westwards towards Italy and not southwards through Ambracia as it had been under Pyrrhus, when he had made it his capital. Now and probably since the decade 270–260 B.C. the current of trade was towards Italy and therefore favoured North Epirus and in particular Phoenice. It was this trade which involved Rome; for it was while the Illyrians held Phoenice that the Illyrians put to sea and raided many Italian traders in these waters, killing some and kidnapping others. The Senate therefore sent envoys to Teuta, who was besieging Issa. Her answer was an insulting one. While Rome mustered a fleet, Teuta sent out another expedition in spring 229 B.C., which nearly captured Epidamnus by treachery and then laid siege to Corcyra town. The Corcyraeans and the people of Epidamnus and Apollonia appealed to the Aetolian League and the Achaean League. The naval forces of the two Leagues came up to Paxos. There they were severely defeated by the Illyrians, who were assisted by Acarnanian ships. Corcyra soon capitulated. The Illyrian fleet then took up position off Epidamnus and laid siege to the city (see Map 15). Teuta was well on the way to acquiring control of the coast facing Italy and of the approaches from the south-east towards Italy and Sicily via Corcyra, when the Roman forces set sail (Plb. 2. 11. 1).

The Roman naval force of 200 ships proceeded first to Corcyra, where the garrison commander, Demetrius of Pharos, joined the cause

¹ Philippon's identification (*Thessalien u. Epirus* fig. 4) of Helicranum with the area by Vrisi and Paliavli has nothing to recommend it; in this position the Illyrians would sacrifice Phoenice and their routes to the Drin valley and to Santi Quaranta. Moreover, there is no walled site there of the period (see p. 119, above). In P-K 2. 1. 68 Kara-Ali-Bey is suggested; this is possible, but I think the scale of operations was not so tiny and the country was not so flat as it is at Kara-Ali-Bey (see p. 99, above).

of Rome, and then went forward to Apollonia, where a Roman army of 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry arrived from Brundisium. The efficiency and the scale of Rome's intervention far exceeded anything the Greek states had done; therefore, when Rome made the offer, the Corcyraeans and the Apolloniatas eagerly placed themselves under her protection (αὐτοί τε σφᾶς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔδωκαν παρακληθέντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πίστιν (Plb. 2. 11. 5)). Hearing of the approach of the Roman forces, the Illyrians abandoned their siege of Epidamnus, which also placed itself under Rome's protection (cf. Appian, *Illyr.* 2: εἰς φιλίαν). The Roman land forces must have moved from Apollonia to Epidamnus along the coast but some way inland, in order to cross the deep rivers and avoid their swampy deltas in the springtime. They now turned further inland (προῆγον εἰς τοὺς εἴσω τόπους τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος),¹ reducing the Ardiaei by force and being approached by embassies from the Parthini and the Atintani, both of whom they accepted into *amicitia*; and 'many other embassies' are mentioned by Polybius, but he does not name them. The welcome which the Romans received in this area is an indication that the conquest by Agron's Illyrians was fairly recent and was resented. The Greek states and the inland peoples, who had been in the Epirote sphere of influence during the reigns of Pyrrhus and Alexander (Appian, *Illyr.* 2. 1), saw a new protector in Rome, whose power was a contrast to the weakness shown by the Epirote League in the disaster at Phoenice.²

When the Romans proceeded north of Epidamnus in the direction of Issa (προῆγον ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰσσαν) they met with opposition. The advance was now by sea off the coastal strip (ἐν παράπλῳ (2. 11. 13)); some cities were taken by assault and the Romans suffered casualties at Noutria (not identified) before they reached the island of Issa, where the Illyrians now abandoned the siege. The fleet then returned to join the army at Epidamnus. A detachment was left there and troops were raised locally in the winter of 229/8 to keep a watch on the Ardiaei (evidently in the area north-eastwards of Epidamnus) and on those who had come over to Rome (i.e. the Parthini and the Atintani). A treaty was concluded in spring 228 B.C., whereby Teuta undertook not to sail beyond Lissus (Lesh)³ and abandoned all 'Illyris'

¹ Walbank ad loc., following G. Zippel, *Die römische Herrschaft in Illyrien* 51, 'not the inland districts but those parts of Teuta's kingdom lying in the farther recesses of the Adriatic', seems to be mistaken. Thucydides 2. 100. 4 uses ἔσω τούτων and Hdt. 8. 66. 2 ἐσωτέρῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος in the sense of 'inland', and Ἰλλυρίς is a land and not a coastal strip. Badian 78 agrees with Walbank.

² The suggestion of Walbank 1. 15. 8 and Badian 75 that Atintania had been ceded by the Epirote League to Teuta in 230 B.C. rests on no evidence; if it was so, Polybius would have been culpable in not saying so at 2. 6. 9 and in not modifying his words at 2. 6. 6-7.

³ See J. M. F. May in *JRS* 36 (1946) 54 f., who establishes the point that the Drin issued north of Lissus in antiquity.

except a few places (2. 12. 3), Illyris probably being, here and at 2. 11. 10, the area from the mouth of the Drilo southwards. The limits of the Roman protectorate must have been drawn to the north of Epidamnus (cf. also Appian, *Illyr.* 7) and probably at the navigable river Mati, just south of Lissus, which forms a clear and defensible frontier, and to the south of Apollonia, which was declared 'a free city', like Corcyra (Appian, *Illyr.* 8). Rome, by her 'auctoritas', guaranteed peace and prosperity in this area; she was also an immediate, if ill-defined, neighbour of the Epirote League.

One problem in the Roman campaign is the position of the Atintani. The account in Polybius 2. 11–12, as Walbank says,¹ 'represents a Roman tradition which may well be Fabius'. There are signs of translation from Latin into Greek in Polybius 2. 11. 10–12 where the Romans received the Epidamnians (of Dyrrachium) εἰς τὴν πίστιν (= *fides*), proceeded εἰς τοὺς ἔσω τόπους (*interius*) and accepted εἰς φιλίαν (*amicitiam*) the Parthini and the Atintani, ἐπιτρέποντες τὰ καθ' αὐτούς (*deditio*). Fabius Pictor was himself a soldier; he served in 225 B.C. against the Gauls (Eutrop. 3. 5), and he could have obtained good information about the Illyrian campaign. The narrative marks the stages of the campaign clearly except (on the usual interpretation) at one point, namely the acceptance of embassies παρὰ τῶν Ἀτιντάνων by the Romans when the Romans were north or north-east of Epidamnus; for the Atintanes, with whom the Atintani have been usually (I think, always) identified, are at least 100 miles away to the south, as the crow flies. I have written 'Atintani' here because the genitive plural in Polybius is indeterminate, and because the nominative or accusative in this form is used by Appian in *Illyr.* 7 and 8. Their position is certainly near Epidamnus; for Appian reports that 'the Illyrians abandoning the siege of Issa and Epidamnus departed, and some of them (i.e. the Illyrians) οἱ Ἀτιντανοὶ λεγόμενοι went over to Rome'. When Teuta approached Rome, she was told 'Επίδαμνον καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς Ἀτιντανοὺς ἤδη Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους εἶναι. In each passage the Atintani are Illyrians, whereas the Atintanes are always an Ἡπειρωτικὸν ἔθνος. In the second Illyrian war in 222 B.C. Demetrius of Pharos, enlisting the Istrians, committed acts of piracy and detached the Atintani from Rome (τοὺς Ἀτιντανοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφίστη, Appian, *Illyr.* 8), and he himself went over to Philip of Macedon, presumably giving the Atintani to Philip. It is inconceivable that Demetrius of Pharos could have got so far inland and so far south of Apollonia as Atintania in northern Epirus; these Atintani must have been at the northern end of the protectorate, being Illyrians themselves and close neighbours to the Illyrian state.

¹ i. 153.

Livy mentions Atintania on three occasions. In 208 B.C. the return of Atintania or Atintanis to Rome and of the Ardiaei to Scerdilaidas and Pleuratus was proposed as a condition of peace (27. 30. 13),¹ which shows Appian's last mention of the 'Atintani' in *Illyr.* 8 to be correct. In 205 B.C. at the peace conference at Phoenice (29. 12. 13) the terms proposed by P. Sempronius for peace between Rome and Macedon provided for Roman possession of the Parthini and three named towns, and for Macedonian possession of Atintania if the Senate approved (as it later did). In 167 B.C. the fourth region of Macedonia was defined as being inhabited by Eordaei, Lyncestae, and Pelagones, and joined to them Atintania, †Tymphaeis†, and Elimiotis ('iuncta his Atintania et †Tymphaeis† et Elimiotis' (45. 30. 6));² this region was described as cold and difficult to cultivate and with its inhabitants made fiercer by their barbarian neighbours. The first two passages indicate that Atintania was in dispute together with the Parthini and some of the Ardiaei between Rome, Illyria, and Macedonia.³ The last passage places Atintania next to Pelagonia, †Tymphaeis† (*vel simile*) next to Lyncestis, and Elimiotis next to Eordaea. A final indication of the exact position of Atintanis is given in Polyaeus 4. 11. 4. Cassander in 314 B.C. returning from Illyris (to Macedonia) and being one day distant from Epidamnus placed his main force in hiding and sent some cavalry and infantry to fire 'the high villages on the frontier of Illyris and Atintanis, which are visible to the people of Epidamnus'.⁴ The inhabitants, supposing Cassander to have departed, came out and were caught off their guard. This Atintanis cannot be the Epirote Atintania, 100 miles away from Epidamnus and not on the way to Macedonia at all. It must be on the route by which Cassander would have gone to Macedonia; it must be visible from Epidamnus, and it must be adjacent to Illyris. These conditions are satisfied by the area north of Elbasan, now called Çermenikë. The Parthini extended inland towards Lake Ochrid (L. Lychnidus)⁵ and neighboured the Atintani. I have used the word of Polyaeus, 'Atintanis', on Map 15 to distinguish it from Atintania.

The area now controlled by Rome was of great strategic importance. The keystone of the position lay in the northern part, where the

¹ The MS. has Atintanta, and the correct reading is probably Atintanida rather than Atintaniam, because Atintanida is closer to Atintanta.

² The reading in the one and only manuscript is 'autincaniaestrymepalisetelimonites', which is emended usually to read as above in the text. I discuss the passage on p. 633, below.

³ St. Byz. *Ἀτιντανία, μείρα Μακεδονίας* makes Atintas a son of Macedon.

⁴ From my experience in Macedonia and Thessaly in the last war I know that such fires are visible from a considerable distance, say 30 miles away from Epidamnus in this case. The line of visibility north-eastwards from Epidamnus is clear from the map at the end of M. Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania* (Cambridge, 1954).

⁵ See Walbank i. 103.

territories of the Atintani and the Parthini drove a wedge between the two allied powers, Illyria and Macedon. In 230–229 Macedon had made no move; for she was then weakened by the Dardanian invasions, and the successor of Demetrius (who died in spring 229),¹ Antigonus Doson, who married Phthia, mother of the heir, Philip V, was primarily concerned to stem the advance of the Dardanians. But a reaction was to be expected. So long as Rome held Atintanis (from which she levied troops in 229/8), the Ardiaei of Agron's kingdom and the Macedonians could not join hands, since the Dardanians now occupied much of Paeonia. The upper valley of the Drilo, which forms a deep re-entrant towards L. Lychnidus, was held by Illyrians, who were allied with the Dardanians at this time. Rome's control of the Parthini also blocked the entry from Macedonia into Central Albania via the gap just north of Lake Lychnidus and down the Genusus valley. The importance of the Roman position in the north has been misunderstood by historians. At the same time the area of the protectorate has been incorrectly extended into Epirus; for the territory of the Atintanes should not be included and much less the bulk of Chaonia, which figures as Roman in the map, for instance, of Holleaux.² In the south Apollonia's territory was the limit. There the lower Aous was navigable as far as the city. Thus two deep and navigable rivers—the Maṭi and the Aous—formed the frontiers of the Roman zone of *auctoritas*.³ Oricum and Amantia lay outside it. Rome had little to fear from the Epirote League at the time; but it could be dangerous if it joined forces with the princes of Illyria—its allies in autumn 230 B.C.—or with Macedon, its natural ally. With this possibility in mind Rome made diplomatic approaches in 228 B.C. not to Macedon, Epirus, or Acarnania, but to their enemies, the Aetolian League and the Achaean League who were also enemies of Illyria.

The revival of Macedon was rapid. In 228 B.C. Antigonus Doson recovered the northern half of Thessaly from the Aetolian League and came to terms with the League; and he obtained the alliance of the Epirote League. In the winter of 224/3 B.C. he formed his Hellenic League, which included the Epirote League and the Acarnanian League as well as the Leagues of Thessaly, Boeotia, Phocis, Euboea, and perhaps Eastern Locris and the Achaean League (Plb. 4. 9. 4 and 4. 15. 1). The chief merit of membership for the Epirote League was the protection it seemed to offer against the Aetolian League. The

¹ Walbank, *Philip V* 10.

² See the maps in *CAH* 7. 768 with p. 836; Fine in *JRS* 26 (1936) 27 and 29; and in Walbank, *Philip V* 19. The seizure of so large a part of Epirus would have been a major incident in the relations between Greece and Rome.

³ Badian in *BSR* 7. 79 has a different conception of the area controlled by Rome and is suspicious of frontiers; but naval and military considerations were important.

immediate price was the sending of 1,000 infantry and 50 cavalry for the campaign against Cleomenes of Sparta in 222 B.C. (Plb. 2. 65. 4); the same number of troops came from Acarnania. The honours of the battle of Sellasia went to 1,600 Illyrians commanded by Demetrius of Pharos, the ally of Antigonus; the Epirotes are not mentioned in the accounts which Polybius and Plutarch give of the battle. An incursion of Illyrians (probably from the upper Drilo valley) into northern Macedonia compelled Antigonus to hasten home, and he died in 221 B.C.

The small size of the Epirote League's forces at Sellasia may have been due partly to fear of the Aetolian League. In 223/2 B.C. Ambracia was a member of the Aetolian League; for Charicles of Ambracia stood as a guarantor for a Tarentine, who received *proxenia* from the League (IG. ix². 1. 31. 83). The city may have deserted to the League at any time between 232 and 223/2,¹ and it presumably took the Amphilocheians with it. The Cassopaeans too had broken away (see p. 644, below), but they probably did not join the Aetolian League. Two Thesprotians received the privilege of *proxenia* from the League c. 223/2 (IG. ix². 1. 31. 46). In 221 B.C. the Aetolians employed piratical methods. Aetolian and Cephallenian ships pillaged the coast of Epirus, entered the Ambraciote Gulf, and attempted to seize Thyrraeum in Acarnania (Plb. 4. 6. 2); these and many other outrages caused the Council of the Hellenic League in 220 B.C. (Plb. 4. 16. 1 and 4. 25. 3 mentions the Epirote League) to propose going to war under the hegemony of Philip V of Macedon against the Aetolian League. The proposal was accepted unequivocally by the Acarnanian League; but in a typically shifty manner the Epirote League coupled their acceptance of the proposal with an assurance to the Aetolian League that they would keep the peace (Plb. 4. 30. 6-7). Both sides started operations in 219 B.C., the Aetolians sending forces into the Peloponnese and Philip of Macedon coming south with his own force of some 16,000 men via Thessaly and Epirus (Plb. 4. 57. 1), where he took command of the full Epirote levy. These operations marked the beginning of the Social War.

The warfare in Greece which preceded the outbreak of the Social War gave the Illyrians a chance for freebooting. In early summer 220 B.C., despite the terms of their treaty with Rome, Demetrius of Pharos and Scerdilaïdas sailed with ninety ships past Lissus, and in conjunction with the Aetolians raided the coasts of Messenia and then Achaea; a part of them under Demetrius raided the Cyclades. Demetrius of Pharos then changed to the side of Philip and raided the coast

¹ Or after spring 229, when Demetrius died; see Plb. 4. 25. 6, referring to cities seized by Aetolia.

of Aetolia and subjugated 'the cities in Illyris which were subject to Rome' (Plb. 3. 16; note the tenses of the infinitives). These cities in Illyris evidently included some among the Atintani; for Appian (*Illyr.* 8) reports that after his piratical expedition by sea Demetrius won over an Illyrian tribe and raised the Atintani in revolt from Rome (*Illyr.* 8: τοὺς Ἀτιντανούς ἀπὸ 'Ρωμαίων ἀφίστη). The object of Demetrius in the last case was to gain direct access to Macedonia. A troop of Illyrians served that summer in Crete in the cause of the Greek League. In winter 220/19 Philip bribed Scerdilaïdas to change to his side. Meanwhile Rome had taken note of the breach of the treaty by Demetrius and Scerdilaïdas and the detaching of the Atintani. In that year it was clear that war might break out between Rome and Carthage, and the Senate was anxious to be beforehand in securing the protectorate across the Adriatic (Plb. 3. 16. 7). In spring 219 B.C., when Hannibal moved towards Saguntum, a Roman fleet and army under the command of L. Aemilius Paullus commenced operations (Plb. 3. 16. 7). Demetrius had tried to hold Dimale with a considerable garrison and to secure the country of the Atintani by killing his opponents there; but, while he himself took up his position at Pharos, Aemilius Paullus captured Dimale, supposedly impregnable, in a week and brought over all the cities of the area. Aemilius Paullus then sailed to Pharos, captured it by a stratagem and took the area known as Illyris under control. Demetrius fled by sea. He reached Philip late in the summer of 219 B.C. (Plb. 3. 19).

During the Roman operations in Illyria Philip had been persuaded by the Epirotes to attack Ambracus in the hope later of wresting Ambracia from its alliance with the Aetolian League (see Map 15). The strength of Aetolia's position in the north-west area is not always appreciated. Athamania was on Aetolia's side (Plb. 4. 16. 9-10). It formed a strategic re-entrant between Epirus and East Greece, like the valley of the upper Drilo between Illyria and Macedon. When Athamania, Ambracia, and Amphilochoia were pro-Aetolian, they threatened the flank of Epirus; and if Philip, who lacked a fleet, crossed from Preveza into Acarnania, his lines of communication and supply and indeed of withdrawal were most dangerously exposed not only to troops based on Athamania and Ambracia but also to Aetolian ships based on Ambracus and other ports in the Ambraciote Gulf. The Aetolians realized the importance of Ambracus.¹ When Philip laid siege to it, the Aetolian general, Scopas, tried to divert him by marching via Athamania and Thessaly into Pieria and sacking Dium. But Philip persisted, took Ambracus in forty days and let the garrison of 500 Aetolians depart.

¹ Plb. 4. 61. 3 criticized Philip but failed to realize the strategic value of the port. See Walbank, *Philip V* 38 f.

The situation of Ambracus is described on p. 137, above. This operation enabled Philip to cross from Preveza in greater security. He went from Ambracus round the north shore of the Gulf via Charadra (see p. 159, above for its position) and crossed to Actium. He was very successful in Acarnania; he had the good fortune to capture enough grain to feed his army for a month, and he obtained possession of Oeniadae (Plb. 4. 65).

At this point in his successful campaign Philip heard that the Dardanians were about to invade Macedonia (Plb. 4. 66). He must also have learnt that the Romans were active in Illyris. He turned north; and when he reached Actium he met Demetrius, who had only one *lembus*. Philip had no desire at this point to embroil himself with Rome, but he also had uses for his ally Demetrius. So he sent Demetrius on to Corinth and told him to proceed later to his court. Meanwhile Philip continued his progress via Preveza and Epirus into Macedonia; he arrived in time to discourage the Dardanians, sent his army into the fields for the harvest and stayed for the rest of the campaigning season at Larissa. He must have been on the alert in case the Romans in Illyris and the Dardanians in Paeonia joined forces against him. It was during this period that the Aetolians seized their chance. In autumn 219 the newly elected Aetolian General, Dorimachus, invaded the upper, i.e. inland parts of Epirus (τοὺς ἄνω τόπους τῆς Ἠπείρου). Entering the plain of Ioannina presumably from Athamania¹ and laying waste the countryside, he sacked the temple at Passaron and looted Dodona, where even the sacred house of Zeus and Dione was demolished (Plb. 4. 67; D.S. 26. 4. 7). Philip replied during the winter of 219/18 B.C. Taking the eastern route via Euboea, he conducted a successful campaign in the Peloponnese in support of his ally, the Achaean League, and he overran parts of Elis, whose north-western ports faced Oeniadae.

Philip's plans for 218 B.C. entailed a naval offensive against Aetolia rather than against Aetolia's Peloponnesian allies (Plb. 5. 2. 1). His newly trained fleet sailed from Lechaenum to Patrae; then his fleet and the ships sent by his allies—the Epirote League, the Acarnanian League, Scerdilaïdas, and the Messenians—met at Cephallenia, the base which the Aetolian fleet had used for raiding the coasts of Epirus, Acarnania, and the Peloponnese. The Aetolians tried to divert Philip by invading Thessaly. Philip sailed from Cephallenia through the canal by Leucas, entered the Ambraciote Gulf and suddenly appeared off Limnaea (Karavassaras), from where he made a brilliant raid on

¹ Leake 4. 185. The Aetolians still held Ambracia; we find an Ambraciote as an Aetolian *hieromnemon* in Syll.³ 545 c. 213 B.C. But the entry from Athamania was less strongly defended than that from Ambracia.

Thermum. The Macedonians and their allies avenged the sack of Dium and the sack of Dodona by pillaging the temple at Thermum and by writing on the walls the line

ὄρᾱς τὸ δῖον οὐ βέλος διέπτειτο;

The temple of Zeus at Dodona and probably that of Zeus Areios at Passaron were rebuilt after this campaign, and we have mentioned the line at Passaron which may be an adaptation of that written up by the Macedonians at Thermum (p. 184, above). The details of Philip's advance from Limnaea have also been discussed above (p. 246). It has been pointed out that the victory of Zeus Dodonaeus was celebrated in the Macedonian coinage of Philip V which carried the head of the god. The same reason may account for the head of Zeus being on coins of Anactorium and Oeniadae at this time, the latter being struck between 219 and 211 B.C.¹ Philip campaigned in the Peloponnese during the rest of the season of 218 B.C. and then wintered in Macedonia.

The Roman settlement in Illyria after the expulsion of Demetrius in 219 B.C. is not known. The statements in Appian, *Illyr.* 8 *fin.* and in Zonaras 8. 10. 13, that Demetrius returned and practised piracy and that the Romans killed him, razed Pharos, and made a treaty at the request of Pinnes, are certainly not derived from Polybius, who places the death of Demetrius later in the Peloponnese, and probably came from a Roman source such as Fabius Pictor (see p. 599, above). The campaign, however, may have taken place. For the actions of Scerdilaïdas in sailing south and in supporting Philip in his naval ventures early in 218 B.C. were contrary to Rome's terms at the end of the First Illyrian War. The punitive expedition against Pharos was probably in 218 B.C., when Philip was operating in Aetolia or in the Peloponnese, and its effect must have been to encourage the Dardanians and the dynasts in Illyris, whom Polybius mentioned as a thorn in the side of Scerdilaïdas (Plb. 5. 4. 3).² Philip opened his campaigning season in 217 B.C. with the capture of Bylazora, the capital of Paeonia, from the Dardanians (Plb. 5. 97. 1). He is likely to have known that Hannibal had crossed the Alps in 218 B.C. and had won the battle of Trebia in December 218 B.C. Philip and the Illyrians expected that Rome would be unable to operate across the Adriatic Sea in the years to come. He therefore turned his army against the Aetolians in Achaia Phthiotis. He then heard that Illyrian pirates were at large off the Southern

¹ A. Mammoth, *Z. Num.* 42 (1935) 225; Walbank, *Philip V* 42 n. 2; Franke *AME* 28 n. 11; Head 329 and 331.

² Walbank, *Philip V* 78 n. 1, believes that the version in Appian and Zonaras may be neglected; but it calls for some explanation.

Peloponnese; for Scerdilaïdas had changed sides again. Sailing south from his kingdom to Leucas, he had treacherously attacked Philip's friends (Plb. 5. 95. 1 f. and 5. 101). Philip sailed with his fleet, hoping to catch the Illyrians and then to attack Aetolia. While his larger ships were circumnavigating the Peloponnese, and he was attending the Nemean Games, a courier came in from Macedonia with the news of Hannibal's victory at Lake Trasimene and Hannibal's advance to the coast of the Adriatic Sea. The news had come presumably via Illyris to Macedonia, because Philip was the first person to be informed of the events at the Games. He decided to make peace with Aetolia, in order to take advantage of the new situation (Plb. 5. 102).

The Aetolian League had felt the net closing round itself and its allies. The chief victims of its energies early in 217 B.C. had been Acarnania and Epirus; in particular the entire Aetolian army had ravaged the whole of Epirus (Plb. 5. 96: *πορθῶν πᾶσαν ἀδεῶς τὴν Ἠπειρον*). The Acarnanian League made a counter-attack; but the Epirote League stayed inactive. These belligerents too were ready for peace. The negotiations were conducted by Philip and the delegates of the Greek League, which included the Epirote League, and peace was concluded on the *status quo*. Thus Ambracus remained with the Epirote League and Ambracia with the Aetolian League.

Philip returned to Macedonia by sea. During his absence in the summer of 217 B.C. Scerdilaïdas had encroached on Macedonian possessions by sacking a town Pissaeum in Pelagonia, by winning over Antipatrea and two other towns in Dassaretis and by ravaging much of Macedonia which marched with these districts. Scerdilaïdas must have been careful to avoid any clash with the Roman protectorate during his operations; indeed, he may have acted in collusion with the authorities in the cities there. Therefore Scerdilaïdas must have gained access to Dassaretis by following the upper Drilo valley into Pelagonia and the basins of Lake Lychnidus and Lake Prespa, which occupy the high area between the watersheds of Illyris on one side and Macedonia on the other. The obvious plan for Philip was to cut Scerdilaïdas' lines of communication with Dassaretis. He did so in autumn 217 B.C. by occupying Enchelanae and other cities near Lake Lychnidus, Bantia in the territory of the Caloecini and Orgyssus¹ in that of the Pisantini. These moves enabled him to recover control of Pissaeum, Antipatrea, and its two neighbours.

The exact position of the Macedonian frontier in this area is uncertain. Dassaretis evidently was not in Macedonia. For after mentioning Pelagonia and Dassaretis and the three towns in the latter, Polybius continues: *πολλὴν δὲ καὶ τῆς συνορούσης τούτοις Μακεδονίας* (Plb. 5.

¹ Livy has Orgessus in the campaign of 200 B.C. (31. 27. 2).

108. 2; cf. 1. 8. 1 and 5. 55. 1 for the verb). Since Pelagonia was in Macedonia, it is clear that *τούτοις* refers loosely to the three cities of Dassaretis, and that Macedonia was conterminous with Dassaretis. The extent of Dassaretis is unknown. Presumably it came east of Lake Lychnidus (the Macedonian frontier at Pylon was east of the lake) and Scerdilaïdas entered this north-east part of Dassaretis from Pelagonia. Antipatrea was probably the westernmost place of importance in Dassaretis; for the wide coastal plain begins just to the west of Antipatrea, and this plain lay in the Roman protectorate. The other two towns, Chrysondyon and Gertous, probably lay on Scerdilaïdas' route between Lake Lychnidus and Antipatrea, i.e. in the upper valley of the Devoli. The Macedonian frontier then lay east of Dassaretis. Pelium (which may be identified with Koritsa or a site in the Koritsa plain) lay on the south-eastern edge of Dassaretis (Livy 31. 40. 5). Philip or his predecessors had evidently acquired control of this part of Dassaretis at some stage, and the three cities had been subject communities, which Philip now reacquired (*ἀνακτήσασθαι σπουδάζων τὰς ἀφεστηκυίας πόλεις* and *ἀνεκτήσατο μὲν τὰς προειρημένας πόλεις* (Plb. 5. 108. 3 and 8)). As there is no evidence that Philip held all the area by Lake Lychnidus, he or his predecessors entered this part of Dassaretis from a different direction, namely from the area of Florina. On recovering Antipatrea Philip was again an immediate neighbour of the Roman protectorate and of the territory of Apollonia in particular. He made new gains (*κατελάβετο δέ* (Plb. 5. 108. 3)) by capturing in Dassaretis Creonium and Gerous,¹ which probably lay in north-eastern Dassaretis in the direction of Lake Lychnidus, and by capturing cities of the Caloecini and the Pisantini who are likely to have lived in the hilly country between Lake Lychnidus and Lake Prespa.² He now held a solid wedge of territory which pointed at Apollonia; it marched on its north-western side with the Roman protectorate and on its south-eastern side with the tributaries of the Aous river.

The position he now held in Dassaretis and the developments in Italy fired Philip with the ambition to build a navy, seize Apollonia, and perhaps intervene in Italy. Illyrians were employed to build a fleet of a hundred *lembi* in Macedonian ports in the winter of 217–16 B.C., and the fleet rounded the Peloponnese and reached Leucas early in the summer of 216 B.C. Philip must have known that Scerdilaïdas had joined the side of Rome (Plb. 5. 110. 8). He now waited at Leucas until he learnt that the Roman fleet was at Lilybaeum. Then he pressed on until his fleet lay between the island of Sason (now Saseno) and

¹ Probably the same as Livy's Gerrunius (31. 27. 2).

² Fine in *JRS* 26 (1936) 26 f. places Dassaretis and the Caloecini too far south.

the mouth of the Aous. At this moment some merchantmen reported to his rearmost ships at Sason that some Roman quinqueremes were on the way from Rhegium 'to Apollonia and to Scerdilaïdas' (Plb. 5. 110. 3). When the report was passed to Philip, he withdrew at all speed to Cephallenia. Polybius censures Philip for this retreat. But Philip was in a hazardous position. Corcyra, loyal to Rome, lay in his rear; he had no harbour available unless and until he captured Apollonia; and he expected an attack not only from the heavy Roman quinqueremes but also from the expert Illyrian *lembi*. Prudence was certainly on his side. But the appearance of the Macedonian fleet off Apollonia gave Rome an indication of Philip's plans. For had Philip wanted only to acquire control of the Roman territory in Illyris, he would have campaigned by land from Antipatrea without going to the great expense of building and manning a fleet. But as it was, he evidently intended to win naval bases and establish seapower on his side of the Adriatic Sea; and this meant winning over the Illyrians from their uneasy alliance with Rome. In consequence the Romans placed a fleet under Laevinus at Tarentum and then at Brundisium with instructions to protect Italy and to observe the actions of Macedon (Livy 23. 38. 9).

In 215 B.C. Philip and his Greek allies entered into an alliance with Hannibal. One aim of the alliance was the freeing from Rome of 'Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Dimale, the Parthini, Atintania (i.e. Atintanis) and Pharos' (Plb. 7. 9). This shows the extent of the Roman protectorate in Illyris in 215 B.C. The Epirote League, as one of Philip's Greek allies, was undoubtedly a party to the treaty and had a particular interest in this aim. The problem for Philip was to enter the Adriatic when Laevinus was distracted. In 214 B.C. Hannibal, based on Apulia, controlled much of south-east Italy, and Carthaginian operations which culminated in an attempt on Tarentum demanded the attention of Laevinus. It was about this time¹ and certainly in collusion with Hannibal that Philip started an offensive in Illyris by land and sea in August. The Achaean League had refused to support him; but some of his allies are likely to have done so and especially the Epirote League² through whose territory an army moved in support of his fleet (Plu. *Aratus* 51, διαβαίνοντος εἰς Ἡπειρον αὐτοῦ, based on Polybius). Philip's first objective was Apollonia; for if he could capture the city he could protect his fleet in the Aous river. He therefore sailed up the Aous with 120 *lembi* and attacked the town; the army joined

¹ Badian in *BSR* 7. 90 n. 91 is probably correct in thinking the attacks on Tarentum and Illyris were simultaneous; but all we can assume is that Hannibal hoped to synchronize with Philip.

² Plb. 7. 11. 7 emphasizes the gratitude of the Epirotes for benefits conferred on them by Philip.

in the assault. But speed was essential. Therefore, when the siege went slowly, he switched his army at night to Oricum and captured the city, 'sitam in plano neque moenibus neque viris atque armis validam' (Livy 24. 40. 3). Some envoys from Oricum reached Laevinus. He sailed with his warships and with troop-carrying merchantmen, captured Oricum and managed to pass a relieving force through the Macedonian army into Apollonia at night unobserved. A sudden sortie at night by the Roman force and the Apollonians caught the Macedonian army off its guard; almost 3,000 men were killed, rather more were captured, and the siege-train was carried into the town. Laevinus brought up the fleet from Oricum to the mouth of the Aous. Philip burnt his own fleet and withdrew overland into Macedonian territory. The Romans based a fleet on Oricum, so that both sides of the Adriatic could be patrolled in future (Livy 24. 40. 17; Plb. 8. 1).¹

The formidable defences of Apollonia, a city with a circuit-wall over 4 kilometres in length,² explain the inability of Philip to capture it by assault, and Oricum in contrast had no natural strength and less powerful walls (see p. 127, above). In August 214 B.C. Oricum probably lay outside the Roman group of states. But it was in close contact with Corcyra which was under Roman control. For an inscription, published in 1958, records an inquiry of Zeus and Dione made by *τοὶ Κορκυραῖοι καὶ τοὶ Ὠρίκιοι*,³ and a decree of the Corcyraeans c. 206 B.C. has an appendage to the effect that the *Ὠρίκιοι* decreed likewise.⁴ It was probably an independent state, friendly with the Greek states in the Roman sphere, and it was taken into Rome's formal alliance after August 214 B.C.⁵

The operations of Philip in 213 and 212 B.C. resulted in the capture of the territories of the Atintani and the Parthini, the consolidation of Dassaretis and the capture of Dimale; he also detached the southern group of the Ardiaei from Scerdilaïdas and then captured the powerful

¹ The extent of this campaign is underestimated in *CAH* 8. 122 and Walbank, *Philip V* 75 f., following Holleaux, because they take no account of Philip's land army. The largest number of troops which the *lembi* could carry was 6,000 men apart from the siege-train which Livy mentions; and as the losses, recorded by Livy, were some 6,000 men, there must have been a considerable army. It is anyhow obvious that Philip used land forces in co-operation with the fleet, which had to be ready for action at sea if it was intercepted. These and other scholars have rearranged the campaign by making Philip attack Oricum first; this rearrangement underestimates the intelligence of Philip, whose aim was to take Apollonia with the greatest possible speed. Livy's account is to be preferred to that of Zonaras 9. 4, which is much abridged.

² *BUST* 1960, 1. 54 with plan.

³ *Ergon* 1958, 93.

⁴ *Inscr. Magn.* 44 l. 45.

⁵ It was not named in the treaty between Hannibal and Philip. Badian in *BSR* 7. 93 has seen that Oricum was independent, so far as our evidence goes; Holleaux supposed it to be dependent on Rome.

fortress of Lissus, just to the north of the river Mati.¹ It is very unlikely that the Epirotes shared in these campaigns, which were mounted from North-western Macedonia. Philip was now in a position where he could form a fleet of Illyrian *lembi* and perhaps make contact with Carthaginian forces, and the danger of this possibility caused Laevinus to approach the Aetolian League. An alliance was made in 211 B.C. It contained an article on the division of spoil if enemy cities were captured 'Corcyrae tenus ab Aetolia incipienti' (Livy 26. 24. 11), a phrase which shows that not only Acarnania (which is mentioned) but also Epirus was regarded as being at war with Rome and Aetolia. Laevinus, based on Corcyra, captured Zacynthus and Oeniadae, while the Aetolians raided Thessaly in 211 B.C. Philip responded that winter by attacking the territories of Oricum and Apollonia, probably with a view to strengthening the loyalty of the Epirote League, and by ravaging hostile Illyrian territory, before he turned into Pelagonia, attacked the Dardanians and later the Thracians. Meanwhile the Aetolians threatened the Acarnanians, who sent their non-combatants to Epirus and asked the Epirote League—clearly as an ally, not as a neutral—to bury the Acarnanian dead, if Aetolia should overrun Acarnania (Livy 26. 25. 11).² But the return of Philip to Macedonia deterred the Aetolians.

In 210 and 209 B.C. conflicts between Philip and the forces of Aetolia and Rome were on the east side of Greece and culminated in an abortive peace conference, where Aetolia demanded that Philip should restore 'Atintania' (i.e. Atintanis) to Rome and the Ardiaei to Scerdilaïdas (Livy 27. 30. 13), the object being to cut Philip's route of approach to the Adriatic Sea which ran north of the diminished Roman protectorate. Amynander, king of Athamania, an ally of Aetolia and a relation of Scerdilaïdas, acted as intermediary (Livy 27. 30. 4, 'pacificator'; Plb. 4. 16. 9). The conference failed. Fighting was resumed in Northern Elis. An invasion by the Dardanians, who ravaged as far as Orestis, forced Philip to return to Macedonia later in 209 B.C. The allies of Philip sent envoys asking for his help in 208 B.C.; and the Epirote League is mentioned as doing so (Plb. 10. 41. 4; Livy 28. 5. 1 f. omits the League in his transmission of Polybius). The operations of this year did not involve Epirus so far as we know, but Philip captured Zacynthus in this year or early in 207 B.C. He may also have sacked Thermum in a successful invasion of Aetolia. In 207 B.C. he traded Zacynthus to Amynander, king of

¹ Plb. 8. 13; see *JRS* 36 (1946) 54 f. for the position of Lissus.

² Some scholars have thought that Epirus was neutral at this time (see references in Walbank, *Philip V* 86 n. 6), but this does not seem to be consistent with the evidence of Livy and Polybius 9. 38. 5 and 11. 5. 4.

Athamania, who permitted him to march through Athamania into Northern Aetolia, and he sacked Thermum for the second time. This campaign severed the communications between the Aetolians and Ambracia, the strongly fortified city which protected them against invasion from the north-western direction.

It is probable that Philip now captured Ambracia. The evidence for this statement is in Appian, *Mac.* 3, where the 'recapture' of Ambracia by Philip from Rome and Aetolia is mentioned. It is generally said that this passage, which rests upon an annalistic tradition, is incorrect.¹ But an unpublished inscription, which I copied on 2 July 1937 in the Museum at Arta, shows that Philip did hold Ambracia at one time. The stone was found in 1926 in the house of Andrea Kakathiá below the south side of the fort (see Map 6 and Fig. 32). The inscription runs thus:

Φίλιππος
και συνπρυτανις τ . . . Δι
Καλλων Νικοσθενης
Σιλανος Πανσωνος
Θρασων Κλεομυδης
Νικαρχος Λεοντισιου
Λυκος μαντις

The years in which Ambracia could have been held by Philip are limited by evidence from other inscriptions. *IG* ix. 1² *Fl.* 39, 41, and 42 and *Syll.*³ 545 name Ambraciotes as Aetolian *hieromnemes* in 215, c. 213, and 210 B.C., and *Inscr. Magn.* 186. 15 and 16 mentions decrees by the Ambraciotes, Amphilocheian Argives, and Calydonii in 206 or 205 B.C. Therefore the likely years for a Macedonian occupation are 209 to 207 or 206 B.C. The passage in Appian is concerned with these years. It alludes to two attempts to establish a peace, both made in Aetolia, and the second of these is usually dated to 207 B.C. Rome blocked the negotiations (Appian continues) by sending reinforcements to Aetolia, and with their help Aetolia captured Ambracia. Therefore in 208 or early in 207 Ambracia had been liberated from Aetolian control. Ambracia, like Apollonia, had very strong defences (see Map 6). Control of the surrounding area and of the river Arachthus was essential if one was to take Ambracia by siege, and Philip had this advantage in 207 B.C., when he came through Athamania. The Aetolians then regained it in 207 B.C. Appian goes on to say that Philip recovered Ambracia not much afterwards when the Roman troops sailed away,

¹ e.g. Walbank, *Philip V* 99 n. 9, referring to Appian *Mac.* 3, and following Holleaux, 'the reinforcements . . . and the capture of Ambracia are, however, annalistic fabrications'.

i.e. late in 207 or in 206 B.C.¹ In each case Ambracus is likely to have fallen together with Ambracia. Philip's second tenure of Ambracia was a short one, as *Inscr. Magn.* no. 28 ll. 9 and 10 shows Ambracia and Argos Amphiloichicum acting with the Aetolian League in 206 or 205 B.C.

The new inscription makes it most likely that the annalistic tradition is correct in other respects and in particular in the statement that Roman reinforcements kept Aetolia at war in the latter part of 207 B.C. However, Aetolia was flagging. Peace was made without Roman participation in autumn 206 B.C. But Rome reacted by launching an offensive in Illyris in spring 205 B.C., raised the Parthini in revolt from Philip, and laid siege to Dimale. Philip made forced marches to Apollonia (perhaps from the vicinity of Aetolia through Epirus) and ravaged its territory, but he did not lay siege to the city, which was held by the Roman commander, Sempronius. As Aetolia refused Rome's request to re-enter the war, a stalemate ensued. The Epirote League now took the initiative. Tired of the long war ('taedio diutini belli', Livy 29. 12. 8), in which they had been involved continually since 228 B.C., and now apprehensive of a clash with Rome, the League ascertained the wishes of the Romans in Apollonia and sent envoys to Philip. A meeting was held at Phoenice in summer 205 B.C. Philip conferred first with the Generals of the League (*Epirotarum praetoribus*), Aeropus, Derdas, and Philip, and then met Sempronius. At this meeting other magistrates of the Epirote League, officials of the Acarnanian League and Amynder, king of Athamania, were present, and Philip the Epirote General opened proceedings by asking the king and Sempronius to end the war as a favour to the Epirote League. Peace was concluded on condition that the Parthini, Dimale, and two other towns were restored to Rome and 'Atintania' (i.e. Atintanis) should belong to Macedon if the Senate agreed (as it later did). The belligerents took the oath: on Macedon's side the Epirote League, the Acarnanian League, and so on, and on Rome's side Pleuratus, who was the colleague of Scerdilaïdas, and others.² It was a pact of non-aggression rather than of friendship (Appian *Mac.* 3. 2), and it freed Rome from anxiety while she prepared to invade Africa. The Epirote League was, of course, a belligerent. Her role as a mediator was perfectly consistent with her belligerency. Amynder too had acted as a 'pacificator' while technically at war. The Epirote League came forward partly for reasons of geography; in the same way Amynder had served *ex finitimis*

¹ A piece of a treaty of peace between Ambracia and the Acarnanian League is likely to belong to one of these two occasions; see *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 2. 196.

² I do not accept the view of Bickerman in *Rev. Phil.* 61 (1935) 59 that this was a κοινή εἰρήνη or *pax communis*.

between Macedon and Aetolia (Livy 27. 29. 4). Phoenice was a convenient place for the conference, as the Romans held Corcyra and Philip held Dassaretis.

The common misconception, that Epirus was neutral in the latter stages of the war, has arisen partly because the sources mention little activity in the area. This was due mainly to the fact that the Roman protectorate along the lower Aous, the Roman control of Corcyra and usually of the Sicilian Sea, and the Aetolian control of Ambracia and Athamania isolated Epirus from her neighbours except Macedon via Tymphaea and Acarnania across the straits at Actium. Threatened on several sides by Rome and Aetolia, the Epirote League would have been reluctant to send its army into the Peloponnese or east Central Greece; nor could it have done so unless transport at sea had been made available by Philip. The value of Epirus to Philip was that its army acted as a deterrent to Apollonia and to Aetolia and as a support to the staunch Acarnanians. When the Roman fleet sailed into the Gulf of Corinth and into the Aegean, Ambracia took on a special importance; for it was a strong naval base when it possessed Ambracus, and it was the nearest point for communications with Aetolia. Ambracia had evidently reverted to Aetolia before the peace of Phoenice. This is not surprising. The hinterland from which Ambracia derived its wealth through trade lay in the lower valley of the Arachthus and to the east, whereas the Molossians and the Cassopaeans held the trade-routes of the Ioannina plateau and the Gulf west of the Arachthus river. Ambracia therefore was naturally inclined to take her stand with Aetolia, Amphilochia, and Athamania.

2. EVENTS FROM 205 TO 170 B.C.

The restless activity of the ally of the Epirote League, Philip of Macedon, endangered the treaty of peace which had been concluded after the conference at Phoenice. Rome evidently granted him possession of Atintanis, partly because she relied on Pleuratus to remain her friend and his enemy. Philip, however, seems to have extended his conquests in Illyria; a fragment of Polybius 13, which concerns the year or two immediately after 205 B.C., mentioned Melitoussa in Illyria, and Flamininus advised Philip in 197 to hand over to Rome *τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα τόπους . . . ὧν γέγονε κύριος μετὰ τὰς ἐν Ἠπείρῳ διαλύσεις* (Plb. 18. 1. 14), a phrase which may mean simply Atintanis, but is likely to imply some action by Philip in areas beyond those permitted in the treaty.¹ He inflicted a great defeat on the Dardanians, and this strengthened his position in Atintanis. But his interests lay

¹ So Badian in *BSR* 7. 91; as Livy 32. 33. 3 translates Polybius, nothing more can be gained from it.

mainly in the Aegean in and after 203 B.C., and here he broke the peace with Aetolia and made gains at Aetolia's expense. Aetolia appealed to Rome but was rebuffed in 202 B.C. Envoys from Rhodes and Pergamum were more successful in autumn 201 B.C. The Senate favoured war; the assembly rejected the proposal for war in January



MAP 15. Illyris and Epirus in 200-167 B.C.

200 B.C., but then sent a commission to Greece and accepted the proposal in July.¹ The commission's statement that, if Philip did not make war on any Greek state and compensated Pergamum, he would remain at peace with Rome, was conveyed to the Epirote League at Phoenice as the commissioners sailed along the coast and to Amyntander, king of Athamania, whom the commissioners visited (Plb. 16. 27. 4). The implications of this statement were clear: it was an invitation to Epirus and Athamania to abandon the alliance with Macedon and join the alliance with Rome. The same statement was made to

¹ I am following the view of Walbank, *Philip V* 128 f., for the course of events.

the Achaean League and to the Aetolian League; the Acarnanian League was disregarded. Rome's choice was deliberate. The accession of Epirus and Athamania to the side of Rome and Aetolia would give Rome the opportunity of invading Macedonia not only from Illyris but also from Thessaly, into which troops and supplies could best be passed from Ambracia via Athamania.

The commission's statement was not delivered to Philip until August, when Philip was at Abydus; and it was rejected by him. Before he reached Macedonia, a Roman army of 20,000–25,000 men landed at Apollonia and a Roman fleet of fifty ships stationed itself at Corcyra (Livy 31. 18. 9). Operations were conducted by a Roman force against the frontier districts of Macedonia; the force then returned to its base through Dassaretis, capturing Corrhagus, Gerrunius, Orgessus, and Antipatrea and massacring all adult males at the last place. This example of Roman methods led Codrion to surrender;¹ another town called Cnidus was taken by storm. A Macedonian attack on this force was only partly successful. The destruction of Antipatrea opened the entry into Dassaretis and some of the captured places were garrisoned with Roman troops (Livy 31. 27). The main activity of the winter was diplomatic. Amynder, king of Athamania, came to the Roman camp. But there was no move from Epirus, without which Athamania was of little value, and Amynder and the Roman envoy failed to bring the Aetolian League into the war. The fact that the Epirote League stood firm on Philip's side was a protection to Acarnania and to Aetolia and thwarted the Roman plan of attack through Thessaly. At the other end of the protectorate Rome obtained promises of aid from Pleuratus the Illyrian and from Bato of Dardania. But Philip held the strategically important area Atintanis and perhaps some adjacent territory; thereby he kept the Dardanians and the Romans apart, and he now occupied the passes from Pelagonia to Lyncus,² in order to prevent the Dardanians breaking through to join forces with a Roman army of invasion. Philip's positions in Atintanis, Pelagonia, and Lyncus threatened the easiest route into Macedonia, that is up the valley of the river Genusus (now Shkumbi) and north of Lake Lychnidus.³ His strategy was designed above all to prevent any union of the Illyrian and Dardanian forces with the Romans, which might prove disastrous.

¹ See p. 586 n. 2, above for the suggested position of Codrion.

² Livy. 31. 28. 5 and 31. 33. 3; not in the Axios valley, as Walbank, *Philip V* 142 says, but in the upper Erigon valley.

³ This is the route suggested later to Flamininus (Plu. *Flam.* 4. 1): διὰ τῆς Δασσαρηίδος κατὰ Λύγκον εὐτορον ὁδὸν καὶ πᾶσιν, that is from Apollonia or at least from north-west of the Aoi Stena. The source is Polybius who described this route, that of the Via Egnatia, in Str. 7. 7. 3.

The Roman camp was not on the river Genusus but on the river Apsus (now Semen), and the Roman operations in the winter had opened the way up the Apsus valley through Dassaretis, from which an army could proceed either to the southern end of Lake Lychnidus (Ochrid) or via Koritsa to Orestis. If the Roman commander hoped to join forces with the Dardanians his aim on this occasion was to reach Lake Lychnidus. He chose to advance through Dassaretis (Livy 31. 33. 4: 'per Dassaretiorum fines exercitum ducebat'), carrying his supplies of grain and bringing his elephants with the army, and he established his base on the borders of Lyncus and Dassaretis; he depended for supplies on the granaries of Dassaretis (Livy 31. 33. 6: 'ad Lyncum stativa posuit prope flumen Bevum').¹ The Roman advance had encountered only slight opposition from some of the local inhabitants of Dassaretis. For Philip had been outwitted. He did not know the position of the Roman army. The consul too was unaware of Philip's position. The reason for Philip's loss of touch was that he had expected the Romans to follow the valley of the Genusus and come north of Lake Lychnidus. Both commanders sent out cavalry forces, which met accidentally in Dassaretis, that is in the area by the southern part of Lake Lychnidus. When Philip found the Roman camp, he realized that he had in fact achieved his purpose; for his army lay between Dardania and the Romans. He therefore recalled his troops from Pelagonia. In the abortive manœuvres which followed in Lyncus and Pelagonia the Dardanians and the Romans did not join forces, and the Romans ran short of supplies.² The consul finally turned south into Eordaea and Elimiotis and then north-west into Orestis, where he captured Celetrum (Kastoria). He then withdrew into Dassaretis, capturing Pelium (probably at or near Koritsa) as a convenient base for making raids into Macedonia (Livy 31. 40. 5), and returned to Apollonia. During these ineffective operations the Dardani and the Illyrians of Pleuratus invaded Macedonia from the north; Philip was now able to send the bulk of his cavalry and his light infantry against them, and they defeated the Dardani. Philip had handled the situation well. But the Roman control of the Koritsa region threatened one of his lines of communication with Epirus, and during August Aetolia entered the war on the Roman side. Together with Amynder the Aetolians invaded Thessaly; but by then Philip had his hands free and he defeated the Aetolians there before the end of 199 B.C.

¹ The river Bevus, a name related perhaps to Boei by Lake Lychnidus, may be the small river flowing into the lake from the south. I disagree with Walbank, *Philip V* 142, who makes the Romans advance up the valley of the Genusus.

² This point is emphasized in Plu. *Flam.* 3 and 4.

Philip faced the problem now of keeping the Roman army out of contact not only with the Illyrian and Dardanian group but also with Athamania and Aetolia. He saw that this could best be done by placing himself between Apollonia and Aetolia. He therefore took the initiative. At the beginning of spring he sent his light-armed force ahead through Epirote territory into Chaonia to occupy the pass by Antigonea (Lekel) (Livy 32. 5. 9: 'in Chaoniam per Epirum ad occupandas quae ad Antigoneam fauces sunt'). On his arrival with the main force he chose a different position, the Aoi Stena, above the junction of the Aous with the Drin. The position taken near Lekel by the light-armed force blocked the entry into the Drin valley from the north and also the exit from the Drin valley to the north. This was desirable at the time, because the Roman army might come from Apollonia up the Aous valley or a seaborne force might be landed near Phoenice and advance down the Drin valley. But Philip saw that a position in the Aoi Stena was more appropriate for his main army; for it was both stronger and more convenient. It could not be taken in the rear; it kept his own supply lines clear; it threatened the supply lines of any Roman army, based on Apollonia, which advanced into Central Epirus; and it lay on the flank of Dassaretis through which the Romans might seek to enter Macedonia. The position was thus well chosen. Epirus being his ally, Philip had no doubt co-ordinated his plan with the Epirote commanders; they probably helped by sending supplies from Central Epirus and by manning their fortresses in the Drin valley. The route which Philip used to reach the Aoi Stena in early spring is not stated. He could have come either from Florina through Koritsa and Danglli to Këlcyrë or from Kastoria to Mesoyefira and then to Këlcyrë; the latter route is quicker (see p. 275, above), and it was preferable in 198 B.C., because reports of its use by Philip were less likely to reach the Romans in Dassaretis. In either case the country inland of the middle Aous between Këlcyrë and Mesoyefira belonged to Epirus; for Philip came 'per Epirum'. The Aoi Stena and the narrows by Lekel were both in Chaonia. The Atintanes lived further up the Drin valley (see pp. 682 f., below).

The Roman consul, who had wintered at Corcyra, was informed there of Philip's position by an Epirote called Charops (Livy 32. 6. 1). The Roman army was no doubt in winter quarters by the Apsus, between Epidamnus and Apollonia, where it was in a position to defend the Roman protectorate or to resume the attack on Macedonia. On receiving the news Villius crossed to Epirus,¹ presumably to Oricum

¹ Livy 32. 6. 1, 'in continentem travectus', probably translates a phrase of Polybius εἰς τὴν Ἠπειρὸν περαιωθεῖς. He did not, of course, go to Phoenice and the Drin valley, where he would have been cut off from his main army at Apollonia by Philip.

which was held by Rome, and brought the army up the Aous valley and reconnoitred the position. He is represented by Livy as debating whether to invade Macedonia by the same route as in 199 B.C., that is through Dassaretis to Lyncus.¹

But the decision lay with his successor Flaminius who arrived with reinforcements numbering 9,000 men. He came to Corcyra, crossed probably to Santi Quaranta and proceeded 'magnis itineribus' to join Villius.² No opposition was offered to him by the Epirotes, although he must have passed not far from Phoenice, whether he went direct by the Skarficë pass to Tepelenë or by Gardhikaq into the Drin valley (see Maps 4 and 8). Flaminius must have counted on this; for the Epirotes here were in a very exposed position, as the main Roman army lay between them and Philip. Flaminius decided on a direct assault, but found Philip's position impregnable. He was then approached by officials of the Epirote League, who had been encouraged by Philip, with proposals for peace; and a meeting was held through the mediation of Pausanias, a General of the League, and Alexander the Hipparch, at the narrowest point of the Aous gorge.³ This point is just east of Dragot (see Map 9). As the meeting-point lay between the two camps, Philip's position was above these narrows, so that any Roman assault party had to enter and withdraw along a narrow path between the cliff and the river (Plu. *Flam.* 3: ἐκτομήν . . . κρημνώδη καὶ στενὴν παρὰ τὸ ρεῖθρον . . . ἀτραπὸν). The status of the Epirote League in this matter was exactly as it had been in preparing the ground for the conference at Phoenice. Philip had access to the League officials as he was their ally, and he prompted the League's action; Rome was at war with Philip and indirectly with his allies, but no conflict of arms had yet occurred between the Roman army and the Epirote forces. The conference brought no result. Flaminius attacked again without success. Then a shepherd sent by Charops told Flaminius of a route through the hills by which Philip's position could be turned. A picked force of 4,300 men, moving at night only, reached its objective unobserved, and by using smoke signals enabled Flaminius to deliver simultaneous attacks which carried the day. Philip retreated 5 miles up the valley, brought in the stragglers and set off towards Mesoyefira. His losses in the engagement were only 2,000 men.⁴

¹ Livy 32. 6. 3; Plu. *Flam.* 4, also following Polybius, has this proposal put to Flaminius: διὰ Δασσαρήτιδος κατὰ Λύγκον. I discuss this campaign more fully in a forthcoming article in *JRS* 1966.

² Livy 32. 6. 4 and 32. 9. 7: 'ab Corcyra in proxima Epiri . . . quinquere mi traiecit et in castra Romana magnis itineribus contendit.'

³ Livy 32. 10. 2: 'ubi in artissimas ripas Aous cogitur amnis.'

⁴ The sources for the campaign are, in addition to Livy and Plutarch: Appian *Mac.* 5-6; Zonaras 9. 16; D. S. 28. 11; Dio *HR* fr. 60; Ennius frs. 327-32 (Loeb); Auctor *de vir. ill.* 51.

Although the Romans did not pursue him closely, Philip made forced marches to the plain of Konitsa and then to beyond Vovousa into the vicinity of Straton Khorofilakon (see pp. 265 f., above). Flamininus probably followed Philip's route to the plain of Konitsa with a striking force, while his main body proceeded along the Drin valley to Kalbaki. From there the army advanced into the plain of Ioannina. His fleet sailed to Ambracia, which became his base of supply. When he moved into Thessaly, he no doubt used the Zygos pass and kept on the south side of the Peneus river; for he met Amynder near Mt. Cercetius (now Mt. Koziakas), and his supplies came from Ambracia through Athamania to Gomphi near Mouzaki (see p. 284, above). Meanwhile the Aetolians had invaded southern Thessaly. The forces of Rome, Athamania, and Aetolia were now united for the next phase of the campaign.

When Flamininus advanced from the Aoi Stena into Epirus, he knew that the Epirotes were technically allies of Philip and had in general been loyal to him (Livy 32. 14. 5: 'probe scit cui parti Charopo principe excepto Epirotae favissent'), but he also knew that they were in no position to oppose him. For his army was much stronger than the Epirote levy, and the Athamanians and the Aetolians were in the field. Therefore he committed no act of hostility, and he enforced strict discipline in his army. The impression which he created was entirely favourable, and he gained the acquiescence of the Epirote League. Livy's words 'animos eorum in posterum conciliat' (32. 14. 6), and those of Zonaras (9. 16) τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ πόλεις προσεποιήσατο, are more appropriate to an *ad hoc* agreement than to a formal treaty; Plutarch (*Flam.* 5) speaks of states joining the Roman cause in Thessaly but not in Epirus (προσεχώρουν μὲν γὰρ αἱ πόλεις Ἀψαμένους Θετταλίας); and Livy mentions many individual Epirote volunteers who joined the Roman forces ('plerique Epirotarum voluntarii inter auxilia accepti' (32. 14. 8)). These statements, together with the absence of regular contingents of Epirote troops, suggest that a treaty of alliance was not concluded at this time between Rome and the Epirote League. The friendship of Charops, son of Machatas, was unofficial, and at first he acted secretly in his fear of Philip (Plu. *Flam.* 4). Plutarch's description of him as πρωτεύων Ἠπειρωτῶν and Livy's as *princeps Epirotarum* (32. 11. 1, cf. 32. 14. 5) come evidently from Polybius; it means rather chief citizen or influential leader than senior General (Pausanias was probably the latter). His influence was no doubt increased by the ascendancy of Roman power in Epirus,¹ and the economy of the country benefited from the

¹ Plb. 27. 15. 3, Τίτον δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου κρατῆσαι καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων, draws a contrast between control of the area and conquest of the Macedonians.

presence of a large Roman army in Thessaly, to which the Epirotes sold foodstuffs.

In November 198 B.C. Flamininus held a conference with Philip. He brought representatives of his allies—Pergamum, Rhodes, Aetolia, Achaea, and probably Athens. On the other hand, Philip could bring only a representative of Boeotia and an Achaean *émigré* leader. One of Flamininus' demands was the surrender by Philip of 'the regions in Illyris of which he had gained control after the treaty made in Epirus' (see p. 613, above), and later in the negotiations this demand was accepted (Plb. 18. 8. 10); but the conference was inconclusive. In the winter and spring Flamininus brought the Boeotian League to his side by a *coup de main*. Before the decisive battle of Cynoscephalae Orestis rose in revolt from Macedon; later it received protection against Macedonian reprisals under Rome's treaty with Philip (Plb. 18. 47. 6; Livy 33. 34. 6; 39. 23. 6; 39. 28. 2).¹ Orestis had always had close connexions with Epirus; its revolt is likely to have been inspired partly by the situation in Epirus, since it had no direct access to Roman forces in Illyris. When Philip moved into Thessaly, Flamininus came up from Phocis and received reinforcements from his close allies: 6,400 Aetolians, 1,200 Athamanians, 300 Apolloniates, and 500 Cretans from Gortyn. Philip had no Greek troops; but there were 3,000 Illyrians among his Balkan troops. The complete victory of Flamininus at Cynoscephalae in June 197 B.C. caused Philip to sue for terms. His last Greek ally, Acarnania, capitulated when the Romans stormed Leucas and news of Philip's defeat arrived; and he was attacked by his old enemies, the Dardanians. The Roman settlement was finally made at Corinth in June 196 B.C.

The proclamation of the Isthmian Games, as reported by Polybius and by sources deriving from him, does not mention Epirus, Acarnania, Aetolia, or any Peloponnesian state but only those states which Rome chose to consider as having been subject to Macedon and now liberated from Macedon. No inference can be made with certainty about the other states which had been allies of Macedon, except the general supposition that they too enjoyed 'freedom'—at least from Macedonian intervention.² 'Freedom' was used in some cases to weaken earlier units. Perrhaebia and Magnesia were declared free, and so was Orestis. Lychnis (an area near and perhaps north of Lake Lychnidus) and Parthus (perhaps part of the territory in which the

¹ See Walbank, *Philip V* 163 n. 2, for the inscription which shows that a new era began in Orestis in 197 or 196 B.C. The revolt is likely to have been at the last moment, when Philip was about to march into Thessaly, i.e. in May or so of 197 B.C.

² The attempt of Oost to include Acarnania in Plb. 18. 46 by inference seems to be unjustified (p. 53 'since the Acarnanians are not so mentioned, they too must be regarded as coming under the operation of the *senatusconsultum*').

Parthini lived)¹ were given to Pleuratus, being, as Polybius (18. 47. 12) says, Illyrian districts but subject to Philip. The Epirote League evidently remained intact, since no part of it was declared 'free'. This implies an expectation at Rome that Epirus was not and would not be recalcitrant. Whether Rome made any treaty with the Epirote League at this stage is not known.

One object of Rome in the settlement of Greece was to acquire the good will of the Epirotes and the Acarnanians rather than that of the Aetolians, who had proved themselves vociferous allies. In the years which followed, an alliance was contracted between the Epirote League and Rome. Polybius (27. 15. 12) reports later that the Epirote leader Cephalus wished to respect τὰ κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν δίκαια, but not to exceed them by siding with Rome ignobly or serving Rome unduly; from which it is clear that the alliance was a defensive alliance and Cephalus did not wish to follow Rome in an offensive war. Livy (36. 12. 2 and 8) reports an alliance between the Acarnanian League and Rome which existed already in 191 B.C.; and the reply made by the people of Thyreum, 'nullam se novam societatem nisi ex auctoritate imperatorum Romanorum accepturos', suggests that the alliance was a defensive alliance, but one which required Acarnania to make no new alliance except with Rome's approval. Probably the treaty between the Epirote League and Rome had a similar clause.² For it was in Rome's interest to keep the Greek coast facing Italy as friendly as possible and at least prevent it from entering into alliance with potential enemies. Another method of attaching these areas to her was to win over the leading families, which in the past had often been attached to the Macedonian court, and we learn from Polybius 27. 15 that the younger Charops, son of Machatas and grandson of the Charops who had advised Flamininus, was sent to Rome with suitable pomp to learn Latin. In the same way some Albanian chieftains sent their sons to Italian universities in the 1930's. An even more convincing reason in general for loyalty to Rome lay in the economic advantages which trade with Italy brought to Acarnania (including Leucas), Epirus, Corcyra, and Apollonia. The success of Roman policy on these lines had already been shown by the service of 300 Apolloniates at Cynoscephalae.

¹ These areas formed a buffer between the Roman protectorate and Macedonia; Scerdilaïdas had acquired them earlier (see p. 606, above). The position of Parthus is disputed. If it is a part of the Parthini's territory, the eastern part went to Pleuratus in order to give some depth to his new fief.

² Oost 56, maintaining that Acarnania and Epirus did not have any *foedus* but only a 'status' as *socii et amici*, misses the point that Polybius (and Livy translating Polybius) is using Greek and not Latin terminology in giving Greek views. Livy 34. 22 f. does not reveal whether in 195 B.C. Epirus and Acarnania were among the *sociae civitates* asked to act against Nabis of Sparta.

The part of Illyris which lies inland of Epidamnus and Apollonia, Epirus itself, and Corcyra now had the same strategic importance as they were to have later in the Roman civil wars and in the Crusades as the gateway to and from the East. When Flamininus eventually left Greece in 194 B.C., his army laden with booty but not from these strategically vital areas, he marched out through Thessaly and Epirus to Oricum, his port of embarkation for Brundisium.¹ The route may have been chosen partly to impress on the Thessalians and the Epirotes the irresistible power of Rome. The following years illustrated the importance of such an impression. For the alliance of Antiochus with Aetolia and with Nabis of Sparta soon threatened this gateway. At the end of 193 B.C. a Roman fleet was moved to the Straits of Otranto,² and Rome prepared for war in that winter. The war between the Achaean League and Nabis of Sparta foreshadowed the clash between Rome and Antiochus, and it is interesting to find the leading statesmen of the Epirote League and the Acarnanian League involved in the discussions which took place at Tegea in spring 192 B.C. Philopoemen of Achaëa summoned the conference. Livy's expression 'Tegeam exercitu contracto concilioque eodem et Achaeis et sociis indicto in quo et Epirotarum et Acarnanum fuere principes' (35. 27. 11) is a translation from the lost text of Polybius. 'Achaeis et sociis' represents οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, and 'in quo . . . principes' probably represents καὶ παρόντων τῶν πρωτεύόντων καὶ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων or some such phrase. It is most unlikely in the Latin of Livy and in the supposed Greek phrases that the Epirotes and the Acarnanians are included among οἱ σύμμαχοι.³ The leading statesmen of these two Leagues are likely to have been present as advisers, acting perhaps as intermediaries between Rome and the Achaean League, as the Epirote leaders had acted previously at Phoenice and at the Aoi Stena. On this occasion they were allies of Rome, just as they had been allies of Macedon on the previous occasions, if our conclusions are correct. The policy of Rome was certainly to discourage the two Leagues from entering into close alliance with an independent and aggressive League such as the Achaean League.

In autumn 192 B.C. when Antiochus crossed to Thessaly, a Roman fleet and a small army crossed from Brundisium to Epirus (that is to

¹ Livy 34. 50. 10 and 52. 1. His route would be over the Zygos pass to the Ioannina plateau, then via Kalbaki and the Drin valley to the Aous, and then via Ploçë and Vajzë to Oricum rather than along the difficult coastal route from Phoenice. He had a large baggage train.

² I am here following the chronology of Walbank, *Philip V.*

³ The passage has aroused much controversy. See Oost 56. Walbank i. 195 holds that they were *socii* of the Achaean League, and B. Niese that they were *socii* of Rome (*Gesch. d. Gr. u. Mak. St.* 2. 654 n. 1); neither interpretation seems to fit the Latin text or its Greek original.

Oricum, probably) and the army was held in a position near Apollonia (Livy 35. 24. 7). During the winter the Epirote League (τὸ τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν ἔθνος, Plb. 20. 3) sent envoys of Charops' party to Antiochus, asking him not to involve Epirus in war with Rome in view of their exposed position. They were willing to admit the king to their cities and their harbours but only if he was able to protect Epirus. Livy (36. 5) adds the reasonable comment that the Epirote League hoped to curry favour with Antiochus and at the same time not to give offence to Rome.¹ The latter consideration was probably paramount in the mind of Charops and his partisans; but the desire to deal with Antiochus may have been held by a more powerful group in the Epirote League. Antiochus made the evasive reply that he would send envoys to discuss their joint interests. In effect he abandoned the possible strategy of crossing the Zygos pass into Epirus. This strategy was recommended soon afterwards by Hannibal. He proposed that the army of Antiochus should move into the territory of Byllis (between Apollonia and Epirus, in order to protect the latter), and the fleet should base itself on Corcyra (Livy 36. 7. 18-19). The Athamanians and the Aetolians being his allies, Antiochus could have used the Zygos pass with safety so far as concerned his southern flank;² and the attitude of Philip of Macedon was still unknown. But Philip declared for Rome; he made contact with the Roman army near Apollonia, met Baebius in Dassaretis (Livy 36. 10. 10) and gave the Romans passage down the Haliacmon valley, so that their army entered Thessaly from the north and gained control of Larissa. Antiochus now moved southwards. A large Roman army crossed over from Italy. A detachment went at once to Larissa, probably by the shortest route, that is through Epirus over the Zygos pass, and secured Thessaly and Athamania with the help of Philip; the Athamanian king, Amynder, took refuge at Ambracia, then held by the Aetolians. Meanwhile Antiochus had almost reached the west coast in Acarnania; his supporters had prepared the ground, and he had gained control of several towns, but not of Thyreum or Leucas. The Roman successes in Thessaly threw him back to the east side of Greece, where he suffered complete defeat in April 191 B.C.

When the consul Glabrio was present at a council of the Achaean League after the defeat of Antiochus, he was approached by an embassy from the Epirote League. The position, comments Livy (36. 35. 8), was

¹ Oost 59 discusses the policy of the Epirotes.

² Oost 62, 'it would be impossible to go from Thessaly directly to Epirus leaving a possibly hostile Acarnania to serve as a base for the Romans to cut him off from his communications with the Aegean', overestimates the significance of Acarnania; while Aetolia held Ambracia and if Epirus joined Antiochus, the entry to Epirus from the south was very difficult.

pretty well known: the Epirotes had not been completely loyal in their friendship to Rome; for although they had sent no troops to Antiochus, they were accused of having helped Antiochus with money and even they themselves did not deny they had sent envoys to Antiochus. No reference is made by Livy to the presence of Epirote statesmen at the Achaean conference at Tegea in spring 192 B.C., perhaps because their presence there had suited the wishes of Rome. The gravamen of the charge is that the Epirote League had intrigued with Antiochus and had thereby endangered the *fides* and *amicitia* which it had had with Rome. The embassy from the Epirote League now asked to be allowed to be in its former position of *amicitia*. The issue was one of principle; on the technical side, if we are correct in our conclusions, the Epirote League had come close to violating its alliance with Rome, under which it could not make an alliance elsewhere without Rome's approval. Breach of the alliance would have converted the Epirote League into an enemy of Rome. This is hinted at by Glabrio's answer; for he said he did not know as yet whether to regard the Epirotes as active enemies or as pacified enemies, and he therefore granted them an armistice of ninety days, while the matter went to Rome for decision. An Epirote deputation appeared before the Senate.¹ The deputation could not clear itself of the charge, but the Senate granted a pardon to the Epirote League. The existing *συνμαχία* presumably continued. But the League had received a sharp warning. The armistice of ninety days must have been an anxious period; for history had shown what the enmity of Rome might mean for unfaithful allies. Glabrio was also eager to capture an Epirote freelance *Μεγεστᾶς* who had served the Aetolian League evidently as a mercenary commander;² but this was no concern of the Epirote League.

The Aetolians too had been granted an armistice by Flamininus. But the Senate's terms were not accepted by Aetolia, although they contained a renewal of alliance with Rome. In the operations which ensued the Epirote League was an active ally of Rome against Aetolia. L. Scipio brought a consular army to Apollonia in 190 B.C. and marched through Epirus into Thessaly. In winter 190/189 B.C. Epirus found herself threatened by the advance of Amynder and the Aetolians; for Amynder recovered almost all his kingdom, and Aetolia recovered Amphilochia, Aperantia, and Dolopia. The Aetolians then sent five envoys to Rome, hoping to obtain a peace on the *status quo*; one of the five was an Ambraciote called Alypus (Plb. 21. 25. 11).

¹ Mentioned also in Zonaras 9. 20.

² This form of the name is found in Plb. 21. 31. 13 = Livy 38. 10. 6 and in Livy 36. 28. 3; the form *Μεγέστρος* appears in our text of Plb. 20. 10. 5, where it is presumably corrupt.

These envoys were captured by pirates off Cephallenia, were brought into the river Charadrus and were imprisoned at Buchetium (Rogous; see p. 475, above) by the Epirotes, who were at war with Aetolia; a demand for ransom was paid by four of them, but not by the fifth even when the sum was reduced from five talents to three. Meanwhile news of this reached Rome. The Epirotes released the fifth envoy on being ordered by Rome to do so. The Aetolians had sent an envoy to act in the place of the captured envoys, but he turned back from Leucas when he heard of the arrival of a consular army under Marcus Fulvius (Plb. 21. 26. 7-19). This army had landed at Apollonia, where Fulvius consulted the leading statesmen of the Epirote League. On their advice he attacked Ambracia (Plb. 21. 26. 1 and Livy 38. 3. 9-11), in order to break his way into Aetolia from this side, and an Epirote army took part in the campaign. The siege of Ambracia has been described on pp. 144 f., above. During the course of it Perseus, son of Philip V of Macedon, gave help by invading Amphilochia and drawing off some of the Aetolians. Another Roman ally, Pleuratus the Illyrian, joined in the war by raiding the Aetolian coast. With his usual dexterity Amynder, king of the Athamanians, acted as a peacemaker between Rome and Ambracia, and on his advice the city capitulated (Plb. 21. 29). When Fulvius advanced to Amphilochian Argos, the Aetolians came to terms with Rome in autumn 189 B.C. Ambracia lost its statues and paintings, but escaped the horrors of being sacked by presenting a gold crown of 150 talents to the consul; and it received later the status of a free city-state with the right of exacting tolls (*portoria*) except from Romans and Latins (Livy 38. 44. 3-4).¹

The Epirote League had demonstrated its loyalty to Rome in a war which suited its own interests; for the Aetolians in Ambracia had threatened the security of Epirus. But Epirus, like Macedonia, received no special rewards for its services under the Roman settlement; and Amynder, despite his co-operation with Aetolia, was allowed to retain Athamania on the flank of Epirus and at the expense of Philip of Macedon. Indeed, the Senate favoured those who made claims against Philip; and in winter 184/3 B.C. Athamanians, Epirotes, Illyrians, and many others complained at Rome of injustices done them by Philip (Plb. 23. 1. 10; Paus. 7. 8. 6). The Senate also announced in 180 B.C. its support of pro-Roman statesmen in the Greek states, and brought this point to the attention expressly of the Epirote League as well as to that of the governments of Aetolia, Acarnania, Boeotia, and Athens (Plb. 24. 10. 6). These and many verdicts at the expense of Macedon caused a bitterness between Rome and Perseus which led ultimately to the Third Macedonian War. Rome prepared the ground

¹ SEG 3. 451.

further by sending an embassy headed by Marcius Philippus and accompanied by 1,000 infantry to Corcyra in autumn 172 B.C.¹ There the five *legati* separated to visit different parts of Greece and an Illyrian king, Gentius. Marcius himself and A. Atilius took care of Epirus, Aetolia, and Thessaly (Livy 42. 37. 4), and they began by crossing to Gitana (Goumani; see p. 651, below), where they addressed a meeting of the Epirote League. Their speech was received with strong and general approval, and the League decided to send 400 citizen troops to Orestis to protect the liberty of that canton from Macedonia (see p. 620, above). It is clear from this action that the purpose of the embassy was to inflame opinion against Macedon and to secure strategic points with small garrisons. It was also designed to bring pro-Roman statesmen into power; and in Aetolia the presence of the envoys secured the election of a pro-Roman leader, Lyciscus, as General of the Aetolian League. In Epirus Charops the younger led the pro-Roman party, and he may have gained strength from the speeches of the *legati* at Gitana. A month or two after the arrival of the embassy, a Roman army of 5,000 infantry and 300 cavalry crossed to Epirus (probably to Oricum) and encamped in Apolloniate territory by the Nymphaeum (near Selenicë; p. 232, above); 2,000 men of the force were sent in answer to local requests to garrison some forts in Dassaretis and Illyria against any Macedonian attacks (Livy 42. 36. 8-9), and early in 171 B.C. a force of 2,000 men passed through Epirus into Thessaly to garrison Larissa, and a force of 300 Italians took up position at Thebes (Livy, 42. 47. 11-12). Meanwhile Perseus' protests had been fobbed off by Marcius granting him a truce of fixed duration, within which Perseus should send envoys to Rome; and then, in order to complete Rome's final preparations, the hearing of his envoys was delayed. The blunt rejection of all Perseus' arguments was followed by the mustering at Cephallenia of a fleet, which included fifty-four *lembi* from Gentius and supply-ships, and then by the arrival of a consular army, which joined its predecessor near the Nymphaeum. The ring was now drawn tightly around Perseus.

As war was inevitable, Perseus collected his full forces, which numbered some 43,000 men—they exceeded the Roman forces by some 5,000 men (Livy 42. 51-52)—and captured the Thessalian towns which controlled the entries from Thessaly into Macedonia. The consul Crassus marched south from the Nymphaeum through Epirus and crossed probably via Melissouryio (see p. 284, above) into Athamania, a friendly territory, and entered Thessaly at Gomphi (near Mouzaki). Thus his weaker army evaded that of Perseus and reached his allies in Southern Thessaly. His ships at Cephallenia could now proceed to

¹ In the order of events I follow the chronology of Walbank in *JRS* 31 (1941) 82 f.

unload at Ambracia. His lines of supply ran from there to Gomphi, as those of Flaminius had done in 198 B.C.¹ The loyalty of the Epirote League was as important now to Crassus as it had been to Flaminius. The summer of 171 B.C. passed in indecisive operations in Thessaly. Perseus withdrew into Macedonia for the winter, while Crassus placed a garrison of 2,000 men in Ambracia (Livy 42. 67. 9) and engaged in minor operations in Boeotia.

The ineffectiveness of Roman arms may have encouraged the opponents of Charops in Epirus. We learn from a fragment of Polybius (27. 15) that these were older men—Cephalus, Antinous, and their companions—and that Cephalus in particular was regarded by Polybius as a sensible and steady person, who wished to honour the terms of the alliance with Rome but not to become too subservient to her. Charops now represented the moderation of Cephalus and others to the Romans as a sign of anti-Roman plotting; and in particular he stressed the connexions which Cephalus and his associates had formerly had with the royal house of Macedon. Cephalus was further alarmed by the fate of three Aetolian statesmen who had been similarly misrepresented by the pro-Roman leader in Aetolia, Lyciscus, and had been deported to Rome without trial; and in consequence he and his associates decided to go against their uninhibited choice of policies and to side with Perseus. The decision is represented by Polybius as being made in late summer 171 B.C., but no immediate action followed.

The motives of Cephalus and his associates are represented as personal; so are those of Charops, who is described as full of villainy and presumption (Plb. 27. 15. 6; cf. D.S. 30. 5 which is evidently based on Polybius). There may also have been reasons of state. Perseus himself saw that the only possibility of independence lay in war; advocates of independence in Epirus might see that their only chance lay in supporting Perseus. Charops, on the other hand, may have believed that it was impossible to maintain or achieve independence; therefore collaboration could make dependence on Rome more tolerable. Personal and public motives may have gone hand in hand, as they seem to have done when Demosthenes and Aeschines were faced with similar decisions. Polybius or his informants have reported only the personal motives which were involved; and as he himself was an official of the

¹ Oost 72 is puzzled by Crassus' route and favours the view of De Sanctis, *Storia* 4. 1. 286 f., that he wished to impress the Epirotes by a parade of force. But Crassus had little choice. His army was weaker and more inexperienced than that of Perseus; he could not follow the direct route up the Aous valley on to the mountainous plateau above Vovousa nor even the normal and easiest route over the Zygos pass without running the double risk of being intercepted by Perseus' superior army and of being devoid of any lines of supply from his fleet at Cephallenia. The strategy of fleet and army necessitated that the lines of supply should run from Ambracia, and Crassus had to get his army through the Pindus range to Gomphi by an unusual and unexpected route.

Achaean League in 170 B.C., he is likely to have given an informed opinion. The only chance of success for Cephalus' policy was if the whole Epirote League should swing over to Macedon; then the accession of an Epirote levy, numbering perhaps 20,000 men and lying close to the Roman lines of supply, would have brought disaster to the army of Crassus. In the long run we may argue that the innumerable legions of Rome were bound to win; but Perseus did not necessarily think so in going to war, nor Cephalus in joining Perseus.

The first impetus towards the war policy came in the spring of 170 B.C. The new consul Mancinus, travelling through Epirus to take up his command in Boeotia, reached the territory of the Phanoteis (near Phanote = Raveni, see p. 676, below) and stayed with Nestor the Cropian. Theodotus and Philostratus, who led the pro-Macedonian party, had invited Perseus to enter Epirus and seize him on his way through. But Perseus was held up at the bridge over the Aous near Mesoyefira (see p. 280, above) by the Molossian guard, and when he had fought his way across he found that Nestor had got wind of the plot and had sent the consul off at night to Gitana, from where he took ship to Anticyra (Plb. 27. 16; D.S. 30. 5 a). This plot, whether successful or unsuccessful, was designed by Theodotus and Philostratus to commit their country to war with Rome and to alliance with Perseus. It is not clear that this effect ensued; for it depended now on Rome's reaction and on the decision of the Epirote League, whether to disown or to claim responsibility for the attempt to kidnap Mancinus. When we next have information about Epirus, we find that the Chaonians and the Thesprotians supplied troops to Appius Claudius and that the Molossians were fighting on the side of Macedon in the winter of 170/169 B.C. (Livy 43. 21. 4). Therefore between spring and winter of 170 B.C. the Epirote League split, probably as a result of the plot of Theodotus and Philostratus; the individual *koina* took their own decisions, the Thesprotians, the Chaonians, and others (Livy 43. 23. 6: 'si qui alii Epirotae erant') choosing to remain in alliance with Rome, and the Molossians and perhaps others choosing to abandon the alliance with Rome and contract an alliance with Macedon. The leaders of the pro-Macedonian faction who are named by Polybius were in fact Molossians; for Antinous, Theodotus, and Cephalus, who brought over to Perseus τὸ τῶν Μολοττῶν ἔθνος (Plb. 30. 7. 2), must have been Molossians themselves. Antinous is to be identified with the Antinous Clathriatus who was General of the League in *SGDI* 1339, and Cephalus with Cephalus Peialos, *prostates* of the Molossian *koinon* in *SGDI* 1352. The accomplice of Theodotus in the plot to kidnap the consul, Philostratus, appears again in Livy 43. 23 serving with Cleuas, the Macedonian officer, against Appius Claudius and commanding

an Epirote force which is evidently Molossian. The probable course of events, then, is that after the plot of Theodotus and Philostratus the Epirote League split and the Molossian *koinon* chose deliberately to follow the cause of Perseus. Cephalus, who was by nature a moderate statesman, was impelled partly by fear of Charops (Plb. 27. 15) to advise this course, and he remained the leading figure in the Molossian state, as we see from Livy's brief remark, 'ab Epiro Cephalus repentina defectione ab Romanis' (43. 18. 2). As Theodotus and Philostratus continued to hold positions of authority, their plot was sanctioned in effect by the Molossian state. The break with Rome was clear. It began as a device of personal and party politics, but it ended as a decision by the Molossian state.¹ The Epirote League ceased to exist.

3. EVENTS FROM 170 TO 167 B.C.

The Romans seem to have taken no action in Epirus in 170 B.C. after the attempt to kidnap the consul Mancinus. He had his hands full on the east side of Greece where he failed perhaps twice in trying to invade Macedonia from Thessaly. Moreover, he was afraid that Genthius might also change sides and that the Roman area in Illyris might be overrun; therefore the Senate reinforced their troops at Issa, and Mancinus sent Appius Claudius with 4,000 men to strengthen the position in Illyris. Claudius made his advanced base in Dassaretis at a place of which the name is corrupt.² Operations there turned on the capture of Uscana, probably in the headwaters of the Drilo; and the aim was to control the passage between Macedonia and the realm of Genthius. Perseus maintained his hold on the town. The losses on the Roman side were borne mainly by the auxiliary troops, who were recruited locally. By the end of the year the allies of Rome in Illyris and in Greece were alarmed by the success of Perseus and the ineptitude of the Roman command (Livy 43. 11. 9). Mancinus sent envoys to help his supporters in Achaea, Boeotia, Aetolia, and Acarnania (Plb. 28. 3-5; cf. Livy 43. 17), where they met with a very mixed reception. In Acarnania and in Aetolia the intrigues resembled those which had just occurred in Epirus. The envoys did not enter Epirus, no doubt because the Molossians had already joined Perseus. The ring which had been drawn round Perseus by January 171 B.C. was beginning to break at more than one place.

Perseus acted boldly in the midwinter of 170/169 B.C. His aim was to

¹ Oost 76 f. discusses the incident. He sees a 'difficulty' in the Molossian guard resisting Perseus at the Aous bridge, but there is none if, as I suggest, the Epirote League was then in alliance with Rome.

² Livy 43. 9. 7. Sigorius restores 'lychnidus', but this is too far into territory which Perseus could control; nor is Lychnidus usually reckoned to belong to Dassaretia.

break the ring completely on his western side. He had already inflicted a severe defeat on the Dardanians, killing 10,000 of them (Plu. *Aem.* 9), and he had approached Genthius for an alliance; on his Thracian front Cotys was at peace with him (Livy 43. 18 f.). Perseus campaigned successfully in the important area between Pelagonia and Illyris; he captured Uscana, probably in the upper Drilo valley, although it was held by a Roman garrison and by Illyrian troops, and other fortresses in the region. He thus opened the ring towards Genthius, to whom he now sent envoys more than once, but without success (Plb. 28. 8-9; Livy 43. 19. 13 f.; D.S. 30. 9). In a message which Perseus sent to Genthius, Perseus is described by Polybius as at war with the Romans and the Dardanians and also at the moment with the Epirotes and the Illyrians; on the other hand Livy (43. 18. 2), drawing on an earlier but lost passage of Polybius, mentions 'the sudden rising' in Epirus, or rather, on the Epirote side of Macedonia—'cum a Thracia pacem Cotys, ab Epiro Cephalus repentina defectione ab Romanis praestarent'. It follows from these two passages that the sudden revolt led by Cephalus concerned only a part of the Epirotes; Perseus was at war with the other Epirotes (or some of them); and he therefore did not expect any attack on Macedonia from that side. The Roman position in Illyris had been so severely shaken that the Romans exacted hostages from the Penestae and the Parthini.

Meanwhile in Epirus Perseus had placed a garrison of Macedonians under Cleuas at Phanote, a place which controlled an entry from the Kalamas valley into Molossis. Appius Claudius, a Roman officer stationed in Illyris, raised auxiliary troops from the Chaonians,¹ the Thesprotians, and 'si qui alii Epirotae' (Livy 43. 21. 4 and 43. 23. 6), and adding them to his own forces reached a total of 6,000 men, with which he laid siege to Phanote. At the same time Perseus made the rapid march through Tymphaean and Molossian territory to Stratus which we have described on p. 281, above. His object was to take over Stratus from Archidamus, a leading Aetolian statesman of the pro-Macedonian party (cf. Plb. 28. 4. 8) and no doubt to win over Aetolia and perhaps Acarnania as well to his side. He took an army of 10,000 infantry and 300 cavalry, which was sufficient to impress the Aetolians and the Acarnanians with his strength. But the Roman garrison at Ambracia and an Aetolian force under Dinarchus got into the city just before he arrived. Dinarchus had originally meant to join Perseus, but he changed his mind at the last moment (Livy

¹ The reading in the manuscript of Livy is 'Thoanum'. J. N. Madvig, *Emendationes Livianae* (Copenhagen, 1877) 673, is correct in reading 'Chaonum'; Oost's suggested reading 'Athamanum' is much less close to the text and is geographically unsound, because Molossis lies between Athamania and Phanote (Oost 131 n. 68).

43. 21. 5 – 43. 22. 7); even so Perseus came within an ace of success. Archidamus and the 'Epirotarum transfugae', as Livy (43. 22. 9) describes the Molossian allies of Perseus, advised him to stay and beleaguer Stratus; but his Macedonian advisers persuaded him to return, leaving a garrison in Aperantia. When the news of Perseus' march towards Stratus reached Appius Claudius, he left Phanote and set off for Illyris, pursued by Cleuas. Claudius lost 1,200 men before he got through the mountains into the plain called Meleon, where he camped for a few days. Cleuas, who now had with him Philostratus and 500 Epirotes, i.e. Molossians and perhaps some others, went ahead into the territory of Antigonea, which controlled the entry from Illyris into Epirus. The city, being Chaonian, was on the side of Rome. By a ruse Cleuas tempted the garrison into an ambush and killed 1,000 of them, but he did not take the place itself. He then returned to watch Appius Claudius lest any attack should be made on his (Macedon's) allies. It seems likely therefore, that the plain Meleon was not very far from Molossian territory; at the same time, it was in Chaonian or Thesprotian territory, because Claudius was able to disband his local auxiliaries and retire with his Italian troops to Illyris, where he garrisoned the cities of the Parthini (Livy 43. 23. 6).

These winter campaigns showed the value to Perseus of the Molossian alliance and the extent to which Molossian troops were committing themselves against Rome. The consul for 169 B.C., Q. Marcius Philippus, used the only short route to Thessaly which was now open to him; sailing to Corcyra he went to Actium in Acarnania, then to Ambracia and through Athamania to Thessaly (Livy 44. 1). He managed to break into Macedonia but failed to bring Perseus to battle in 169 B.C., although he insisted on concentrating all the efforts of Rome on this front. When Appius Claudius, who was still active in Illyris, asked the Achaean League to send 5,000 men to him in Epirus, Marcius sent Polybius (the historian), who was at his camp, to countermand the request. Appius Claudius was evidently in Epirus, probably in Chaonia, when he sent the dispatch to Achaëa (Plb. 28. 13. 7 and 9), and it is likely that he held North Epirus, including the upper Aous valley. For during the autumn Marcius obtained 20,000 modii of wheat and 10,000 bushels of barley from the 'Epirotes' for his army in South-east Macedonia. If these supplies had been brought by sea, the transportation would have been very expensive; and corn could have been obtained more cheaply and more quickly from places in East Greece which were closer by sea. Therefore they came by land across the Pindus range, perhaps via Konitsa, Dhistraton, and the Khasia hills on the backs of mules or women.¹ Marcius asked that

¹ The latter carried corn and oil over the Pindus range in 1943-4.

payment should be made to the Epirotes' representatives in Rome (Livy 44. 16. 2). In autumn 169 B.C. Perseus gained the alliance of Genthius at last. He now hoped to close the approaches from the west. He therefore proposed that Genthius should attack the coasts of Illyris and Epirus in spring 168 B.C., where the Romans were ill prepared (Plb. 29. 4. 2). He also succeeded in weakening the position of Appius Claudius in Dassaretis near Lychnidus. A senatorial commission made an adverse report on the situation there early in 168 B.C. (Livy 44. 20. 5).

The new consul, Aemilius Paullus, was an abler general than his predecessors. He brought Perseus to battle at Pydna on 22 June 168 B.C. and won a crushing victory. Before that date Genthius, who had mustered 15,000 men and 80 *lembi*, was defeated and captured by a Roman army of 30,000 men. It was probably after June that the commander of the army, Anicius, marched into Epirus, where Phanote, the first enemy-occupied city, surrendered ('ubi prima Phanote ei dedita est', Livy 45. 26. 3). The whole population came out wearing fillets as suppliants; they knew they were at the mercy of the Romans. Phanote was occupied by a Roman garrison. Anicius then passed into Molossis, where he took over all the cities except Passaron, Tecmon, Phylace, and Horreum. Antinous and Theodotus, the leaders of the Molossian state, were at Passaron. They shut the gates. But when others advised surrender, they made a sortie and were killed fighting. Cephalus was at Tecmon, which resisted, but after his death surrendered. Polybius commented favourably on the courage of these three leaders (30. 7. 2-3). Phylace and Horreum did not withstand attack. Resistance having ended in Epirus, Anicius placed his troops in suitable cities for their winter quarters. He himself made a settlement of affairs in the kingdom of Genthius and in Illyris, and then came back to winter quarters at Passaron (Livy 45. 26. 15). On the other side of the Pindus range Aeginium in Tymphaea was sacked on the orders of Aemilius Paullus (Livy 45. 27. 2-3).

The leaders of the pro-Roman parties in the Greek states now attacked their opponents, whether extremists or moderates, with characteristic venom. Roman troops helped in a pogrom in Aetolia, where 550 leading men were murdered and a reign of terror ensued. Polybius reported similar brutalities at this time in Epirus; he described the Epirotes as more moderate than the Aetolians but the pro-Roman leader, Charops, as more bestial and wicked than anyone anywhere (Plb. 30. 12; Livy 45. 28. 6-7).¹ During these excesses Aemilius Paullus toured Greece. He turned a blind eye on events, until the Senate's ten commissioners arrived at Apollonia. He met them there early in 167 B.C.

¹ For the subsequent crimes of Charops until his death in 157 B.C. see Plb. 32. 5 and D.S. 31. 31.

and proceeded with them to Amphipolis, where a settlement of the war was announced in the presence of Perseus, Macedonian leaders, and ten leading men from each Greek state. The terms for Macedonia were relatively lenient: internal freedom, the halving of taxation, and the political dismemberment of Macedonia into four autonomous self-contained regions, which were denied *conubium* and *commercium* with one another. The fourth of these regions is described as follows:

Quartam regionem Eordaei et Lyncestae et Pelagones incolunt; iuncta his *autincaniaestrymepalisetelimonites*. Frigida haec omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga est; cultorum quoque ingenia terrae similia habet. Ferociores eos et accolae barbari faciunt, nunc bello exercentes, nunc in pace miscentes ritus suos. (Livy 45. 30. 6-7.)

As Aemilius Paullus announced that he was giving freedom to those who had been under the rule of Perseus (Livy 45. 29. 12), and as the third region certainly contained the areas east of Eordaea, Lynceus, and Pelagonia, we have to look in the corrupt passage for areas in the fourth region which had been under the rule of Perseus and are in suitable positions. The order of the places on either side of 'iuncta his' is probably A B C C B A in the ancient idiom of 'his', that is 'autincania' next to Pelagonia, 'estrymepalis' next to Lynceus, and 'elimonites' next to Eordaea. The emendations which keep closest to the text and are also geographically probable are 'Atintania' next to Pelagonia and 'Elimiotis' next to Eordaea; for we know that Atintania (my 'Atintanis') had been ceded to Macedon by Rome and was in this critical area, and we know that Elimiotis was a canton of upper Macedonia, adjacent to Eordaea. The only problem then is 'estrymepalis' next to Lynceus. One neighbour of Lynceus was Dassaretis (Livy 31. 33 and p. 616, above); but Dassaretis had never been under the rule of Perseus; it had recently been defended by Appius Claudius, and the boundary here between Illyris and Macedonia lay in Roman times at Pylon, situated between Lake Lychnidus and Heraclea Lyncei, that is just south of Bitolj (Monastir), as we know from Strabo (7. 7. 4, C 323), who was drawing on Polybius. Dassaretis, or at least Northern Dassaretis, did not lie in Macedonia, and the Dassaretae were described by Pliny (*HN* 4. 1. 3) as a *libera gens*, which implies that they were an independent, not a Macedonian people. If we look south of Lynceus, we know that Orestis lay next to Elimiotis (see p. 616, above) and next to Dassaretis (Livy 31. 40); but Orestis had been independent since 197 B.C. and it had been protected recently by Rome. Orestis, then, will not do. There is, however, a large region between Orestis and Lynceus, namely the basin south of Lake Prespa.¹ No name has survived for it. I suggest

¹ It is probable that this lake and the others were much smaller or even non-existent,

that its name, perhaps in a corrupt form, is in our text, which should be restored as 'iuncta his Atintania et Strynepalis et Elimiotis'.¹ It is in the middle of the high mountainous belt which Livy so aptly describes as 'frigida haec omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga'. Rome placed the capital of this tetrarchy at Pelagonia. It was defined as being adjacent on one side to Illyricum and on the other to Epirus (Livy 45. 29. 8-9). It follows that Epirus extended up to the borders of this region and included the districts known as Danglli and Kolonië. These were evidently traditionally Epirote. For Rome was in no mood to give additional territories to Epirus in the settlement.

Aemilius Paullus went on to announce the Roman decisions about Aetolia. The recent assassinations were condoned, though the employment of Roman troops for the purpose was censured, and the pro-Roman statesmen from the Greek states were encouraged to supply the names of any pro-Macedonian leaders. Charops and Nicias in particular provided such names for Epirus. Men so named were summoned to Rome for trial (Plb. 30. 13; Livy 45. 31. 3-9). He then passed on to the Acarnanian League, which was deprived of Leucas. Next came a great festival. Then Aemilius Paullus proceeded from Amphipolis to Epirus. On the way he detached a force to devastate the lands of those Illyrians who had helped Perseus.

The Molossians and others who had joined the Macedonian side may have been lulled into a sense of false security by the treatment accorded now to Macedonia and in the past to Aetolia. Aemilius Paullus had done nothing to dispel such a sense of security; for he had had the pro-Macedonian leaders singled out from Epirus as from other parts of Greece. But the Roman army under Anicius was still in camp near Passaron, and Roman garrisons were still present in some cities. When Aemilius Paullus arrived, he sent centurions to the cities. They were to announce the withdrawal of the garrisons and the freedom of the Epirotes, which was to be like the freedom of the Macedonians. At the same time he summoned ten men from each city. They were told to collect all the gold and silver in their city and put it in a public place. Next he sent detachments of troops to all the cities, so arranging the times of their departure that they arrived on the same day. The commanders and the centurions of the detachments had secret orders. In

like the lake of Ioannina, in antiquity. Ancient timbers are visible in the bed of lake Ostrovo; see C. F. Edson in *CP* 46 (1951) 15 n. 57 and n. 58.

¹ For the form of name we may compare Strymon on the east of Macedonia. The passage is discussed briefly by Oost 133 n. 93. His theory that Epirus lost Atintania and Tymphaea to this tetrarchy of Macedonia turns on the incorrect identification of Atintania with the Drin valley in Epirus and the acceptance of Tymphaea as an emendation in the passage. His statement that thereby Epirus was deprived of the most important land route (for Rome) to the east is in any case incorrect; for the best route goes via Ioannina to the Zygos pass and not via the Drin valley to Tymphaea (Oost 82 and 90).

the morning they took over the collected gold and silver. At the fourth hour after sunrise they ordered the troops to loot and sack. When their work was finished, they had 150,000 'capita humana' for the slave market, sufficient public wealth to give each cavalryman 400 denarii and each infantryman 200 denarii, and plunder in individual hands estimated at 13 denarii a man. The fortification walls of the sacked cities—some seventy in number—were razed to the ground. When the army moved off towards Oricum, driving the human and other cattle before them, it left Central Epirus desolate. Anicius arranged a few days later for a meeting of the remaining Epirotes and of the Acarnanians. At it he ordered the immediate sending of the pro-Macedonian statesmen to Italy.¹

¹ Livy 45. 34; Plb. 30. 15 = Str. 7. 7. 3; Plu. *Aem.* 29. These passages are based on the lost description by Polybius. Appian *Illyr.* 9, Trogus *Prol.* 33, Eutropius 4. 8, and Pliny *HN* 4. 39 add nothing except errors. The numbers are certainly correct. The figure of seventy towns is in Polybius, Livy, Plutarch, and Appian; and the figure 150,000 is in Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch. Oost's comment (p. 84) 'if the figure of Livy may be trusted' misses the point that the figure is that of Polybius, a contemporary. Cross 90 n. 1 doubted it on other grounds. The figures about the value of the loot come under two headings: (1) that from which distributions of 400 denarii and 200 denarii a head were made, i.e. the loot collected by the tribunes and centurions (Livy 45. 34. 5); (2) the movables seized by the pillaging troops, which were estimated by the troops themselves presumably at a mere eleven drachmae a head (Plu. *Aem.* 29). The two are not comparable and should not be confused. Polybius is also the source of the statements that the Senate gave the order for the sack of the cities which had defected from Rome to Perseus (Livy 45. 34. 1; Plu. *Aem.* 29). The Senate achieved three aims thereby. It gave a sop to the victorious army, it punished a treacherous ally, and it neutralized an area which had constituted a danger in 170 to 168 B.C. The callousness of Roman methods requires no watering down in view of their acts at Carthage and Corinth. It is unfortunately more understandable to us than it was to a past generation (cf. *CAH* 8. 272 f.).

XV

ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE EPIROTE STATE

I. THE COINAGES OF (a) 330-232 B.C. AND (b) 232-167 B.C.

THE formation (c. 330 B.C.) and the existence of the Epirote Alliance were marked by a bronze coinage in the name of the 'Apeirotai', the title being written in full, in abbreviation, or in monogram. Franke considers that the alliance was a defensive one.¹ But most of the emblems on the coinage—the rushing bull, the thunderbolt, the head of Athena in a Corinthian helmet, and the eagle—are not indicative of a merely defensive alliance. And the activities of the Epirote Alliance, for instance in 317 B.C. (see pp. 561 f., above) and throughout the reign of Pyrrhus, seem rather to suggest that the terms of the alliance were offensive as well as defensive. There is, however, no conclusive evidence to decide the matter. Franke goes on to state that as the alliance was defensive it was invoked only occasionally and therefore it issued coins only occasionally.² This statement raises some problems. If the Alliance coined only occasionally, it did so for purposes of war; but in that case why did the coinages cease which were evidently designed to encourage local trade, namely those of the Molossians, the Eleaens, the Thesprotians, and the Cassopaeans? Was a bronze coinage rather than a silver coinage of much use as an emergency coinage for war? Franke has shown that the latest coinage issued by the Molossians and the earliest coinage issued by the 'Apeirotai' have the same emblems on the reverse, and that this coinage of the 'Apeirotai' therefore began soon after the formation of the Alliance and lasted to c. 300 B.C. However, it is not easy to find an occasion when the Alliance was invoked in the sense in which Franke holds it had to be invoked before the issue of coinage was possible. Moreover, the invasion of Macedonia in 317 B.C., the brief and disastrous campaigns of Aeacides in 313 B.C. and the whirlwind campaigns of Lyciscus and Cassander against Alcetas in 312 B.C. were hardly of sufficient duration to enable the Epirote Alliance to go into action and issue coinage.

¹ *AME* 116.

² *Ibid.* 117.

It seems more in accordance with the evidence to suppose that the Epirote Alliance was based not only on a defensive and offensive alliance but also on an organization which functioned in time of peace as well as of war. The fact that the Alliance granted 'immunity from tax in Epirus' to an Atintanian in some year between 317 and 297 B.C. (*SGDI* 1336, quoted on p. 560, above) is surely not intelligible on the assumption that the Alliance only existed and only raised taxes when it was engaged in a defensive war; for the Atintanian, not being a member of a member state, is unlikely to have been liable for such a war tax. What is meant by the inscription (in which no limitation to the time only of a defensive war is set upon the immunity from tax) is surely that the Atintanian could reside 'in Epirus' and be exempt from tax in peace-time as well as in war-time. These taxes evidently supplied the Epirote Alliance with the resources for issuing coinage. It seems probable that the coinage was issued for local trade in the tradition of the four earlier autonomous coinages and that it was issued in time of peace and in time of war alike. The fact that the coinage was issued only in bronze and circulated only in Epirus, indeed almost entirely in Southern Epirus to judge from the recorded finds,¹ supports the view that it was used in local trade. The relatively small number of coins extant (160 or so) for the period 329-325 to 232 B.C.,² as compared with those of the Epirote League (1,116 or so for the period 232 to 168 B.C.) shows that the country did not yet have a monetary economy. The members of the Epirote Alliance must have used barter to a great extent in the period 329-325 to 232 B.C.

The emblem on the obverse of coins of the group which Franke places first in the Epirote Alliance's coinage is the charging bull. This emblem was used by Ambracia in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. and by Argos Amphilochicum c. 342 B.C., if my conclusion (on p. 550, above) is accepted. It occurred also on the coinage of Alexander the Great and in Sicily and at Thurii in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. It may be associated with Zeus, as Franke says,³ and also with the famous cattle of Epirus. The Molossian hound makes a re-appearance in the coinage of the Alliance.⁴ Almost all the emblems

¹ See Franke *AME* 125; only three coins come from the excavated centres in Chaonia, and none from Italy. This shows that Pyrrhus did not pay his troops with this coinage. In other words the coinage was for local use at home rather than for purposes of war.

² I am here accepting Franke's view in *AME* 116 f. that the coinage started so early. It is in fact possible that during the period of Macedonian authority or influence in Epirus the Macedonian coinage alone was in use. We have a good analogy in Thessaly; for when Philip reformed the Thessalian League in 344 B.C., he stopped the issuing of coinage by the cities and imposed his own coinage; he also organized the taxes there (see Hammond *GH* 559). This is compatible with the Epirotes using a Molossian emblem when they issued coinage.

³ *AME* 123.

⁴ *AME* 122.

are concerned with known aspects of the cults at Dodona: the doves,¹ the oak, the eagle, the thunderbolt, the head of Zeus, and the head of Athena in a Corinthian helmet.² Artemis is figured in the last group; she appears later on coins of Dodona, and she was probably one of the associated deities at Dodona. The predominance of these emblems shows that Dodona was the religious and evidently the administrative centre of the Epirote Alliance. In the same way the Achaean League had its federal centre at the temple of Zeus Amarius at Aegium.³ The coinage of the Alliance was probably minted at Dodona, or perhaps nearby at Passaron.⁴ The mint continued to operate during the reign of Pyrrhus in 297–272 B.C., as Franke has shown conclusively,⁵ and also during the reigns of his successors who had, like Pyrrhus, no right of issuing coinage in Epirus themselves.

The coinage of the Epirote League between 232 B.C. and 167 B.C. was far more copious than that of the Epirote Alliance (1,116 or so pieces surviving as opposed to 160 or so). The League coined in silver and bronze, whereas the Alliance had coined in bronze only; moreover, it apparently coined more in silver than in bronze, since 593 of the 1,116 pieces surviving are in silver. The deduction we may make from these facts is that the League developed a monetary economy and paid for services, e.g. of mercenaries such as the Gauls at Phoenice, in a good silver currency, especially of didrachms (of which 319 specimens survive). Indeed the League coined sometimes in silver only and sometimes in large denominations only, as Franke pointed out.⁶ The silver currency was probably useful for trade overseas as well as for purposes of state. The first two groups of silver coinage were on the Corcyraean standard; but the two groups of fractional silver coinage were on the standard of the silver coins of Apollonia and Epidamnus, a standard which fitted in with that of Rhodes and with that of Rome's *victoriati*. The significance of the change in standard is that Epirus was now caught up in the powerful currents of trade which flowed from the eastern Aegean to Italy via the crossing of the Adriatic Sea. The vast growth of Roman power, the uniting of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica with Italy, the Roman control of the Po valley and the Roman occupation of their protectorate in South Illyria turned the currents of Mediterranean trade more and more towards Italy. One sign of this trade is seen in the great number of stamped amphora seals found at Oricum, Apollonia, and Dyrrachium.⁷ Many of them bear the names

¹ Franke in *AME* 317 f. has an excellent account of these interesting coins.

² Athena at Dodona; see Carapanos pl. 11 no. 4.

³ See W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation* 69. ⁴ So Franke in *AME* 123 f. and 255 f.

⁵ *AME* 249 f.

⁶ *AME* 144.

⁷ P. C. Sestieri, 'Bolli anforari Rodi d'Albania' in *Epigraphica* 3 fasc. 4 (Milan, 1941); and *BUST* 1963, 2. 86 f. which gives on pp. 113 f. a list of all the inscriptions, including

of magistrates of Rhodes, and others those of Corinth, Cnidus, and Cos. These show that Rhodes and its neighbours were trading in the Ionian Sea in the third and second centuries B.C. as their predecessors had done at the end of the Mycenaean period and again in the age of colonization. The extraordinarily large silver coinages of Apollonia and Dyrrachium in the period of the Roman protectorate show how great was the volume of trade across the Adriatic sea and also up and down that sea. During the Second Punic War Epirus was particularly well placed to export foodstuffs and skins to Italy, whether such exports went by land to the Roman protectorate or direct by sea to Italy. It was only at this time that Oricum, Amantia, and Byllis issued coinage, no doubt because goods came to them down the Aous valley and from the Kurvelesh.¹ They probably benefited from this trade even when Epirus was officially at war with Rome.²

The Epirote League obtained the resources for minting in silver from its taxes on internal resources. There must have been a great increase in the wealth of individuals, particularly of the wealthier individuals, and also in the volume of trade on which dues were exacted, for the Epirote League to have coined so much more than the Epirote Alliance had done. The silver itself must have been exchanged for raw materials perhaps with Apollonia, which probably had access to the silver from Damastium. The period 232–170 B.C. continued to bring great prosperity to Epirus; and the fact that it was due in the long run to markets under Roman control must have tended to make the moneyed class favour good relations with the Roman state.

The Epirote League used the emblems which the Epirote Alliance had used on its coins. An important innovation in the die-cutter's art was the introduction of the jugate heads of Zeus and Dione, perhaps inspired by the example of the Ptolemies.³ Artemis appeared for the first time on the latest coins of the Epirote Alliance; she figures more prominently on the bronze coinage of the Epirote League, perhaps because she was worshipped at Phoenice, on whose coins she figured later, rather than at Dodona. The Dioscuri appear likewise on the bronze coins of Franke's Group XII; they were worshipped at Oricum and at Grammata on the Acroceraunian coast, as well as at Photice and Ambracia; they may have been associated particularly with

those published by Ugolini and Sestieri in Greek and in Latin. Some others are in Franke *AME* 312 f.

¹ H. Ceka in *BUST* 1957, 1. 36 f. puts the start of coinage at these places c. 260 B.C.; I do not find his arguments convincing.

² Epidamnus and Apollonia continued to move within Greek diplomatic and presumably commercial circles as independent states, e.g. c. 206 B.C. in *Inscr. Magn.* nos. 45 and 46.

³ So Franke, *AME* 150 f.

Chaonia. Indeed the inclusion of Artemis and the Dioscuri may have been a concession to the Thesprotians and the Chaonians, who were now on an equality with the Molossians. But the cult of Zeus and Dione at Dodona, to which the Molossians laid claim, provided the chief religious emblems of the Epirotes; and respect for this cult was the mark in the coinages of other states of friendly relations with Epirus. Amantia, coining now for the first time but only in bronze, placed the head of Dodonaean Zeus or the jugate heads of Zeus and Dione on her coins, and the thunderbolt was one of the emblems. Byllis and Oricum both used the head of Zeus and the eagle on the thunderbolt when they began to coin at this time, also in bronze only. The friendship of Byllis with Apollonia too is shown by the emblem of the cornucopia which they had in common; and that of Oricum with Apollonia by the head of Apollo and the obelisk of Apollo Agyieus. Their coinages in bronze were no doubt issued in the interests of local trade. Apollonia for her part included among her emblems a tripod, which may be related to the Dodonaean tripod, and the obelisk of Apollo Agyieus, which had strong associations with Ambracia.

The contacts of the Epirote League with its other neighbours were shown especially by the appearance of the head of Dione on the coinage of Ambracia and on that of the Athamanes at this time. The coinage of the Cassopaei carried the emblems of Dodona and of the Cassopaeans' goddess, Aphrodite, and also the serpent which figures on contemporary coins of Amantia and Byllis. Corcyra, under the Roman protectorate, placed the head of Dione on her coins and also the head of Dionysus; both of these were also on the contemporary coins of the Cassopaei. There is only one sign of a special relationship with Macedonia; for the club of Heracles within an oak wreath is found on coins of Philip V and on coins of the Epirote League, probably in celebration of the restoration of the temples at Dodona and Passaron (at Radotovi) after the sack by the Aetolians in 219 B.C.¹ Commercial relations with Macedonia continued to be strong in this period; for Macedonian coins are prominent in two hoards—one at Metsovon and the other at Ioannina.² The general picture, then, is of a rapidly growing monetary economy and of widespread prosperity in the whole north-western area from the Gulf of Arta northwards and from the mountainous terrain of Athamania westwards. The disruption of Italian agriculture and stockraising through the massive conscription of Italian peasants and through the ravaging tactics of Hannibal provided the north-western area of Greece with a market so inexhaustible that the states from Epidamnus to Epirus could

¹ So Franke, *AME* 155 f. with references.

² *Ibid.* 161.

combine in supplying it without fear of any cut-throat competition among themselves.

There are some problems of a political nature which have been brought to the front by P. R. Franke in his important and stimulating study of Epirote coinage. He disagrees with earlier scholars in his dating of some of the issues. Thus he dates his Groups V–VIII of the issues of the Cassopaei to *c.* 215–195 B.C. (Head 320 dating them and other groups to 238–168 B.C.); the issues of the Phoenicaeis to between 168 and 148 B.C. (Head 322 dating them to 238–168 B.C.); those of the Pandosieis to between 168 and 148 B.C. (Head 321 dating them to 238–168 B.C.); those of Dodona to between 168 and 148 B.C. and again in the first century A.D. (Head 325 dating them to after 168 B.C. and again in Imperial times); those of the Molossi–Cassopaei to between 168 and 148 B.C. (Head 321 dating them to Roman times); and one group of coins bearing the title ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, but having no names of magistrates, to the period from 148 B.C. to the second half of the first century B.C. (Head 324 dating them to before 168 B.C.). Some of the new datings of Franke seem to be well founded, but in the nature of the case they do not admit of absolute proof. Recent evidence is against his dating of two issues (see p. 725, below). The political problem which arises is whether some or all of these coinages show that the issuing state was independent. Franke maintains that the Cassopaei and also Ambracia were independent of the Epirote League;¹ that Phoenice coined as the capital of the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν τῶν περὶ Φοινίκην* (*Syll.*³ 653A and *Syll.*³ 653B just after 165 B.C.);² that the coinages of the Pandosieis, of Dodona, and of the Molossi–Cassopaei represent coinages of these groups within the same *koinon*;³ and that the coinage of the ‘Apeirotan’ was issued within the framework of the Roman province of Macedonia, formed in 148 B.C., which included Epirus. His suggestions bristle with difficulties. For example, why should the Cassopaei of *c.* 215–195 B.C. be independent of the Epirote League, but the Molossi–Cassopaei between 167 and 148 B.C. be dependent on the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν τῶν περὶ Φοινίκην*? Surely the Epirote League was at the height of its strength *c.* 215–195 B.C., and at its nadir after 167 B.C.

Let us begin with the period after 167 B.C. The Epirote League, as we have seen, ceased to exist in 170 B.C. An inevitable result of the sack of Molossis and the deportation of 150,000 persons in 167 B.C. was that the Epirote League remained in abeyance. In 165 B.C. the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν τῶν περὶ Φοινίκην* was evidently a regional *koinon*,

¹ *AME* 53 f. and 134.

² The inscription is well discussed by Franke, *AME* 295 f.

³ *AME* 31, 107 and 81.

and not a *koinon* 'of which Phoenice was the capital', because 'the capital' was never mentioned to define any of the large tribal *koina* and is not so mentioned to define any of the *koina* in these inscriptions. As we shall see later, the zone of destruction in 167 A.D. stopped well short of Phoenice. To the south the bronze coinage of the Molossi-Cassopaei points to an *Anschluss* which took the form of an isopolity between the two tribes and not of a sympolity,¹ since no joint citizenship is discernible from the title on the coins ΜΟΛΟΣΣΩΝ ΚΑΣΣΩΠΑΙΩΝ. The crisis which produced such an *Anschluss* on terms of parity was either the break-up of the Epirote League in 170 B.C. or the disaster suffered by the Molossians in 167 B.C. These coins have no symbol except the laurel wreath enclosing the names. The usual martial symbols of the Epirote League are conspicuously absent. Only two monograms occur, one standing for Neoptolemos, figured on the silver coinage of the Epirote League in Franke's Group II, Series 40 and 41; and the other, a linked lambda and epsilon with a cross-bar at the top, is found without the cross-bar on coins of the same Group, Series 45 and 69. Franke dates the Group II, Series 40 and 41 coins to 190 B.C. and regards the coincidence of the name as 'nur zufällig';² he does not mention the coincidence of the other monogram. It seems to me that the double coincidence is not accidental, but significant of the fact that there was a continuity of mint-officials between the last phase of the Epirote League and this extraordinary and short-lived issue. It was probably issued in 170-167 B.C. with the same officials at the mint as had been operating under the Epirote League, and it is just possible that the issue continued for a time after the sack of 167 B.C. when some Molossians may have found refuge with the Cassopaeans.

It has sometimes been assumed that no Molossians survived the sack of Molossis except as slaves. But the sack of the cities began at the fourth hour after dawn, at a time when many of the population were at work in the fields and in the hills. Almost all those outside the cities at the time must have escaped. The object of the Romans was not to net the entire population; if it had been, they would have let the troops loose at night or at dawn. They were content with 150,000 head of slaves. The survivors did not go to the pro-Roman tribes—the Thesprotians and the Chaonians—but to the Cassopaeans and probably to their kindred the Orestae.³

Something similar in my opinion inspired the issue of bronze coinage with the title ΠΑΝ by the Pandosieis (the same abbreviation was used

¹ Franke *AME* 81 speaks of a sympolity. The comparison with the monetary pact (in Tod *GHI* 2 no. 112) between Mytilene and Phocaea is not very appropriate because the Molossians had not coined since c. 325 B.C. ² *AME* 82.

³ *Ὀρεσται Μολοσσοί* acted as witnesses to a manumission c. 167 B.C. (see p. 529 n. 1, above).

by the like-named people near Croton). As these people never coined at any other time, we may infer that the occasion arose from the disaster inflicted by Rome. Evangelides and Dakaris have concluded from signs of destruction that Dodona was sacked by the Roman legions.¹ But the oracle survived. It no doubt continued to attract pilgrims. The emblems on the coinage of the Pandosieis are Zeus wearing a laurel wreath and (on the reverse) a thunderbolt in an oak wreath, both being typical of the Epirote League and of Dodona. The abbreviated names of magistrates on these coins are ME in one series and ΑΓΙΑ in the other. ME occurs in the form ME in Group I, Series 1 of the Epirote League coinage in silver,² which should be close in date to 232 B.C.; but, more significantly, the name ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ occurs as ΙΕΡΕΥΣ on the bronze coinage of Dodona, which is also of the period after 167 B.C. The other abbreviated name on the coinage of the Pandosieis is ΑΓΙΑ for which there is no parallel on other coins of Epirus. As I have mentioned above, Pandosia lay at Trikastron on the main route from the lower Acheron valley and on that from Cassope to Dodona. I assume, then, that the coinage of the Pandosieis was minted by the official ME(ΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ) for pilgrims going to Dodona at a time when the Epirote League was out of action and Dodona was unable itself to issue coins. Later, when Dodona was able to issue coins, Menedemus transferred his activities from Pandosia to Dodona (the name of which was put on the coins) and as priest there he employed characteristic emblems of the oracle in his first series, namely Zeus wearing an oak wreath and (on the reverse) an eagle standing in an oak wreath. In the issue at Pandosia and in this issue at Dodona the oak wreath (on the reverse) was tied underneath in each case.³

The coinage with the letters ΦΟΙΝΙΚΑΙΩΝ was issued by the people of the town Phoenice; for there is nothing to suggest that the inhabitants of the surrounding areas took their name from the town itself or that the town took its name from them. This coinage too was in bronze, and it was short-lived; only two groups, each of one series, are known, the coins of one group are half as heavy of those of the other, and only thirty-three specimens are recorded by Franke.⁴ His suggestion, to date them to the years after the Roman sack of Central Epirus, is convincing in every way. The emblems—Zeus and the thunderbolt on Group I and Artemis and the spearhead on Group II—show continuity with the coins of the Epirote League, and the choice of Artemis may

¹ *JHS* 74 (1954) 159 and Franke *AME* 30 n. 14; see also *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961/2) 198.

² Franke *AME* 165.

³ Franke does not connect the monogram ME with Menedemus. One wonders if ΑΓΙΑ is Ἀγία, a suitable name for a priestess of Dodona, if any escaped from the plundering Romans.

⁴ *AME* 112 f.; though Phoenice and Buthrotum have been excavated.

have been influenced by the fact that she figures on the coins of Apollonia, with which the northern part of Epirus had very close relations in trade.

These coinages come between two sets of coinage issued by the Epirote League, if we accept the arguments of P. R. Franke. He points out that a *κοινὸν τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν* existed *c.* 155 B.C. (= *Syll.*³ 654 A);¹ that it could have continued in existence down to the foundation of Nicopolis, since we know of the continued existence of the *κοινὸν τῶν Ἀθαμάνων* until 88/87 B.C.; and that the coins which he allocates to this late Epirote *koinon* are inferior in style and lack the names or monograms of magistrates.² He claims that this hypothesis has been confirmed by the discovery of a coin-hoard in which 148 coins of the Epirote League are *all* of his late series—having been evidently only for a short time in circulation—and 100 of the 104 Ambraciote coins are of one series. In the past both groups of coins have been dated 'before 167 B.C.' Franke's best argument, though still questionable, is that Ambracia was rarely, if ever, free to coin between the fall of the Molossian monarchy and 167 B.C.;³ and that therefore the Ambraciote coins in the hoard are after 167 B.C. and so are the contemporary Epirote ones.⁴ He places the coins after 148 B.C., because in that year the Roman province of Macedonia was formed including Epirus; but, as his attribution of the coins is related to a *κοινὸν τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν c.* 155 B.C., the coins might equally well have been issued then or a few years earlier. In any case, they were not contemporary with the coinages issued by the Molossi-Cassopaei, Pandosieis, and Phoenicaeeis. A mould for the coins of the Epirote League of this series has been found at Dodona and is illustrated by Franke.⁵ As I explain below (p. 725), I am inclined to reject his late dating of both the Ambraciote issue and the Epirote League issue.

Turning now to the coins of the Cassopaei in Franke's Groups IV–IX which he dates to *c.* 215–195 B.C., we can see that in every case which we have considered the tribes or the cities coined in their own name only when the Epirote Alliance or the Epirote League was not in existence. It is therefore to be concluded that the coinage of the Cassopaei is that of a tribe or group outside the membership of the Epirote League. Their earlier coinage in bronze has already been mentioned (p. 542, above). The coinage which Franke places between *c.* 234/3 and

¹ His further argument that Plb. 32. 26 implies a *koinon* (*AME* 218 n. 5) seems to me to be correct.

² Though some have a lambda (Franke, *AME* 324).

³ Ambracia in fact was probably free to do so more than once; see p. 611, above and *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 2. 196, where Dakaris mentions part of a treaty between Ambracia and the Acarnanian League, which may well be of this period.

⁴ *AME* 325 f.

⁵ *AME* pl. 52, 1.

c. 195 B.C. is in silver and in bronze; this use of silver shows that the Cassopaeans were engaging in more than local trade, and this is a further sign of an independent policy and status. The silver drachmae of Franke's Group IV are only seven in number and all are from one die, so that this issue was perhaps made on some special occasion. It was connected especially with Aphrodite, goddess of the Cassopaeans;¹ for her head is on the obverse and a *cista mystica* with a serpent twined round it is on the reverse inside a laurel wreath. The silver drachmae of Franke's Group V are divided into five series, and twenty-one specimens are extant; of the fractional pieces—a third and a sixth of a stater—only three coins are known. These coins have the same emblems as those of the Epirote League, namely the head of Dodonaean Zeus with the oak wreath, the standing eagle, the thunderbolt, and the heads jugate of Zeus and Dione. Group VIII in bronze, of which there are six specimens of one series, has the head of Dodonaean Zeus and the eagle standing on the thunderbolt; it is linked by its emblems to Group V. Group IX in bronze has four series, and twenty-four specimens are extant; the emblems on these are a bearded head of Dionysus in an archaizing style or a head of a young Dionysus, and on the reverse an amphora in an ivy wreath. The chronological order of these Groups is uncertain. The same monogram ΞI occurs on coins of Group VIII and Group IX, Series 1; and it is possible that coins of Group V, Series 2 and of Group IX, Series 4 may have shared a monogram.

As the Cassopaeans were independent, they were not just the inhabitants of the town Cassope; for Cassope alone would not have been in a defensible position or indeed in an economic position to maintain itself so richly. The coins are those of the Cassopaei, whose territory included the whole peninsula of Preveza, bounded on the north by the upper Acheron valley and on the east by the Louros valley. We can, then, understand the wealth of the Cassopaeans. This turned partly on trade. In this period, when trade to the Adriatic and to Italy was so strong, the peninsula of Preveza had the most important ports of call—more so than Ambracia—and the Cassopaeans enjoyed the prosperity which was to be inherited later by Nicopolis. This trade was closely tied up with the destinies of Corcyra. The Cassopaeian currency was on the Corcyraean standard. Corcyra too placed the head of Aphrodite and the head of Dionysus on her coins after 229 B.C. when she entered the protectorate of Rome. It seems most probable, then, that we should attribute the Cassopaeian coinages of Group IV, in silver and of Group IX in bronze to the period from 229 B.C.

¹ See the inscription in honour of Aphrodite found at Cassope (*PAE* 1952, 357 f. = *SEG* 15. 383); see p. 655, below.

onwards, when prospects of trade with 'Roman' Corcyra were very attractive.

The other Cassopaeian coins, those of Groups V–VIII, all have the emblems of the Epirote League, and it seems likely that this choice of emblems was due to a *rapprochement* with the Epirote League. The word *rapprochement* reminds us of the inscription (p. 656, below) which recorded that the Cassopaeians followed suit after a decision taken by the Epirote League. That was shortly after 206 B.C. and Groups V–VIII may be of that time too. Franke has suggested that the fractional pieces of Groups VI and VII were designed to link this coinage with the denarii of Rome.¹ This is a further indication that the Roman market was most important at this time; it also supplies a *terminus post quem*, since the denarius was issued for the first time in the Punic War. At some time not long after 200 B.C. the Cassopaeians entered the Epirote League, if my interpretation of Evangelides' inscription is correct (p. 650, below); they then ceased to coin. When they resumed their coining, they did so jointly with the Molossians after the break-up of the Epirote League. The coinage with the head of Aphrodite and the coinages with the head of Dionysus should then be placed before those of Groups V–VIII.² As regards the monograms which are, or may be, common to some Groups, I should place Group IX, Series 4 (with the young Dionysus' head) earlier than Group IX, Series 1 and 2 (with the bearded head of Dionysus), and this would imply that Group V, Series 2 was somewhat earlier than Group VIII. It is likely that the monograms are those of mint officials not holding an annual office, so that an overlap in time is acceptable between the issues; but it is unlikely that they are those of Generals, who were normally elected annually and who were eponymous officers among the Cassopaeians, because this would require the issuing of two different types of coins in the same year.³

To summarize, I suggest the following sequence of the Cassopaeian coins of this period:

1. Soon after 229 B.C.: Group IV (Aphrodite) and Group IX (Dionysus).
2. In the course of the Second Punic War, i.e. beginning before 205 B.C.: Group V (Zeus), Groups VI–VII (the fractional currencies, probably related to the denarius), and Group VIII (Zeus).

¹ *AME* 63 and 159 f.; also Franke, *Chronologie* 67.

² Franke, *AME* 64, puts Group IX later than Groups V–VIII.

³ Franke, *AME* 68, attributes the monogram to 'der hier signierende Strategie'; and on p. 63 speaks of 'die signierenden Beamten' as generals. There are both monograms and names in full on the coins of Group IX, Series 1 and 3, and this fact implies that both mint-officials and annual magistrates were recorded. The names in full are more likely to be those of the magistrates as the chief officials; and I take it the monograms are those of mint-officials.

3. A gap, at some time between 200 and 170 B.C., during which gap the Cassopaeans were members of the Epirote League.

4. From 170 B.C. for a few years only: the coinage of the Cassopaeans and Molossians.

The coinage of the Cassopaeans with the head of Aphrodite and the *cista mystica* on the reverse has a particular interest in that elsewhere the two are associated in Cyprus alone. Otherwise the *cista mystica* of this type is found only in the region of Asia Minor and then in association with Dionysus; moreover, coins of the kind in Asia Minor are dated after 200 B.C. and usually after the Peace of Apamea in 188 B.C. The early dating (to soon after 229 B.C.) of the Cassopaeian coinage with the *cista mystica*, which Franke has suggested tentatively and which I have supported with further arguments, means that the Cassopaeans used this emblem on coins before the peoples of the region of Asia Minor did so. Another unusual feature of the Cassopaeian coinage is the addition of a squatting hound under the chin of Aphrodite; for the hound is sacred to Aphrodite in Sicily, at Mt. Eryx for instance. Franke has adduced as reasons for the choice of these emblems the local worship of Aphrodite and the fame of the Molossian hound; but it seems to me that a much more important reason lies in the connexion between Aphrodite and Rome which was enshrined in the Aeneas legend. The worship of Aphrodite Aeneias at Eryx was well known, and the connexion of the Elymians with Troy was mentioned by Thucydides (6. 2. 3) and probably by Stesichorus.¹ As we noted above (p. 413), Aphrodite Aeneias was worshipped at Actium, Ambracia, and Leucas, and her worship was probably practised in this area before the Corinthian colonies were planted. It seems almost certain that the Cassopaeans chose the emblems of Aphrodite and the hound soon after 229 B.C. because of the connexion with the legend of Aeneas as the founder of Rome; and that the peoples of Cyprus and Asia Minor were also anxious to stress their connexion with Aeneas, founder of Rome, when their turn came for diplomatic and commercial relations with the Roman Republic. As regards the coins of Group IX, it seems strange to show two different types of Dionysus, old and young, and one wonders whether the archaizing head might be that of the hero of whom an archaic *xoanon* was said to exist at Ambracia, namely Aeneas himself.² On the other hand, the head of the young Dionysus may be connected more closely with Corcyra at the time of the Roman protectorate. The amphora on the reverse of coins of both types is connected by the ivy wreath with the god of wine. The

¹ Cf. D.H. 1. 53 and D.S. 4. 83; see T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* 337.

² D.H. 1. 50. 4; the bearded Aeneas of an archaic style figured on the fifth-century coins of Aenea (Head 214).

Cassopaeans no doubt exported wine and perhaps also olive-oil, for which the immediate hinterland of Preveza is famous, and these products went via Corcyra to the markets of Italy during the time of the Second Punic War.

2. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EPIROTE LEAGUE

The Epirote Alliance died with the assassination of the Molossian king *c.* 232 B.C. It was replaced by the Epirote League in which the members had a common citizenship as *οἱ Ἀπειρώται*. We can see this most clearly in the narrative of Polybius for the republican period in Epirus. He speaks almost invariably of 'the Epirotes' or *τὸ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν ἔθνος* (20. 3. 1; cf. 2. 6. 1, where the Achaeans are similarly described). 'The Epirotes' send envoys to 'the Aetolians' in 230 B.C. (2. 5-6). 'Epeirotai' figure with others in the alliance of Antigonus in 221 B.C.: *Ἀχαιοῖς Ἑπειρώταις Φωκεῦσι Μακεδόσι Βοιωτοῖς Ἀκαρνανᾶσι Θετταλοῖς* (4. 9. 4). He mentions individual tribes rarely—the Molossians, for instance, only when they were massacred by the Romans (27. 16. 3; 30. 7. 2: *τὸ τῶν Μολοττῶν ἔθνος*, 30. 16). The Epirote League no doubt proclaimed itself a 'democracy'. Polybius writes of 'the democracy and the laws' which the Epirotes entrusted to Gallic mercenaries (2. 7. 11). But it was a fashionable rather than a descriptive term; for the population was far too large and widespread for a plenary assembly of all adult male 'Epeirotai'.

We learn most about the constitution of the Epirote League from two inscriptions, *SGDI* 1338 and 1339, which have usually been dated to the early part of the second century B.C. on the ground that both mention Antinous as General of the League. However, Evangelides has pointed out that the styles of lettering in the two inscriptions are entirely different (*ἐντελῶς διάφορα*), and he has been able to show that the lettering in one of them, *SGDI* 1339, is 'extraordinarily similar' (*ὁμοιάζων ὑπερβολικά*) to that in a new inscription from Dodona (*Ep. Chron.* 1935, 250. The new inscription is dated, like *SGDI* 1339, to the first half of the second century. It follows, then, that the Antinous of *SGDI* 1339 is the leader of the Epirotes in the years before 167 B.C., named by Polybius (27. 13 f. and 30. 7. 2). The inscription *SGDI* 1338 resembles the inscriptions of the fourth or third century B.C. in style of lettering. As its terminology is that of the Epirote League, it must be after 232 B.C. in any case, but not much after 232 B.C. in view of the style of the lettering. Thus an Antinous appears in two inscriptions which are of different dates. The most likely explanation is that the Antinous of *SGDI* 1338, *c.* 230 B.C., was the grandfather of the Antinous of *SGDI* 1339, *c.* 170 B.C. In the same way we learn from Polybius that

the Charops who helped Flamininus had a grandson Charops, who was a leading politician together with Antinous *c.* 170 B.C. Alternatively the Antinoi may have been of different families, especially if the restored ethnic in *SGDI* 1338, *Κλαθια]του*, is altered to, for example, *Φοινα]του*. On the whole the former explanation is the more probable. In any case we have one inscription for the early years of the Epirote League and one for its closing years. The inscriptions are as follows:

SGDI 1338, *c.* 230 B.C.: *Στρα]ταγο[ύντος Ἀπειρω[τῶν Ἀντινόου* *Κλαθια]του, λα οπιω ινισκος Δεξάνδ[ρου ποθόδ]ωμα γραψα* *[μένου πο]τὶ τὰν ἐκκλ[ησ]ίαν [Δαμάρ]χου τοῦ Δαμέα Ἀχαι[οῦ καὶ α]ἵτου* *μένου πολίτε[ιαν ἔδο]ξε τοῖς Ἀπειρώταις κτλ.*

The restoration *λ' Ἀποτροπίου* Π *ινισκος* is almost certain. An occasion when Achaeans and Epirotes were in close contact was in 230 B.C. after an Illyrian attack.

SGDI 1339, just before 170 B.C.: *Ἀγαθῶι τύχαι. Στραταγοῦντος Ἀπειρωτῶν Ἀντινόου Κλαθιατοῦ, γραμματεῦντος δὲ συνέδροις Δοκίμου τοῦ Κεφαλίνου Τορυδαίου, Γαμιλίου ἐν Βουνίμαις ἕκτ(α)ι καὶ εἰκάδι, Π Λύων Εὐρώπιος, ποθόδωμα γραψαμένου Λυσανία τοῦ Νικολάου Καριώπου περὶ προξενίας Γαίωι Δαζούποι Ῥεννίωι Βρεντεσίνοι ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀπειρώταις.*

An occasion for diplomatic relations with a citizen of Brundisium might well have arisen in the opening decades of the second century B.C.

In each of these inscriptions 'the General of the Epirotes' takes the place which was held in the inscriptions of the Epirote Alliance by the king of the Molossians. He is the chief magistrate of the League. If Livy was translating *στρατηγοί* when he wrote 'praetores' (29. 12. 11), in accordance with his usual practice (e.g. 31. 24. 6), there were three Generals present in 206 B.C. at Phoenice. There may have been more in office than these three. Although the General presumably held office for a year, the precise dating of the decree is made not with reference to him but with reference to a *prostates*.¹ It seems that the local calendar—here that of the Molossians, as the inscriptions are from Dodona—was used in each case, and that *ινισκος* and *Λύων Εὐρώπιος* were *prostatai* of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν. In *SGDI* 1350 the Molossians are expressly mentioned: *Ἀγαθῶι τύχαι. Στραταγοῦντος Ἀπειρωτῶν Λυσανία Καρωποῦ προσστατεῦντος Μολοσσῶν Ἐχέλαου Παρώρου.* The Lysanias of this inscription is evidently the same man

¹ I do not understand Franke's view in *AME* 134 that the generals may be recognized as the *prostatae* of the Molossi, Thesproti, and Chaones. They are separate offices; a general and a *prostates* of the Molossi are mentioned side by side in *SGDI* 1350.

as the Lysanias of *SGDI* 1339, the ethnic being the same (though spelt with and without an iota). This method of dating by the local *prostates* may be restored in two other inscriptions. One is from Dodona, *SGDI* 1342; it contains the word Ἀ]πρωτάις and ends with a *prostates* for dating purposes [ἐπὶ π]ροσ[τάτα Πο]λιτ[άρχου]. The other is from Radotovi (*Ep. Chron.* 1935, 264). It is inscribed on one face of a block of stone which had been prepared for a statue and decorated with a carved oak wreath. The top line is in larger letters; it presumably gave the names of those to whom the dedication was made. On the style of lettering Evangelides dates it to the early second century. If the length of the block was three or four times its height, then the space for the inscription would allow a top line of some twenty-four letters and three lines of some thirty letters each, of which eight letters might come after Ἀπειρωτᾶν. Thus the inscription may be tentatively restored as follows:

..... αἰμωνι και
στραταγοῦντος] Ἀπειρωτᾶν [Λύκου Καρ
ωποῦ ἐπὶ προστάτ]α Νικάνορος [Ἄριστο
μένεος] Κασσωπα[ίου]

As the dedication was made at Radotovi, that is Passaron, the centre of Molossian power, it is clear that the Cassopaeian official could be involved only if the Cassopaeians were included in the Epirote League; and if I am correct in regarding the *prostates* as an official of the Molossian state, the Cassopaeians were included in the Molossian state at the time.

The two inscriptions *SGDI* 1338 (c. 230 B.C.) and *SGDI* 1339 (just before 170 B.C.) show two stages in the organization of the League. In *SGDI* 1338 the proposal was made before the *ecclesia*. Such an *ecclesia* under the Epirote Alliance was attended by tribal delegates, and it is likely that the *ecclesia* of the League c. 230 B.C. was of the same nature. In *SGDI* 1339 the *ecclesia* has disappeared and its place is probably taken by the *synhedrion*; for the σύνεδροι are an important body with a Secretary who is worthy of mention beside the *strategos*, who presumably presided.¹ It may be noted that the σύνεδροι of the four divisions of Macedonia were described by Livy (45. 32. 2) as *senatores*. The *grammateus* may be assumed to have held office for a year and not a month, because it was necessary to give the calendar month in dating; and for the same reason we find the *prostates* of the Molossian state mentioned. The other magistrates—'magistratus alii Epirotarum' (Livy 29. 12. 12)—included a *hipparch* in 198 B.C. (Livy 32. 10. 2) and

¹ Oost 6, supposing *SGDI* 1338 and 1339 to be contemporary, assumed there were both a *synhedrion* and 'the usual assembly'.

no doubt financial, judicial,¹ and religious officials; and also an *agonothetes*, who presided over the games.²

We have an important inscription which stands in time between SGDI 1338 and 1339, as it is dated to 206 B.C. or soon afterwards (*Inscr. Magn.* no. 32, ll. 20 f.). It quotes *verbatim* a decree of the Apeirotai (*δεδοχθαι τοῖς Ἀπειρώταις*) in reply to an invitation from the Magnesians to honour Artemis Lycophrena. The Apeirotae decided 'to write up the decree ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νάου ἐν τῷ βήματι τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἀναθέματι, καὶ ἐπιμεληθῆμεν ὅπως γράψῃ Κρίσωνα τὸν στραταγὸν καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δόμεν Χαροπίδαν τὸν ἐπικαθιστάμενον³ γραμματῆ(ι) συνεδρίου . . . τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν . . . and to grant the honours of *proxenia* to the Magnesian envoys and rights καθὼς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀπειρώταις. δόμεν δὲ καὶ ἐκέχειρα [αὐτοῖς Χα]ροπίδαν τὸν γραμματῆ(ι) τῶν συνέδρ[ων] as much as to those who report the Pythian contests in the laws'. The importance of the *grammateus* is clear from this decree; for he is the executive financial officer of the Epirote League. The body to which he is Secretary is the *synhedrion*, and it is also called in a personal sense οἱ σύνεδροι. There is no reference to any other body, such as an *ecclesia*. An alternative for οἱ Ἀπειρώται in the decree is τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν. It is clearly the tribal state of the Epirotes which is represented by the *synhedrion*.

It is probable that the *synhedrion* of the League met regularly and that it met by rotation at Dodona (or occasionally Passaron), Phoenice, and Gitana. We hear of such meetings from Livy whose word *concilium* is clearly a translation of *synhedrion*. That it met on occasions at Phoenice may be inferred from the conference at Phoenice in 205 B.C. (Livy 29. 12. 8) and from the delivery of a statement at Phoenice in 200 B.C. (Plb. 16. 27. 4). A meeting was held at Gitana in 172 B.C. (Livy 42. 38. 1). It is inconceivable that meetings were not held also in Molossis. The records of League decisions may have been placed at Dodona wherever the meetings actually took place, and some have been found there. Phoenice was undoubtedly the centre of a regional canton

¹ The evidence of a federal trial is only after 167 B.C., when Phoenice was probably the centre of a reconstituted but shrunken Epirote League. Then the victims of Charops were brought to trial and οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ sentenced them to death; as the victims came from all parts of Epirus and not just from Phoenice and its vicinity, the court which could have passed sentence of exile from Epirus was evidently a federal court. The paraphrase of Polybius 32. 6 which is found in D. S. 31. 31 εἰς τὸν δῆμον carries no weight.

² *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 232 f. no. 20. The inscription, probably of the first half of the second century by the style of the lettering, was found at Radotovi = Passaron and records a dedication to Artemis Hagemona or Heracles Hagemon. It shows that Antigonea was in the League and is therefore to be dated before the splitting of the League and the attack by Cleuas on the city, that is before 170 B.C. I am grateful to C. F. Edson for helping me with this inscription.

³ The compound form seems to emphasize the successive nature of the secretaryship.

whether of the Chaonians only or of a larger group. Gitana is shown by an unpublished inscription, which S. I. Dakaris has mentioned, to have been the regional centre of the Thesprotians. Dodona and on occasion Passaron were the regional centres of the Molossians.¹ A minor reason for the rotation of meeting-places may have arisen from the movement of flocks and men from the mountains to the coast. For instance, in midsummer a large number of men were in the mountainous regions, and this fact may have given rise to the meeting at Bounima, which is recorded in *SGDI* 1339 (quoted on p. 649, above). For the entry *Γαμλίου ἐν Βουνίμαϊς* means that on this occasion the date of the meeting was defined by the calendar of Bounima, presumably because the meeting was held at Bounima and its calendar differed from the calendar of Dodona. The collocation of the place and the month is exceptional in these inscriptions, and the occasion was probably exceptional too. The decision to confer *proxenia* on a citizen of Brundisium in the years just before 170 B.C. is likely to have been taken during the war against Perseus. At that time the Roman armies were using the passes over the Pindus range, and Bounima was close to the Zygos pass.²

The Epirote League had a common citizenship which it could confer on others, as in *SGDI* 1338 (πολίτα]ν εἶμεν . . . καὶ ὁμοῖον τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀ]πειρ[ώ]τα[ις]) and perhaps also in *SGDI* 1345. It could also grant the right of owning property and give guarantees of security c. 170 B.C., as in *SGDI* 1339 (τὰ ἀπὸ Ἀπειρωτῶν καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτασιν ἐν Ἀπείροι). It could probably permit intermarriage between Epirotes and members of other states; for a fragmentary inscription *SGDI* 1342 mentions the Ἀ]πιρώταις and ἐ]πιγαμία[ν. The League's officials dealt with the foreign policy and the diplomatic negotiations of the Epirote League, as we can see from Livy 29. 12. 12 and 32. 10. 2; and it seems clear that the League's *synhedrion* decided all matters of policy without reference to the member states of the League. It was in fact a fully developed and strongly centralized League of the Hellenistic type.

It is an error to suppose that the tribal *koina* lost their importance in

¹ It is unlikely that Phoenice was in any sense 'the capital of Epirus' or 'the League capital', as Walbank, *Philip V* 129, and Oost 74 have supposed, or that it was the 'seat of the *koinon* of the Epirotes' before and after 170 B.C., as Oost 86 maintains. The argument of Oost 74 that the Molossians were poorly represented at the meeting at Gitana in 172 B.C., 'if at all', seems to rest on the mistaken idea that it was a meeting of all Epirotes. The extent of Epirus makes such an idea untenable. His supposition that the meeting was a special one rests upon his belief that Phoenice was the League capital.

² L. Robert, *Hellenica* 5. 7, discusses the name of the month; he says it occurs also at Aeginium in Le Bas 2. 1206 b, but as reproduced in *IG* ix. 2. 324 the month is Hermaiou, not Gamiliou. An unexplained feature of this inscription is the fact that a line (of some 37 letters) has been carefully erased between ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ and στραταγούντος—a fact not mentioned by Carapanos 1, 114 but noted by Evangelides in *PAE* 1929, 127.

the League.¹ For the League was not a federation of individuals who regarded themselves as Epirotes, but a federation of tribal states; and its *synhedrion* was composed of representatives of the tribal states. Even in the inscription which is dated just before 170 B.C., *SGDI* 1339, the tribal ethnics are appended to everyone who is mentioned in the resolution of 'the Epeirotai', whether he is *strategos*, *grammateus*, proposer, or *prostates*. In the same way Polybius recorded the tribal ethnic of Nestor 'the Cropian' (27. 16. 4). When Epirotes are mentioned in inscriptions outside Epirus, they are described by their ethnic, with or without the added term *Ἡπειρώτης*. Thus the Aetolians granted *proxenia* at the end of the third century to the following, all being recorded in the same inscription (*IG* ix. 1². 31):

1. 46. *Εὐχάρων[ι], Εὐνοστίδαι ου Θεσπρωτοῖς.*
1. 127. *Δοκίμοι Ἀντιόχου Ταλαῖνοι* (G. Klaffenbach 'perhaps = *Ταλαίανι*').
1. 129. *Κλεάρχοι, Νικάνορι Ἀντάνορος [.]δεῦνοις Ἀπειρώταις.*
1. 133. *Δείνωνι Νέσσορος [Εὐ]ρωπίωι.²*
1. 134. *Ἀνδρονίκωι Ἀναξάνδρου Ἐγχηστῶι Ἀπειρώται.*

There is clearly no standard form, but the common denominator is the tribal ethnic not only in this inscription but in four others which record grants of *proxenia* in the republican period:

- Λυκίσκωι Ἀνεροῖτα Μολ[ο]σσοι.* (*IG* ix. 1². 29 l. 23 of 210/9 B.C.).
Χερβαδίωις, Ἀπει[ρώτα]ις (*IG* ix. 1². 32 of 185/4 B.C.).
Κλεοφαν[ῆ] Ἀγα[πήτου] Χάονα Πευκεστόν, Σωτι[.]Ἐνίας
Κασσωπαῖον (*IG* ix. 1². 2. 243 of the third century B.C.).
Ἀλκίμωι Νικάνδρου Θεσπρωτῶι (*Fouilles d. Delphes* 3. 2. 96 no. 83 of 215 B.C.).

While these are couched in official language, the records of burials follow the same practice. Two mercenary soldiers, who were buried at Demetrias c. 300–275 B.C., are named thus:

- Γάλλιθος Ἐένωνος Κασσωπαῖος* (Launey, *Recherches sur les armées*
Ἐέναρχος Ἐένωνος Κασσωπαῖος *hellénistiques* 2 (1950) 409, 791 n. 3).

A man buried at Palaerus is called *Φίλομμα Βουχέτιος* (*IG* ix. 1². 512 of the third century B.C.). A woman buried at Thyreum, perhaps in the second century B.C., describes her homeland simply as

πατρίς μὲν Κασσώπα, πατήρ δέ μοι ἦν Μενέδημος
 (*IG* ix. 1. 489).

¹ For instance, Franke, *AE* 48, says of the Epirote League 'die Stammesnamen treten zurück'.

² The restoration is doubtful. In *Plb.* 27. 16. 4 we have *Νέστορι τῷ Κρωπίω*. Here *Κρωπίωι* is possible and the name Nestor makes it more probable.

It is clear from these instances in Aetolia, Acarnania, and Thessaly that one cannot infer from the absence of the word *Ἡπειρώτης* that a man's city or tribe was not a member of the Epirote League. It is false, for instance, to argue from the last cited inscription that the word *Κασσώπα* is 'ein weiteres Zeugnis für die Unabhängigkeit Kassopes'.¹

The variants in the form of expression with the ethnic are found further afield, where the use of the ethnic was less familiar. Thus at Epidaurus in the second century B.C. the authorities fined a pancratiast *Σίμακος Φαλακρίωνος Ἡπειρώτης ἀπὸ Θεσπρωτῶν* (*IG* iv. 12. 99. 20); and at Athens a victor in the Panathenaic games soon after 191 B.C. is . . . *τος Λυσίου Ἡπειρώτης ἀπὸ Χα[όνων]*.² Finally the tribal ethnic disappears, and only *Ἡπειρώτης* is left, for instance in the same inscription at Athens [*Ἀλ*]κέμαχος *Χάροπος Ἡπειρώτης* (perhaps a relation of the famous Charops of this period); and in the first century B.C. a victor at Larissa is . . . *χου Ἡπειρώτης*. In these cases the word *Ἡπειρώτης* seems to have a geographical meaning, as it certainly has in a number of third century and later epitaphs which have been found at Athens.³

The emphasis on the tribal ethnic in the time of the Epirote League is realistic. The tribal *koina* were the living units which formed the League. Three of these were large units: *Χαόνες*, *Θεσπρωτοί*, *Μολοσσοί*. In particular we have decrees passed by the Molossian *koinon* at this time. It continued to grant citizenship (*SGDI* 1343, 1344; and Evangelides in *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 245); isopolity (*SGDI* 1590); and *proxenia* (*SGDI* 1341 *Θε*]όδωρον *Στομίου Ἀρ[γε]θιῇ Μολοσσοὶ πρόξε[νον] ἐποίησαν*; Evangelides in *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 245). It approved manumissions (*SGDI* 1351, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358) and transfer of property (*SGDI* 1365). After the fall of the monarchy the eponymous official of the Molossian *koinon* becomes the *prostates*, and decrees are dated by his term of office. For instance, in *SGDI* 1356 the dating phrase is ἐπ[ὶ] ναυάρχου *Μενεχάρ[μου] ἐπὶ προστάτα Μολ[οσσ]ου Ἀγέα Λύος* . . . *Φοινατοί*.

The *κοινά* of the smaller tribes, which made up the larger *κοινά* of the Molossi, Chaones, and Thesproti, were as active under the Epirote League as before. The inscription of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν *Ἀτεράργων* is dated by Evangelides to the end of the third century (*Ep. Chron.* 1935, 262: *περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ γ' αἰῶνος*). In it the Aterargi renewed friendship and *proxenia* with the Pergamii (see p. 536, above). The same date is given by Ugolini to an inscription found at Buthrotum

¹ Franke *AME* 54. n. 17.

² *IG* ii. 2. 967 l. 8, wrongly restored there as ἀπὸ Χα[ονίας].

³ *Hesperia* 1954, 270 [*Βερ*]ενίκη [*Ἡπ*]ειρώτης and *IG* ii. 3. 2897-908.

(AA 3, p. 206). It records a decision by ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν Πρασαίβων to grant *proxenia*, right of owning property, immunity from tax, and other privileges to a Corcyraean and his wife (ἔδοξε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Πρασαίβων . . . ἐγκτασιν ἐν Πρασαιβίαι). The decision was dated by the *prostates* of the Prasaebi, and the decision was supported by Lyciscus, son of Lycus, Ο . . . υ, which is an ethnic in the genitive. Another inscription about the Prasaebi comes from Buthrotum. It begins with the formula στραταγούντος τῶν Πρασαίβων Σα . . . ου . . . πρ[ο]στατούντος δ[ὲ] Παρμενίσκου Ὀρ[. . .]ου, μηνὸς Κρανείου Ἡρακ . . . Here the ethnic of Parmeniscus is perhaps the same as that of Lyciscus, and either Ὀρείτου or Ὀρέστου seems probable; an alternative in the case of Lyciscus is Ὀφυλλοῦ, as Ὀφυλλίς is the ethnic of a woman in another inscription at Buthrotum. The first inscription about the Prasaebi mentions a council (βουλά) as well as an ἐκκλησία. The second mentions a general as a presiding official probably, since the dating of the month is attached to the *prostates*. A third inscription about the Prasaebi from Buthrotum, dated by Ugolini to 'the third to the second' century B.C. (p. 117), records a manumission and begins with an even fuller formula than the second inscription. Ἀγαθᾷ τύχῃ. στραταγούντος τῶν Πρασαίβων Λυκόφρονος Ο . . . ατα, προστατούντος δὲ Ἀριστομάχου Αἰξωνίου, ἱερεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος Νικομάχου Θαρίου. Here we have a parallel to the manumissions at Dodona which were dated by the *naiarchos*. The inscription gives five ethnics: Ο . . . ατας, Αἰξώνιος, Θάριος, and also (of the woman who manumits) Κοτυλαῖος, and (of the three witnesses) Προχθείος. A fragmentary inscription of the same period from Buthrotum preserves another ethnic Καθραῖος of a man who approved a manumission.

An inscription found at Cassope, in a building which S. I. Dakaris has identified with the prytaneum or the reception hall of the city and has dated with good reason to the years before 167 B.C., runs as follows: στραταγοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀνδρομέneos πρυτάνιος Λυκώτας Λύκου, Σάτυρος Θεοδώρου, Φίλανδρος Σωσάνδρου, Σωτίων Λυκώπου καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς, Ἀρίσταρχος Ἀριστομέneos, Ἀφροδίται. (PAE 1952, 357-9 = SEG 15. 383.) The eponymous magistrate is the *prytanis*. The four generals and their secretary evidently form a board of generals, and their dedication is made to Aphrodite, who is the goddess of the Cassopaeans and also probably of the city. I am inclined to think that the dedicators were generals of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Κασσωπαίων and not generals of a city-state Κασσώπα, as Dakaris has suggested (PAE 1952, 357).

The extent of the membership of the Epirote League may be inferred from passages in Polybius where he mentions cities or tribes as separate entities. The following stood outside the League at one time or another: the Atintanes (Plb. 2. 11. 11: τοὺς παρὰ τῶν Ἀτιντάνων

προσβέυτας), the Orestae (18. 47. 6), the Athamanes (4. 16. 9), the Perhaebi (18. 46. 5), Ambracia (18. 10. 10), and the Amphilochoi (18. 5. 8).¹ Oricum too was independent c. 206 B.C., as it expressed a decision separately and appended it to one passed by Corcyra (*Inscr. Magn.* no. 44 l. 45), with whom she had friendly relations, as we know from the joint enquiry of the two states at Dodona (*Ergon* 1958, 93). This ring of non-members leaves us more or less with the territories covered by the Chaones, Thesproti, and Molossi. But the Cassopaeans are a special case. Shortly after 206 B.C. the Cassopaeans were independent, because they are recorded as following suit after τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν had passed a decree (*Inscr. Magn.* 32 l. 50): [κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ] δὲ ἀπεδέξαντο [Κα]σ[σ]ωπαῖοι. But an inscription from Radotovi which we mentioned above (p. 650) shows that the Cassopaeans were soon within the Molossian state, if my deductions are correct; for Nicanor, a Cassopaeon, is *prostates* of the Molossian state. This inscription is dated by the style of its lettering to the beginning of the second century.² It seems, then, that soon after 200 B.C. the Cassopaeans were absorbed into the Molossian state and so into the Epirote League.³ This is in accordance with some of the campaigns in the area; for in 189 B.C. the Epirote commanders held the Aetolian envoys at Buchetium, which is in Cassopaeon territory. As we have seen above (p. 644), their coinage was that of an autonomous community, and the issues extended over a considerable time. The probability is that the Cassopaeans became independent at the same time as Ambracia did, that is c. 232 B.C.—a serious defection which is likely to have cut Molossia off from the Ambraciote Gulf—and they re-entered the Epirote League before 189 B.C.

We gain an insight into conditions in Epirus from a Delphic list of Thearodoci, published by A. Plassart (*BCH* 1921, 45. 16) and dated by its mention of the kings of Athamania to within the period 220–189 B.C. The following entries concern Epirus and its vicinity. iv. 31. ἐν Δωδωναι Πανταλεων(ν), 32. ἐν Δαυλαι Κλεοβουλος Νικοστ[ρατου], 33. Δολοπων ἐν Ψιλαιναι—, 34.—Πολυκλεας Γοργια, 35. ἐν Ἀπολλωνια Λαμισκος Ἀριστιππου, 37. ἐν Βυλλιδι Νικοσθενης Κ...ω[νος], 43. ἐν

¹ The Ἀμβρακιῶται and the Ἀργεῖοι οἱ Ἀμφίλοχοι (*IG* ix. 1². 186. 15 and 16) passed decisions of their own in 206 or 205 B.C. The Ambraciotes appear in Aetolian inscriptions before and after they joined the Aetolian League (*IG* ix. 1². 11. 19, 17. 42, 17. 95, 31. 83, 31. 127 and *Fl.* 39, 41 and 42).

² Evangelides in *Ep. Chr.* 1935, 263 f.

³ I differ in this from Franke, *AME* 54, who has not drawn the same inference from the Radotovi inscription; he sees only 'eine enge Bindung der Kassoper an das *koinon* der Epiroten'. The arbitration by Cassope and Thyrraeum (in Acarnania) soon after 206 B.C. or soon after 192 B.C. (*IG* vii. 188/9 and L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.* 1939, 97 f.) does not clarify the situation, because either or both cities could be members of a cantonal league and still act as arbitrators.

Ὀρικῶι Μενων Μεν . . . , 49. ἐν Ἀργεὶ Λεοντεύς, 50. ἐν Ἀμβρακίαι Ἀγαθὸ —, 51. ἐν Κασσωπαί Δεινα—, 53. ἐν Φοινικαί Ἀδμα[τος], 54. ἐν Κεμαραὶ Θωραξ Θρασυμαχος Κ—, 56. ἐν Ἀβαντιαί Θεας, 57. ἐν Δυρραχίωι Σα —, 59 ἐν Ἀμπραι Εὐνικο[ς], 60. ἐν Καλλιπολί—.

There are also two entries which contain names of places known in Epirus but known also elsewhere: III. 68 ἐν Ἰδομεναίς Ἰκκοτιμος Ἀμεινοκράτης (probably in Macedonia) and IV. 19 ἐν Βερενικαί Παρνασσίος (probably in Cyrenaica, but Berenice may be the place founded by Pyrrhus in Epirus, p. 578, above). The list mentions Daulia, which is found on Ptolemy's map in Epirus or Illyria, Kemara (identifiable with Himarë p. 679, below), Abantia, i.e. Amantia (the confusion between Abantis and Amantia is interesting). Kallipolis is Callion in Aetolia. A comparison of this list with that of the Thearodoci of c. 360–355 B.C. (*IG* iv². 95 ii l. 23; see p. 518, above) shows that the northern cities are now more important. For the following occur here, but not in the earlier list: Byllis, Oricum, Phoenice, Kemara, and Amantia. In the south Pandosia has dropped out. Chaonia, Molossoi, and Thesprotioi, all of which occurred in *IG* iv². 95, are absent here. The number of cities has grown since 355 B.C., and some of them are mentioned instead of a tribal group. Another list of Delphic Thearodoci, which is dated by Daux c. 235–221 B.C. and by others to a little before 150 B.C., includes a representative at Butthrotum.¹

3. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS, 272–167 B.C.

The absence of any archaeological survey of Epirus hitherto has led to a complete misconception of the country in the Hellenistic period. Oost expressed a fairly common view when he wrote as follows: 'Epirus generally speaking was far behind most of Greece in culture and civilisation as late as the middle of the second century B.C. It had few cities properly so called; the seventy "cities" destroyed in 167 B.C. must have been mainly villages.'²

The literary evidence did not, of course, support such a view at all. For Polybius wrote of 'the Epirotes' of this period as a group comparable to any other large Greek state. He regarded them as generally more orderly than the Aetolians (*μετρίωτεροι* 30. 12). He described Epirus in 198 B.C. as a land ἀγορᾶς . . . ἀμφιλαφεῖς ὠφελείας ἔχουσα, and he considered the amount of gold, silver, and loot at the sack of

¹ *REG* 1949, 28 ll. 11–13.

² Oost 3; so too Cross 99. n. 1, who thought 'many of the πόλεις were no doubt mere hill-fortresses with a very small permanent population'. Plb. 30. 15 is given by Strabo as a verbal quotation; Livy used three expressions in 45. 34: *civitates*, probably meaning communities without an urban connotation, *urbes* being cities to which the troops went, and *oppida* being towns, which is used of the total number. The word *vici* is not used.

Molossis in 167 B.C. to have been so great that it produced a considerable sum for every soldier in the victorious Roman army; for Polybius is the source which underlies Plu. *Flam.* 5 and Livy 45. 35. 5. Phoenice is described as being in 230 B.C. a πόλις εὐδαίμων by general standards, and Queen Teuta was amazed at the quantity and excellence of the plundered goods (Plb. 2. 5). Ambracia in 189 B.C. provided 'a crown' (i.e. a 'gift') of 150 talents in gold to save herself from being sacked, and the Romans, who rivalled Queen Teuta as connoisseurs of loot, rated the statues and the pictures of the city very high. Ampelius mentioned among the 'mirabilia mundi' a picture of the Dioscuri and Helen at Ambracia and a double bridge in the Acherusian plain. The cattle, sheep, and dogs of Epirus were famous throughout the Hellenistic world.

In the same way Holleaux underestimated the military strength of the Epirote League πανδημεί in 219 B.C. when he wrote of at least 1,000 infantry and 50 cavalry.¹ What a spectacular decline since the great days of Alexander and Pyrrhus, and what a disparity with the subsequent figure of 150,000 persons sold into slavery mainly from Molossis! If we consider the literary evidence and eschew unfounded generalizations, we shall find some bases for computation. As we have seen above (p. 502), Thucydides' statement of losses in 426 B.C. indicates that the citizen families of Ambracia totalled at that time some 25,000 persons; and Pyrrhus enlarged the city considerably when he added a residential suburb on the level ground. We shall not be far wrong if we reckon the population of Ambracia in the Hellenistic period at 40,000 or 50,000 persons, both free and slave. The circuit-wall of their city was 6 kilometres long; that of Apollonia in the third century B.C. was just over 4 kilometres.² In 385-4 B.C. the Molossians lost 15,000 men in battle against the Illyrians. If we assume that half of the men aged 18-60 were killed, it gives a total of 120,000 free persons in Molossis, if we adopt Gomme's method of calculating with a multiple of four;³ and if we put the losses at one in three, we have a total of 180,000 persons. In 167 B.C., when the prosperity of Central Epirus was considerably greater, 150,000 persons were carried off by the Romans from an area not much larger than Molossis; and we have argued above that perhaps as many escaped as were captured. The number of cities or towns (Livy mentions both *urbes* and *oppida*) in an area containing perhaps some 300,000 persons was said by Polybius to have been seventy. If we suppose that two-thirds of the population

¹ M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques* (Paris) 146 n. 3.

² *BUST* 1960, 1. 95 and fig. 2. The population of Arta, a much smaller town than Ambracia, rose from 8,000 in 1939 to 15,000 in 1953, with full employment in the production of rice and oranges especially and also (in the western plain) of good wheat.

³ A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens* (Oxford, 1933) 75.

lived in cities and towns, the average population of a city or town was some 3,000 persons. The only figures we have for towns are concerned with garrisons. Ambracus had 500 Aetolian troops among its garrison, and Antigonea's garrison suffered a loss of 1,000 men in a sortie, but the survivors were still able to hold the city.

The following list of walled sites is arranged alphabetically in descending orders of magnitude. I have added the identifications which I have made or shall make shortly, and the periods to which I shall attribute the walls.

A. Sites with circuit-walls of 2,000 metres or more on my measurements
(the measurements of others are given in brackets)

1. Arta	6,000 m.	= Ambracia	Towers in 290-272
2. Finik	5,000 m.	= Phoenice	(1) A 325-300, (2) 290-272, (3) 280-230, (4) 200-167
3. Goumani	3,000 m.	= Gitana	(1) A 290-272, (2) 280-230
4. Kamarina	2,800 m.	= Cassope	230
5. Kastriion	2,500 m.	= Argos Ippaton	(1) fourth century, (2) 230-167
6. Kastritsa	2,625 m. (Dakaris 3,000+)	= Eurymenae	(1) fourth century, (2) 280-230, (3) 230-167
7. Lelovon	2,100 m.	= Batiae	280-230
8. Paramythia	2,100 m.	= Photice	290-272
9. Ploçe	2,200 m.		(1) 297-290, (2) 290-272
10. Saraginishtë	2,600 m.	= Hecatompodon	(1) 297-290, (2) 280-230, (3) 230-167
11. Thiriakision	2,000 m.		

B. Sites with circuit-walls of 1000 metres or more

12. Ammotopos	1,100 m.		280-230
13. Artsista	1,100 m.		230-167
14. Dhragomi	1,000 m.		230-167
15. Elimokastro	1,900 m.		280-230
16. Embesos	1,200 m.		(1) 290-272; (2) 280-230, (3) 230-167
17. Gardhiki	1,500 m.	= Passaron	297-230
18. Gradisht	1,800 m. (Praschniker 2,550 m.)	= Byllis	
19. Kalenji	1,100 m.		280-230
20. Kalivo	over 1,000 m.		325-300
21. Kaloyeritsa	1,250 m.		280-230
22. Kara-Ali-Bey	over 1,000 m.	= Macandria	325-300
23. Kerentza	1,000 m.	= Elea maritima	
24. Klos	1,900 m.		280-230
25. Koutsi	1,200 m.		
26. Ktismata	1,950 m.		290-272

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27. Lekel	1,700 m.	= Antigonea	295-290
28. Liapohori	1,250 m.		
29. Loutro	1,900 m.	= Argos Amphiloichicum (2) c. 456	
30. Malçan	1,235 m.		
31. Megale Gotista	1,000 m.		
32. Meliani	1,400 m.	= Elaeous	
33. Mesoyefira	1,050 m.		
34. Paleokoula	1,000 m.		Inner fort? fifth century
35. Palioroforon	1,800 m.	= Elatria	Latest phase—230-167
36. Phidhokastro	1,200 m.	= Ambracus,	late fifth or early fourth century
37. Psina	1,400 m.		
38. Rogous	1,300 m.	= Buchetium	(1) sixth or fifth century, (2) fourth century, (3) 230-167
39. Trikastron	1,050 m.	= Pandosia	
40. Veliani	1,800 m.		230-167
41. Vereniki	over 1,000 m.		280-230

C. *Sites with circuit-walls of 500 metres or more*

42. Butrinto	750 m.	= Buthrotum	325-300
43. Delvinakion	800 m.		
44. Dhespotikon	750 m.	= Ilion	290-272
45. Dholiani	900 m.		280-230
46. Dhrovjan	500 m.		
47. Dodona	700 m.	= Dodona	290-272
48. Glousta	700 m.		
49. Gouryiana	800 m.		230-167
50. Hani-Emin-Aga	800 m.		
51. Ieromnimi	800 m.		
52. Kastriotissa	550 m.		
53. Khrisorrakhi	900 m.	= Helicranum	280-230
54. Labovë	630 m.	= Omphalion	290-272
55. Lakhanokastro	750 m.		
56. Paliokhori Botsari	500 m.		
57. Poliçan	500 m.		
58. Pramanda	600 m.		280-230
59. Raveni	800 m.	= Phanote	280-230
60. Sinou	650 m.		
61. Sistrunion	650 m.		280-230
62. Sosinou	700 m.		(1) 280-230 (2) 230-167
63. Toskesi (1)	870 m.		
64. Tsamanda	500 m.		280-230
65. Tsourila	800 m.		280-230
66. Voutonosi	940 m.	= Trampya	
67. Voutsa, Moni	500 m.	= Bounimac	
68. Zalongon	550 m.		

D. *Sites with circuit-walls of less than 500 m.*

69. Agrilovouni	350 m.
70. Ayia Trias	200 m.
71. Granitsa	400 m.

72. Kalokhori	400 m.		
73. Katarrakhtis (1) c.	300 m.		
74. Khalkopouloi	300 m.		
75. Klimatia	450 m.		
76. Lia	400 m.		
77. Nea Koutsoufliani	400 m.	= Aeginium	
78. Pepel	300 m.		
79. Pirgos	250 m.		
80. Sirouno	400 m.		
81. Skorë	350 m.		
82. Uzdina	350 m.		
83. Voulista-Panayia	450 m.	= Charadra	280-230
84. Vourta	450 m.		
85. Vrousina	300 m.		
86. Yiatelio	400 m.		

There is also a group of sites where the length of the circuit-wall could not be determined by me, or where I did not myself see the remains (in the latter case I have added a question mark). I have allotted a probable category to each one.

87. Aetos	B or C	= Cestria	(1) 280-230, (2) 230-167
88. Artza	? D		
89. Baousioi	D		
90. Borsh	C		
91. Dhernati	? C		
92. Himarë	C		
93. Kalarritai	D		
94. Katarraktis (2)	? D		
95. Kastriza	? D		
96. Kastrosikia	B or C	= Berenice	
97. Lagatora	D		
98. Lavdhani	? C or D		
99. Ligaria	? D		
100. Likouresi (Xylokaastro)	? B or C	= Ephyra, later Cichyrus	
101. Makrinon	C		
102. Marmara	? D		
103. Nista	D	= Torone	
104. Oricum	C (smaller than Buthrotum)	= Oricum	
105. Palca Goritsa	? B or C		
106. Selo	? B or C		280-230
107. Skamneli	C		
108. Terovo	D		280-230
109. Toskesi (2)	D		
110. Treporti	C	= Bylliace	
111. Vagalat	? C or D		
112. Zinnec	D		

There are also forts which have been noted in Chapters II, III, and IV. These are mainly in the canton of Margariti, near Kakosouli, in the plain behind Buthrotum and in the Kurvelesh. They range in size

from the long wall of the Hexamili peninsula to the small block-post near Tsangarion. The distinction between them and the sites under A, B, C, and D is that they were not inhabited except in an emergency.

Apart from these categories there are two types of open settlement. The first is known only through the discovery of tombs, terracottas, and so on, e.g. Vaxia and Mikhalitsi; and the second is marked by the foundations of stone-built houses, e.g. Gugusban, Riziani, Erihua, and Varyiadhes. The former marks the primitive type of village; it is particularly common in the upper Achelous valley and the Valtos, but examples occur in most parts of Epirus. The latter marks a prosperous village with fine houses and with streets sometimes visible on the rectangular grid system. The majority of them are in the well-developed coastal areas or else in the vicinity of the plain of Ioannina. Such prosperous villages are to be distinguished from the suburbs or open parts of a town or city such as Passaron, where the sacred and secular buildings covered a much wider area than the acropolis did at Gardhiki.

There is no doubt that the walled sites A, B, C, and D were occupied by residential buildings. The foundations are visible in almost every case. The preference for living within a circuit-wall is natural in anyone placed between the Illyrians and the Aetolians, quite apart from the possibility of war between the tribal groups within Epirus. A particularly strong incentive to fortify one's town was the successful raid by the Illyrians on Phoenice and on the open country of Northern Epirus in 230 B.C. Polybius 2. 6. 8 says that it caused the Greeks near the coast to be alarmed now, not for their property in the countryside, as before, but for their cities and their persons. The building of the massive fortifications which are found even in towns of category D was costly in time and money, and it could have been undertaken only by the community of a town as opposed to that of a village. The extent of the fortified area was determined sometimes by the nature of the ground. Thus the site of Gardhiki was not large enough to include the population of Passaron, whereas the sites at Kastritsa, Phoenice, and Rogous, for example, were such that large additional areas could be included in the circuit-walls. In other cases a site was so large that it could not be held at the outset except by a large population. Goumani and Kamarina from category A are good examples; it is clear that the cities there were built at one time as residential units for a large population, probably brought together by an act of *συννοικισμός*. Therefore one cannot always judge the size or the importance of a place by the extent of the circuit-wall. Passaron with buildings at Radotovi and at Gardhiki may have been larger and more important than Eury-menae, which lay within the circuit-wall of Kastritsa. Buthrotum and

Oricum, both in category C, had suburbs outside the circuit-wall; they therefore had a larger and more prosperous population than Glousta and Lakhanokastro.

The layout of the walled cities and of the open sites with stone-built houses was of the Hippodamian type, that is in a regular rectangular grid-iron plan, such as is seen at Kamarina and at Ammotopos (see Plans 2 and 23, 1). The main street at Kamarina was 4 m. wide and paved,¹ and a normal street between houses at Ammotopos was 3.50 m. wide; the streets were cut in the limestone rock or paved with limestone blocks, and steps up to house-doors were sometimes cut in the rock. The most remarkable houses in Epirus, which are also the best-preserved houses in Greece, were described by me in *BSA* 48 (1953) 135 f. Some of the walls stand to a height of more than 6 m. The houses seem to have been normally two-storied and flat-roofed and to have been more than 6.50 m. high. A large house, such as that shown on Plate IXa, had at least fourteen rooms (see Plan 23, 2). The outer walls and the partition walls were all built of beautifully cut masonry of long, narrow, limestone blocks, e.g. 1.30 × 0.28 × 0.50 m., laid in ashlar style but with occasional slanting vertical joints; the walls are one course thick, that is 0.50 m., and the masonry is so truly laid that they stand in places to their original height or nearly so. No mortar or bonding material was used. The outer face of the blocks is chiselled flat, and the angles of the corner-stones are neatly drafted. The sills of the ground-floor windows were about 2.50 m. above floor level, so that privacy was preserved, as in the large houses of the Kurvelesh today, and the sills of the upper floor windows were about 1.20 m. above floor level, so that one could look outside; the ground-floor rooms were 3.50 m. high, the others 2.80 m. The sills and the sides of the slit-windows and of the casement windows (which were fitted with wooden shutters, as in the houses of the villages today) were cut obliquely so as to admit the maximum amount of light (see Plan 23, 3). The outside measurements of the houses vary; one is 30 × 16.50 m. It is likely that these houses did not have an internal courtyard. A similar house at Riziani had a small porch inside the main doorway (see Fig. 29 b). The houses at Ammotopos are typical of those of which I have noted the foundations at several sites. Their masonry is technically superior to that of the houses at Olynthus and Pella in Macedonia or at Delos and Priene. The plan is different; for the much wetter climate, and perhaps the preference for a fully built-up area inside the circuit-wall, presented special problems in Epirus. It is clear that the ancient Epirotes, like their successors today, were outstandingly skilful builders. The houses at Ammotopos are generally of the third and the early

¹ *PAE* 1955, 181.

second centuries; some parts may be of the late fourth century B.C., but I am inclined to place them in the early third century B.C. The city ceased to be inhabited in 167 B.C. when it was looted by the Roman army and its circuit-wall was razed. What remains shows that it was a town of better layout and of better houses than Arta or Ioannina today.

The public buildings of the Hellenistic period in Epirus included a considerable number of theatres. We know that Ambracia had two theatres, and I have noted the site of one. Gradisht (Byllis) also had two theatres, one of which was noted by Praschniker and the other by me. Kamarina (Cassope) had two theatres, the smaller of which may have been an *odeum* for musical and other performances. Theatres are known also at Dodona, Buthrotum, Gitana (Goumani), Elikastro, and Phoenice, and small theatres or *odea* at Oricum, Klimatia, and Ammotopos. Sites from all categories, A to D, are included among these. It is very probable that all towns of category A and many of category B had stone theatres and/or *odea*. The date of the theatre at Buthrotum has been put by Ugolini late in the fourth century. The large theatres at Dodona and Ambracia are probably attributable to the time of Pyrrhus, early in the third century. The others are likely to belong to the third century after 275 B.C. or perhaps to the second century before 167 B.C.¹ The wings of the theatre at Goumani are in the large polygonal style which is probably to be dated c. 230–167 B.C. (see p. 668, below). Theatre tickets in the form of heart-shaped sherds have been found by S. I. Dakaris at Dodona.² The stadium at Dodona is likely to have been as old as the games of Zeus Naïos; and the stone steps are dated by S. I. Dakaris to some time after 219 B.C. The games lapsed with the sack of Molossis, but there was subsequently a revival of the four-year festival, which included athletic, dramatic, and probably musical competitions.³ A stadium has been excavated at Ploçe (see p. 224, above), and it is dated before the second century B.C. and within the Hellenistic period.⁴ The blocks of the starting-point and of the turning-point were fitted with lead clamps. The stadium continued in use during the Roman period, as we learn from an inscription which mentions the *agonothetes* and the *boule* of the city.⁵ It is likely that other cities of comparable size in Epirus had games and stadia of the same kind in the third century B.C.⁶

Another type of public building has been excavated by S. I. Dakaris at Kamarina (Cassope), a *katagogion* or state guest-house with some

¹ *BUST* 1960, 1. 92.

² *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 37.

³ *IG* ii. 3. 1319; *IG* v. 2. 118, 21 f. mentions productions of Euripides, *Archelaus* and Chaeremon, *Achilles*.

⁴ *BUST* 1958, 2. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.* 105.

⁶ *PAE* 1952, 340 f. and 358 for the date.

thirty rooms of which eighteen are on the ground-floor (see Fig. 29). The rooms of the ground floor were originally some 2.55 m. high (a lower floor was laid in the first century B.C., so that these rooms became 2.80 m. high—still considerably less than the rooms at Ammotopos), and they were of standard sizes, 4.65 × 4.20 m. or 4.85 × 4.80 m., and had standard equipment in the form of a hearth and a stone table-stand. There were upstairs rooms of the same sizes on the north and west ranges and perhaps on the east side; access to these was by wooden ladders.¹ There was no large room for common meals or ablutions. It was evidently a guest-house for visitors who stayed a short time or for pilgrims such as the representatives of the Aenianes, who brought an ox to Zeus of Cassope.² The building is a Hecatompedon in terms of Corcyraean units of measure, being 33 × 30.3 m., and it has a central court 14.16 × 11.65 m.³ with colonnades of octagonal pillars, 2.40 m. high, twenty-six in number and with Doric capitals of sandstone. The roof was probably 'petasoeides'.⁴ The outer form of the house is the standard one for large houses in Greece proper in the classical and Hellenistic periods. It is totally unlike the stone houses of Ammotopos in layout and also in construction; for as I shall mention shortly, brick and timber as well as stone are used for the superstructure at Cassope.

The entry to the *katagogion* is on the south side which faces the back wall of a fine Stoa, 63.10 × 11.40 m. The outside wall of the *katagogion* on the south side is of ashlar masonry, but the vertical joins are often at a slant; all other masonry is polygonal, and some pieces of polygonal walling have rhomboidal blocks. The Stoa faces south. It is of polygonal masonry; and it had a brick and timber superstructure, as the *katagogion* had. Both the *katagogion* and the Stoa have small stone buttresses (*ἀντηρίδες*); they are at intervals of 2.50 to 3 m. in the north wall of the Stoa.⁵ Their similarities in technique and the exact alignment of the buildings show that they were planned at the same time and built more or less at the same time. The date of the Stoa's construction is virtually certain because a coin of the Cassopaei, dating from 232 B.C., was found between the foundations and the stylobate of the Stoa.⁶ S. I. Dakaris gives a third-century date to the Stoa, but he places the *katagogion* in the late fifth or early fourth century and attributes the fortification of Cassope to the fourth century. The evidence which I have already mentioned, however, places the *katagogion* also in the latter part of the third century. This date is supported by the

¹ *PAE* 1953, 170; the highest piece of stone wall is 4.50 m. high; *PAE* 1954, 202.

² *Plu. GQ* 26.

³ *PAE* 1953, 164.

⁴ *PAE* 1952, 351.

⁵ *PAE* 1954, 201; and *PAE* 1955, 182 and pl. 61 a.

⁶ *PAE* 1955, 184–5.

occurrence of polygonal masonry and of small buttresses which are both found in the third century and not earlier in Epirus; the rhomboidal blocks¹ in particular seem to belong to the latter half of the third century. The small finds are all of the third century or later, and the earlier of the two inscriptions—that of the Generals to Aphrodite—has been dated to the first half of the second century or to the third century by S. I. Dakaris.² The only objects which he attributes to an earlier date are two lots of tiles from the *katagogion*.³ Now this building evidently had several sets of tiles and finials: for Dakaris dates one set with palmettes to 450–400 B.C., another set with the rape of Ganymede to 350–300 B.C. and yet another set with an eagle on a thunderbolt to Hellenistic times, perhaps to the early decades of the second century B.C.⁴ The best explanation of this wide spread of dates for the tiles is that, if all the dates are right, either the builders used a ‘job lot’ which included tiles and finials from earlier buildings or the dates for such tiles and finials in Epirus are later than elsewhere. My conclusion is that the *katagogion* and the Stoa were built c. 230 B.C. as part of the layout of the Agora of Cassope, a city formed by a *συνοικισμός* of the Cassopaeans and fortified in its entirety at one and the same time. This date fits that given by Evangelides for the octagonal pillars at Radotovi which are like those at Cassope;⁵ they are of two kinds in the *katagogion*, either square but with the corners cut off, or about half that size with two long sides and two short sides. Similar pillars are found at Phoenice (AA 2, fig. 101) and at Veliani near Paramythia; and in both cases a date not earlier than the third century is likely.

The use of baked brick in the upper part of the walls of the Hekatompedon and the Stoa is excellently described by S. I. Dakaris.⁶ The top course of the stone walls, which stood some 4 m. above ground level in the outer walls and 1.20 m. in the inner walls, had a protrusion of some 10 cm. and was cut to provide a bed for a wooden superstructure, onto which the bricks, manufactured with five holes or with two holes according to their size, were fixed with long, broad-headed nails of iron. It is likely that a similar superstructure was used at Goumani (Gitana), where the same form of stone walls occurs at some points (see Plate IVa). On the other hand, brick or tile was not used at a site such as Ammotopos. The reason lay no doubt in the presence or absence of suitable clay in the vicinity. The fine craftsmanship of the work in terracotta is shown by the excellence of the finials at

¹ Illustrated in *PAE* 1952, 343 fig. 19.

² *PAE* 1952, 352 f.; and 357 for the inscription, redated in *PAE* 1954 to the third century.

³ *PAE* 1952, 351; and *PAE* 1955, 184.

⁴ *PAE* 1952, 314 f.

⁵ *PAE* 1952, 351 f.

⁶ *PAE* 1952, 341 f. with figs. 9, 21, and 31.

Cassope, some decorated with palmettes and others with a magnificent eagle with half-opened wings standing on a thunderbolt, such as figures on coins of Perseus in 179–168 B.C.¹

I was shown some finials with similar palmettes by Chr. Soulis at Ioannina in 1939; they had been found at Vaxia. Tiles found at Dodona, inscribed with the words ΔΙΟΣ ΝΑΟΥ, are dated by S. I. Dakaris to c. 200 B.C. A broken tile, found in the vicinity of Goumani (Gitana), is reported by Ph. M. Petsas to have the letters 'ΩΝΑC stamped on it. Comparing this with the tiles from Dodona, I restore the word ΔΙ'ΩΝΑC, and I conclude that the tile was for or from a temple of Dione. The lettering is of the time of the Roman Empire.²

Some temples were built at Dodona after the Aetolian sack in 219 B.C. A new temple was dedicated to Dione, and the Doric temple A was rebuilt, perhaps for the worship of Heracles. The Sacred House was re-erected with some changes. Conglomerate and limestone were both used in this stage of construction. Dedications of the period after the death of Pyrrhus are less numerous and less outstanding in technique than in earlier centuries; for example, there are bronze cauldrons with a snake's head handle, a relief showing a man with a snake beside him and a stone dish with a snake on it in relief.³ But we must remember that the Aetolians and the Romans sacked the sanctuary within this period. Few inquiries of the oracle survive from this period among those published by Evangelides; but many strips are as yet unpublished. The great bulk of the coins found at Dodona are coins of Epirus and of the period of the Epirote League.⁴ The League itself and Ambracia are about equally represented. Coins of Philip II of Macedon are fairly frequent; this is natural, because his coins were current throughout Epirus. Next in frequency come coins of Macedonia, Epidamnus, Apollonia, Corcyra, Argos Amphilochicum, and Acarnania (including Leucas). An occasional coin comes from Boeotia, Thessaly, Euboea, Sicyon, and Lacedaemon.⁵

The *Nekyomanteion* at Likouresi has recently been securely dated by S. I. Dakaris through his finding of an Ambracian coin of 234–168 B.C. under the foundation of a room.⁶ This date suits the pottery found on the site. The temenos walls are of massive polygonal masonry; the inner walls are of medium-sized polygonal masonry; and the labyrinthine passages are built in the latter style. The masonry is finely cut,

¹ Franke *AME* 64 and pl. 58, 1 against Dakaris in *PAE* 1952, 351 and fig. 29.

² *Ibid.* 31; *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 13; I discuss the relevance of such a temple to the Roman road on p. 693, below.

³ *PAE* 1931, 87 fig. 1 nos. 2 and 3; cf. *PAE* 1952, 293 no. 14; *PAE* 1929, 111; *PAE* 1952, 319.

⁴ e.g. *PAE* 1929, 125.

⁵ See Evangelides' list in *PAE* 1952, 320 f. and *PAE* 1955, 174 f.

⁶ *Ergon* 1963, 57 f.

and the architecture is skilful. The cult of the dead must have been a popular one for this complex of sacred buildings to have been undertaken in the time of the Epirote League.

When we turn to the walled cities and towns which exceed a hundred in number, we find that many of the largest cities were extended at various times. The most populous period in Epirus was certainly from 240 B.C. to 167 B.C., after the loss of Illyris and before the deportation from Molossis; that is in general terms the period of the Epirote League. It is likely that the latest extensions to the largest cities were made in this period; namely the outer circuit at Rogous entirely in polygonal style, the outer circuit at Kastriion in large polygonal style, most of the outer circuit at Aetos in large polygonal style, a piece of wall (M) at Kastritsa in large polygonal style, the south-west wall at Gardhiki in massive polygonal style and the lower wall at Saraginishtë in massive polygonal style. As the large polygonal style at the *Nekyomanteion* is certainly of the period c. 230–167 B.C., we may state with confidence that this style was typical of this period in Epirus. The other examples of it are in the circuit at Dhragomi, in the circuit at Kamarina (Cassope) together with medium-sized polygonal masonry, in the circuit at Veliani, in most of the circuit at Elimokastro, in the circuit at Gouryiana together with smaller polygonal masonry and in a piece of the circuit at Sosinou. If we are correct, the city at Veliani, which is so close to that at Paramythia, was built subsequently to it and presumably absorbed a considerable number of people who wanted the protection of a walled site.

The style which seems to have preceded the massive polygonal style of c. 230–167 B.C., and also to have overlapped it, was the medium-sized polygonal style, as we can see from the examples of Kamarina, Rogous (outer circuit), and Gouryiana, where massive polygonal and medium-sized polygonal are the only styles in use. A great many sites have stretches of medium-sized polygonal style and also stretches of irregular ashlar style, that is of a style in which the use of slanting vertical joins and the extensive use of rabbeting make the appearance of the wall diverge considerably from that of ashlar masonry. The uses probably began, as we saw on p. 584, above, at the end of the fourth century at Buthrotum and spread during the reign of Pyrrhus to several inland sites in Epirus. The walls which are in the medium-sized polygonal style and in the irregular ashlar style may be attributed to the period c. 280–230 B.C.¹ I have entered these dates against sites with such

¹ That is at Finik stage 3, Goumani stage 2, Kastritsa stage 2, Lelovon, Saraginishtë stage 2, Artsista, Embesos, Gardhiki stage 2, Kalenji, Kaloyeritsa, Klos, Vereniki, Khrisorrakhi, Pramanda, Raveni, Sistrunion, Sosinou stage 1, Voulista Panayia, Aetos stage 1, Selo, and Terovo.

walls in the lists on pp. 659 f., above. There is rabbeting also in some polygonal blocks as well as in the irregular ashlar style at these sites.

The broad distinctions of style which we have drawn enable us to advance dates of general validity for many of the larger sites and some smaller ones. We are left with a number of other sites which need special consideration. One group is in Northern Epirus. Gradisht (Byllis) has two stages of building, close together in style and presumably in date; the good ashlar masonry is bonded with cross-walls, a feature noted at Lekel (Antigonea). Ploçë is also in ashlar style, but with long narrow blocks; the use of cross-walls there, as revealed by Patsch's description of alternating blocks, occurs also at Lekel. A second stage of building may be revealed at the north end of the site where buttresses are used, as at Phoenice in the second stage of building. The earliest stage at Saraginishtë, based on Ayios Mikhail, is like the earliest stage at Ploçë, that is in ashlar style with long, narrow blocks and with cross-walls through the thickness of the circuit-wall; some towers have walls two blocks thick without a rubble filling, a feature noted at Lekel and Labovë, and the blocks alternate as at Ploçë. It looks as if this group belongs to the same period as Lekel (Antigonea), i.e. 297–290 B.C. with a second stage at Ploçë similar to the second stage at Phoenice, i.e. 290–272 B.C.¹ They are due, like Antigonea, to the enterprise of Pyrrhus in fortifying Epirus against the Illyrians and in providing strong bases from which he advanced towards Apollonia and into Illyris.² The site at Ktismata, which controls the entry into the upper valley of the Drin, has tower-walls of two blocks side by side without a rubble filling, and the style of the walls is ashlar. Too little of the walls is left for one to be certain, but it looks as if this site belongs to the same group and may be dated c. 290–272 B.C.

Some sites in the lower valley of the Kalamas have fortifications of ashlar masonry with long, narrow blocks and with the use of rabbeting; namely Dholiani, Tsourila, and Tsamanda. The style resembles that of the last group we have considered, but the extensive use of rabbeting makes them later in date. They may be placed early in the period 280–230 B.C. The best entry from the upper valley of the Kalamas to the headwaters of the south-western tributaries of the Drin is commanded by the fortress of Dhespotikon. The walls are built of hard

¹ Tomaschek in *PW* 3. 1. 1105 put the walls of Byllis later than those of Lissus, which he attributed to 380 B.C. Praschniker 198 held that Klos was earlier than Byllis and therefore in the first half of the fourth century. Ugolini, *Rend. d. r. Ac. Naz. d. Lincei, cl. d. sc. morali* ii (1935) 10, holding each type of wall to be of a different period, put the earliest wall-style in the fifth century B.C. He has good pictures of the site and the walls in figs. 1 and 2.

² The proximity of Byllis and Klos (only 1,400 m. apart according to P. C. Sestieri *RdA* 4. 197 f.), is similar to that of Paramythia and Veliani; in each case the two sites strengthen one another in holding a place of great strategic importance.

sandstone which is easier to cut than the usual limestone of Epirus, and its ashlar masonry is of massive blocks; as some rabbeting occurs, it is probably of the period 290–272. The site at Makrion in Zagori, which is also built of sandstone, has massive blocks of ashlar style and may be dated to the same period. The remaining sites against which no date is entered on the list can be attributed only roughly to the period *c.* 272–167 B.C.

We are left with a few problems to solve, namely the dates of the early stages at Kastriion, Kastritsa, Rogous, Trikastron, and Palioroforon. Medium-sized polygonal masonry is used at Kastriion, at Kastritsa (at E) and in the second stage at Rogous; as it is without rabbeting, it may best be attributed to the fourth century. The walls at Trikastron, being a mixture of ashlar and polygonal with big and small blocks, cannot be dated except that the absence of rabbeting indicates a date before 290 B.C.; it is likely that the present form of the walls is due to extensive rebuilding and repairs. The walls at Palioroforon are in their best state where the natural defences are weakest, and they are of the latest stage *c.* 230–167 B.C., being of large polygonal masonry; the site was therefore refortified at this time, when the Cassopaei were independent of the Epirote League. Not enough remains of other walls for a date to be attached to them. The latest stage of building at any site is perhaps at Phoenixe, where a residential area was enclosed with a wall of small blocks in ashlar style, strengthened by internal cross-walls; this area may be attributed to the last period of building before Rome took control, say 200–167 B.C. Thereafter the need for fortification disappeared.

The cities of Hellenistic Epirus were far more handsome than their modern counterparts are today. The massive circuit-walls with their towers and parapets, the finely proportioned gateways, such as can still be seen at Buthrotum, and the broad roads built on ramps and leading to them were shown to advantage by their situation on hill-tops or on ridges. When cities were built beside a river or beside a lake, the buildings usually extended far up the hill-sides; we see this at Ambracia by the Arachthus, Kastriion by the Acheron and the Acherusian Lake, Gitana, Dholiani, and Raveni by the Kalamas, Buthrotum and Kalivo by the Lake of Butrinto, Oricum by Lake Pasha Liman, and Apollonia, Byllis, and Klos by the Aous. Towns on the coast were set on headlands at Kastrosikia, Kerentza, Elimokastro, Borsh, Himarë, and Treporti. The most arresting situations, however, were those of the inland cities: Cassope on the mountain-top of Zalongo; Photice and Veliani perched high up on the shoulder of Mt. Korillas; Passaron at Gardhiki and Eurymenae at Kastritsa, facing one another across the plain of Ioannina; Phoenixe on its own mountain overlooking

the Chaonian plain and Lake Vivari; Saraginishtë on a ridge high above the valley of the Drin; and Ploçë looking northwards across the Aous valley towards the great plains of Albania and westwards across the Shushicë valley towards the Ionian Sea. The cities were no less handsome within. The public buildings and the private houses alike were built of finely cut grey limestone masonry, such as we see today at Ammotopos (Plate IXa). The streets were wide, well drained, and straight. Large stone theatres and small theatres or *odea* lay inside or outside the walls. The open towns and the villages also had fine houses built of stone. The cemeteries were close to the city walls, and each family had its own burial-place, surrounded by a *peribolos* of well-cut masonry.¹ There was also a poor element in the population of the cities. Some groups of graves at Ambracia and Buthrotum seem to have been used only by impoverished people, such as fishermen and slaves.² The wealthiest section of the population lived in the large cities and part of their wealth consisted of slaves; for the Illyrians loaded on to their galleys τὰ δουλικά καὶ λοιπὴν σκευήν from Phoenice and its neighbourhood.³ When the plays of Menander were played in the theatres of these cities, they portrayed a sophisticated way of life, which was no longer peculiar to the older city-states of Greece but had spread to all parts of the Hellenistic world.

¹ e.g. at Ambracia, *Arch. Delt.* 10 (1926) 63 f.; Cassope, *PAE* 1952, 327; Passaron, *PAE* 1952, 317 and Ploçë, Patsch 31. The Macedonian type of tomb was used sometimes, e.g. at Cassope, Ploçë, and Mikhalitsi.

² Ambracia, *Ergon* 1957, 51 f.; Buthrotum, *BUST* 1959, 2. 254; the cemetery of impoverished people has been excavated at Epidamnus, where one slave had been buried with fetters on his legs (*BUST* 1958, 4. 237).

³ Plb. 2. 6. 6.

XVI

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF EPIRUS IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

I. THE TRIBAL AREAS, c. 232-170 B.C.

THE development of urban centres and urban amenities did not weaken the tribal system in Epirus. The *koina* of small tribal groups such as the Pergamii and the Aterargi continued to operate in the vicinity of urban centres such as Buthrotum and Passaron. Much of the evidence for the topography of Epirus in the Hellenistic period is concerned with tribal areas. These areas had not been constant throughout Epirote history. For instance, the boundary between Thesprotis and Cestrine was placed at the Thyamis river by Thucydides; but in the third century the *koinon* of the Thesprotians met at Gitana on the northern bank of the river. In what follows I am dealing with the tribal areas as they were at the time of the Epirote League, c. 232-170 B.C.

Pandosia is an important place for topographical purposes. It is a town of Cassopaea,¹ situated on the Acheron river² and in the interior³—ἐν μεσσηγείᾳ. The territory of the Cassopaeian cities—Buchtium, Elatria, Pandosia, and Batiae—extended down to the (Ambracian) Gulf.⁴ The immediate neighbourhood of Pandosia was remarkable for three peaks.⁵ We have already identified Pandosia with Trikastron (p. 478, above). It is on the south bank of the Acheron, it is in the interior and it controls the entry from the north into the territory of Cassopaea, as it stands on the watershed between the Acheron and the tributaries of the Louros; and it is set among the high peaks at the head of the Acheron gorge (see Plates IXb and Xa). This identification has been rejected by S. I. Dakaris.⁶ He identifies Pandosia with Kastrion. The points against his identification are that Kastrion is on the north side of the Acheron, which it is very difficult to bridge,⁷ and the land cultivated by the villagers of Kastrion is on the north side of the

¹ D. 7. 32; *FGrH* 115 (Theopompus) F 206; it is placed by St. Byz. s.v. in Thesprotia, which included Cassopaea, for instance, in Ps.-Scymnus.

² Livy 8. 24.

³ Str. 7. 7. 5.

⁴ Str. 7. 7. 5; see p. 457, above.

⁵ Str. 6. 1. 5, = C 256 Πανδοσία τρικώλωνε (the source is probably Timaeus).

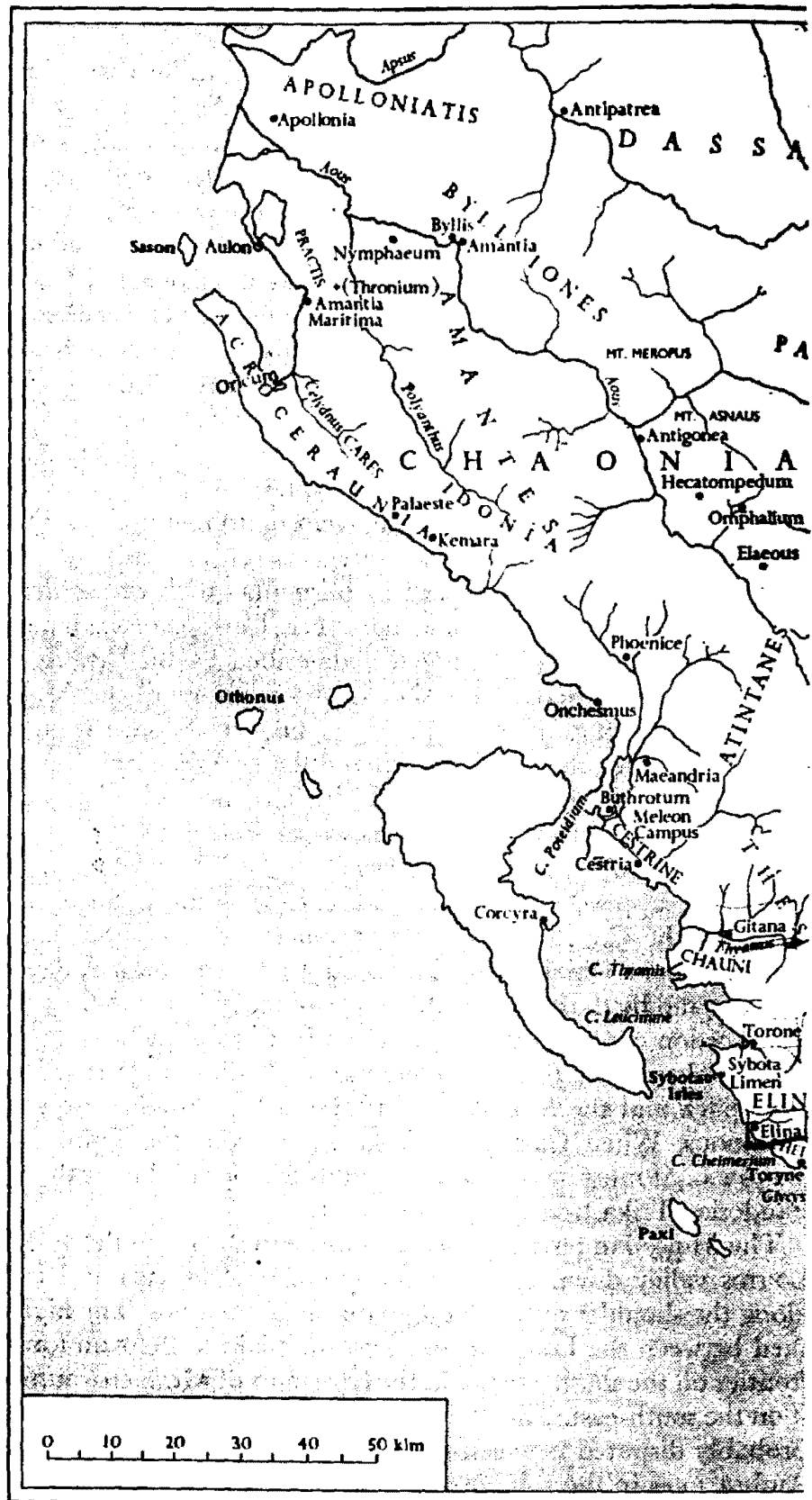
⁶ In *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 2. 203; he makes no mention at all of the literary evidence.

⁷ See p. 67 n. 2, above.

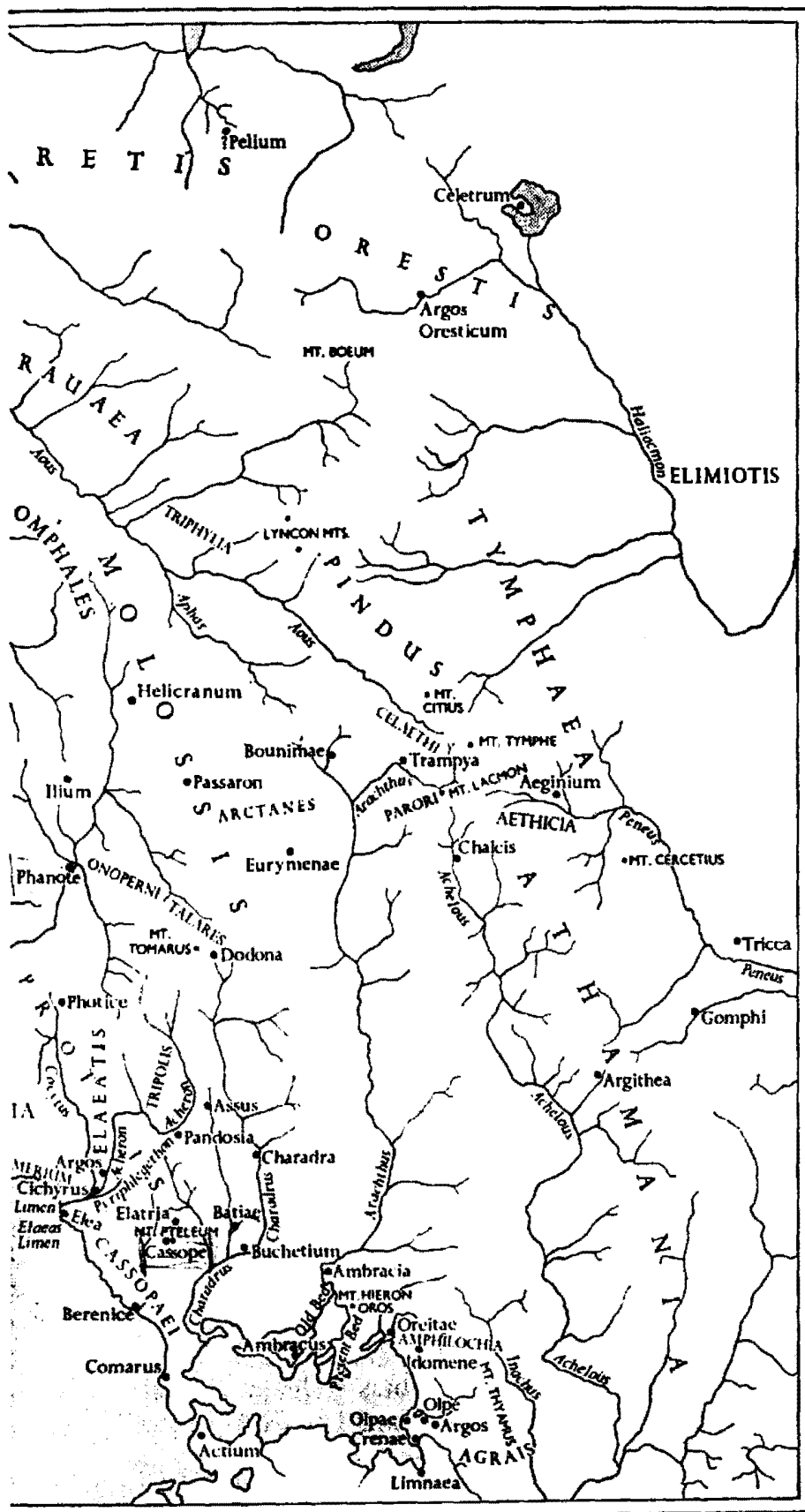
river, an area which Thucydides associated with Elaeatis and not with Cassopaea. In fact Cassopaea was south of the Acheron river, lake and plain. If Pandosia had been planted at Kastrion as a colony of Elis, it would have been isolated from the other two Elean colonies, it would have been on a navigable river and not 'in the interior', it would have blocked the route for the Thesprotians to the sea and it would have had control of the Nekyomanteion downstream at Likouresi. Moreover, as Kastrion is on an isolated hill in the plain, the epithet *τρικόλωνος* is singularly inappropriate to it. The conspicuous feature near Kastrion is, of course, the famous Acherusian lake. Now Pliny makes it clear that the Acherusian Lake and the Lake Pandosia are separate lakes. For he writes in *HN* 4. 1: 'amnis Acheron e lacu Thesprotiae Acherusia profluens . . . , Molossorum flumina Aphas, Aratthus, civitas Anactorica, lacus Pandosia.' Since Pliny went on to mention the Dassaretii as a *gens libera*, he was using a source conversant with the period of the last Macedonian Wars and in particular with the settlement in 168 B.C. Somewhat earlier, as we have seen, Cassopaea was a part of the Molossian state; Cassope indeed is described by St. Byz. as *πόλις ἐν Μολοσσοῖς*. The 'lacus Pandosia', in the territory of the Molossians, was evidently then a lake, now dried up, which once occupied the level fields below the acropolis of Pandosia at Trikastron (see p. 163).

When Alexander died in 331 B.C., the territory of Molossis included the upper valley of the Acheron, as we see from Livy 8. 24, 'quem ex Molosside fluentem in stagna inferna accipit Thesprotius sinus'. The area of the upper Acheron, now called Lakkasouli, is cut off from the valley of the Cocytus below Paramythia and from the Acherusian plain, both of which were Thesprotian, by the high range of Mt. Korillas and by the impenetrable gorge of the Acheron. When Philip II of Macedon captured the Elean cities in Cassopaea in 343/2 B.C., he handed them over to Alexander, the Molossian king; it follows that Cassopaea and the Molossian territory in Lakkasouli were then continuous. When Cassopaea broke away from the Epirote League c. 230 B.C., it must have reconstituted its frontier in the north, of which Pandosia (Trikastron) is the key point.

The Molossian territory included towards the south the gorge of the Louros valley down to Charadra (Voulista Panayia) and the route along the shoulder of Mt. Xerovouni to Ammotopos. The high watershed between the Louros valley and the plain of Lelovon formed the frontier on the south-west, and the bare mass of Mt. Xerovouni formed it on the south-east. The plain south of Charadra and Ammotopos was probably disputed between the Molossians, the Cassopaeans, and the Ambraciotes in the time of the Epirote League. The western frontier of Molossia towards Thesprotia is defined by the natural barriers of



MAP 16. Epirus



in the late Hellenistic period.

Mt. Korillas and the desolate country between Mt. Olytsika and the Kaki Skala. The division between Thesprotia and Molossis in the Kalamas valley came in the territory of the Phanoteis; for Anicius accepted the surrender of Phanote in 168 B.C. and 'crossed into Molossis' ('transgressus in Molossidem', Livy 45. 26. 3). The territory of the Phanoteis lay on the route which the consul Hostilius took through Epirus in 170 B.C., in order to take up his command in Boeotia. His shortest route was by sea from Corcyra to Gitana on the Kalamas (Thyamis),¹ and then via Raveni to Passaron (Radotovi) and over the Zygos pass to Thessaly. While he was staying in the territory of the Phanoteis, his host suspecting a plot to kidnap him sent him off at night to Gitana (Plb. 27. 16; D.S. 30. 5a; see p. 628, above). It follows that Phanote was more or less a night's journey from Gitana. When the Molossians joined the side of Perseus, a Macedonian officer called Cleuas garrisoned Phanote; Appius Claudius, aided by Chaonian and Thesprotian troops, laid siege to Phanote without success. Cleuas evidently chose Phanote because it blocked the entry into Molossis from the Thesprotian side (and possibly also from the Chaonian side), and because it was itself a stronghold. Now the direct route from Gitana to Passaron in Molossis reaches the gorge of the Kalamas at Raveni (see p. 186, above). It is a walk of five hours by day. One of the few fords over the Kalamas is at Raveni. The ancient site is strongly defended by walls and cliffs and has a periphery of 800 m. There is another ancient site further upstream at Vrousina with a periphery of some 300 m., and in the river below there are piers, which may be those of an ancient bridge. Either site fits the requirements of Phanote. As Raveni is the more strongly defended and controls the lower crossing of the Kalamas, I identify it with Phanote. As the villages of Raveni and Vrousina trade now partly with Filiates and partly with Ioannina, the latter predominating, it seems that the territory of the Phanoteis was more or less at the point of balance between Molossis and Thesprotia (see p. 186, above). The group of fortified sites which protects the entry into the plain of Ioannina from the Kalamas valley is clearly defined (see p. 199, above); it is probable that Anicius crossed into Molossis at Klimatia. It is likely that the Phanoteis were a constituent tribe of the Thesprotian *koinon* in view of Livy 45. 26. 3 (quoted just above) and that their territory marched with that of Molossis at Klimatia.

The valleys which enter the Kalamas valley at and above Raveni from the south were probably Molossian. The valley of the Tripomeno

¹ This crossing corresponds to the modern one from Corfu to Igoumenitsa or Sayiadha. Cicero could not stop his brother from crossing over: 'Q. Ciceroni obsisti non potuit quo minus Thyamim videret' (*ad Attic.* 7. 2).

Remma has ancient fortified sites at Zalongon and Vereniki (see p. 188, above). These sites are high up, much more like those round the plain of Ioannina than those of the lower Kalamas valley. The people of the valley beside which Kalokhori and Kourenda stand trade mainly with Ioannina, and the ancient fortified site at Kalokhori is likely to have been in Molossis. The circuit-wall at Kalokhori, like that at Ammotopos, has been destroyed deliberately, no doubt by the Roman army in 167 B.C. The tile with the letters ΠΑΣΣΑΡ was found at Kourenda. The Molossian frontier ran from here to Lakkasouli via Psina, a fortified town, and Koumbaries (including Baousioi in Molossis).

The limits of Thesprotia may now be defined. In the south the Acheron river and the Acherusian lake, together with the marshy land south of them, formed a frontier with Cassopaea; in particular the outlet of the Acheron with the two harbours of Kerentza and Splantza, between which lies the fortified site of Kerentza, belonged to Thesprotia and more particularly to Elaeatis, a subdivision of the Thesprotian *koinon*. This fortified site is Elea, taking its name from the λιμὴν ᾧ ὄνομα ΕΛΕΑ (i.e. ΕΛΕΑ) of Ps.-Scylax 30 and the Ἑλαίας λιμὴν of Ptolemy 3. 14. 5 which was not at Splantza but at Kerentza, since Ptolemy places it between the mouth of the Acheron and Nicopolis. The town Elea existed in the first half of the third century, if we accept Franke's dating of the inscription in *PAE* 1955, 171 γ; for Satyrus asks Zeus about his boat ἐν Ἑλαίαι, which is likely to be a town's name. The northern frontier of Thesprotia, marked by the Thyamis in the time of Hecataeus, who called the plain inland of Buthrotum ἐν τῇ Χαονικῇ, and probably in the time of Thucydides, seems to have moved northwards before the middle of the fourth century (see Ps.-Scylax and p. 514, above). The area which changed its allegiance was Cestria or ἡ Κεστρινὴ γῆ, famous for its cattle. St. Byz. calls it both a part of Chaonia and a part of Thesprotia (s.v. *Τροία* . . . καὶ πόλις ἄλλη ἐν Κεστρίᾳ τῆς Χαονίας and s.v. *Καμμανία* μοῖρα *Θεσπρωτίας*). Rhianus, writing in the latter half of the third century, described the Cestrini as Thesprotians, if we may judge from St. Byz. *Χαῦνοι· Θεσπρωτικὸν ἔθνος* quoting Rhianus:

Κεστρίνοι Χαῦνοί τε καὶ αὐχήμεντοι Ἑλινοί.

As the area was famous for its cattle, it was low-lying and swampy; therefore it must be in the valley of the Pavla, north of the watershed with the Thyamis. Pliny reports a town Cestria on the coast (*HN* 4. 1. 4: 'in Epiri ora castellum in Acroceraunio Chimera, sub eo Aquae regiae fons, oppida Maeandria, Cestria, flumen Thesprotiae Thyamis'); this town is likely to be Aetos which has access to the sea by Paganía and

Kato Aetos. The fortified sites at Aetos and Vagalat then protected the area Cestrine from the northern part of the plain. Maeandria, being near or on the coast, may be identified tentatively with Kara-Ali-Bey, where the Bistrica has many branches and outlets (see p. 99, above). At some time Thesprotia may have included the Hexamili peninsula; for Ptolemy 3. 14. 5 placed Onchesmus harbour in Chaonia and Poseidion Akron in Thesprotia. The fact that Gitana became the centre of the Thesprotian *koinon* shows the direction of trade towards Corcyra for the Adriatic Sea and Southern Italy. In earlier times, when the Thyamis was the frontier, the centre of the Thesprotians may have been at Photice, which is a natural centre inland; and the exports of Thesprotia were then sent from the mouth of the Acheron southwards to Greece. The same explanation is to be given for the choice of Elimokastro as a fortified town and harbour in the period 230–167 B.C.; for it is much closer to Corcyra than the modern Parga and the mouth of the Acheron are.

As the powerful group of fortified sites which surrounds the mountain range of Murgana (1806 m. on Map 4) forms a separate entity we may draw the frontier of Thesprotia through the block-post by Fatirion and carry it forward along the north side of the Kalamas valley to Dhespotikon. As we know the position of the Cestrini, the Phanoteis, and the Eleaei (from Photice down to the Acherusian Lake), we are left with two possible areas—the vicinity of Filiates or the canton of Margariti—for the Elini whose territory was called Elinia (St. Byz. s. *Ἐλινοὶ* and s. *Χαῦνοι*, where he quotes the line of Rhianus). An inscription from Dodona *SGDI* 1561 $\epsilon \eta \epsilon \iota \varsigma \text{'Ελίναν περιελ}(\theta)[\omega \mu \epsilon \varsigma] \eta \epsilon \iota \varsigma \text{Ἀνακτόριον}$. . . suggests that Elina like Anactorium was a port. The name is that of a synoecized centre or port, like Cassope of the Cassopaei or Elea of the Eleaei. The most probable site is Elimokastro because Koutsi is too far inland, and because Gitana was the port for the district of Filiates. The Elini then occupied the canton of Margariti and traded not through Parga or the Acheron mouth southwards but across the channel to Corcyra.

The Chaones lay north of the Thesprotians. At the end of the fourth century they fortified Phoenice, Kara-Ali-Bey, and Kalivo in the same style and presumably controlled the site at least of Buthrotum. There is some evidence of this in Aristotle, *Meteor.* B 4, who describes the properties of salt obtained in Chaonia by boiling the water of a spring (repeated in a shorter form by Pliny, *HN* 30. 82); and the salt spring in question is either the one at Buthrotum or that near Kalivo. As we see from Ptolemy 3. 14. 5, Buthrotum may have fallen to Thesprotia at some time, but even then Onchesmus $\lambda \mu \eta \nu$ belonged to Chaonia, and Phoenice was an inland city of Chaonia. Onchesmus, probably

a little north of the modern port Santi Quaranta, was a point of departure not only for Corcyra but also for Italy; for Cícero had a fine voyage homewards:

Flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites. (*ad Attic.* 7. 2. 1)

In the north the Chaones and Epirus begin alike at the Acroceraunian peninsula (Str. 7. 7. 5 and Pliny, *HN* 4. 1). The Polyanthus (Shushicë) is called 'Chaonites' by Lycophron, *Alexandria* 1046, but Proxenus distinguished the Abantes or Amantes as separate from the Chaones in his catalogue (*FGrH* 703 F 6). In the time of the Epirote League Amantia and the Amantes stood outside Chaonia in a political sense, but the southern part of the Gulf of Valona was reckoned to Chaonia in a geographical sense by Ptolemy 3. 14. As we have seen on p. 617, above, the area of the Aoi Stena from Tepelenë to Këlcyrë was part of Chaonia (see Map 8). To keep contact with this area and also with Antigonea, πόλις Χαονίας (St. Byz. s.v. and Ptol. 3. 14), it was necessary to control the lower Drin valley, that is from the level of Han Gjorgucat and Goricë where the road over the pass from Gardhikaq descends. In consequence the very large site at Saraginishtë was a Chaonian city; and its hinterland, Dhropul and Zagorië, was also Chaonian (see Map 2). The administrative centre of the Chaonian state was at Phoenice, towards which the southern part of the Kurvelesh and the lower valley of the Drin sent their produce; but the northern part of the Kurvelesh, grouped round the valleys of the Shushicë and the Ljumi Dukatit, traded with Oricum, Amantia, and Byllis.

A notable feature of Chaonia is the scarcity of fortified sites (as opposed to block-posts). The Kurvelesh, which produced so many warriors for Ali Pasha, the region of the Aoi Stena and the district of Zagorië have none except Antigonea, and that was founded by Pyrrhus. The Chaones of these areas relied on their warlike qualities and their mountainous terrain. Pliny, *HN* 4. 1. 4, mentions 'Chimera castellum in Acroceraunio'; the name¹ and the ruins are preserved at Himarë, an identification which is confirmed by Pliny's mention of the 'fons aquae regiae' below it. Ptolemy 3. 14 mentions three inland cities in Chaonia in addition to Phoenice and Antigonea. The Chaones worshipped Zeus Chaonios, the god of the Acroceraunian range (Steph. Byz. s. *Chaonia*).

The area which drains from the east into the Aous between Këlcyrë and Mesoyefira belonged also to Epirus, as Philip V came 'through Epirus into Chaonia' to occupy the Aoi Stena (Livy 32. 5; see p. 617, above). Pliny, *HN* 4. 1. 3, confirms this when he remarks that Epirus

¹ Spelt *Κεράρα* in the Delphic List of Thearodoci, *BCH* 45 (1921) 23 l. 54.

has 'a tergo suo Dassaretas'. For Dassaretis extended from Berat (Antipatrea) to Lake Lychnidus on the one hand¹ and probably to the basin of Koritsa on the other. As Pliny, *ibid.*, says Epirus reached to Macedonia, it follows that the area of Permet and Leskoviç (Danglli and Kolonië) was a canton of Epirus (see Map 2). Its name was Parauaea. Pyrrhus obtained Parauaea and Tymphaea from Macedon (Plu. *Pyrrh.* 6) and the name Parauaea is descriptive of the area 'beside the Aous', as St. Byz. s. *Parauaioi* remarks. Rhianus mentioned the Parauaei in the line

σὺν δὲ Παρναίοις ἀμύμονας Ὀμφαλιῆας.

The city Omphalion which Ptolemy 3. 14 mentioned as an inland Chaonian town was probably the centre of the 'Omphaliëës'. The Parauaei, on the other hand, are not credited with any city in the ancient evidence.² As Parauaea marched with Orestis and also with Tymphaea, it included the highlands of West Pindus which drain towards the Aous, that is the area of Dhistraton and Vovoussa. This is implicit in the traditions of the Aenianes that at one time they occupied τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀράουαν χώραν and were then called the Paraouai (Plu. *GQ* 13); for they probably based this tradition on the position of the Enienes in the Homeric Catalogue.³

Tymphaea (also called Stymphea or Stymphaeis) lay on the eastern side of North Pindus. It was renowned in Theophrastus, *Lap.* 64, and Pliny, *HN* 35. 198, for 'Tymphaicum gypsum', which was found on the surface of the ground there and was used for scouring clothes. The location of this gypsum is still unknown, but the formation in which it is found begins just south-west of Grevena. Thus Tymphaea certainly contained the headwaters of the Venetikos river and came close to Grevena.⁴ It extended southwards to the headwaters of the Peneus river; for the Tymphaei disputed the τοῦ Πηνειοῦ πηγαί with 'the Thessalians under Pindus' (Str. 7. 7. 9). The Tymphaei were a tribal

¹ See Wace and Thompson in *BSA* 18 (1911-12) 176 for Lychnidus = Ochrida.

² C. Müller's conjecture in his edition of Ptolemy, I. 1, 519, that 'Parauaeorum' should be restored for the manuscript readings Parthyerorum (ed. Rom.), παρθυαίων (Χα), Παρθυαίων (cet.) should not be accepted, despite the fact that it has been uncritically followed (e.g. in *RE* xiv. 1. 663); for the entry comes between Pieria and Thessaly, not on the west side of the Pindus range, where Parauaea lies. The only place belonging to the 'Parthyaei' is Eriboea in Ptolemy's account; it was perhaps in Perrhaebia. The conjecture that Megara was in Parauaea is equally baseless (*RE* s. *Parauaioi*); for St. Byz. s.v. puts it in Molossis.

³ Wace and Thompson in *BSA* 18 put the Parauaei east of Pindus, but this divorce from the Aous runs against the literary evidence.

⁴ See the Greek Geological Map 1:500,000. The eastern boundary of the Tymphaei probably included Grevena (cf. *BSA* 17. 202). Alexander is likely to have passed via Grevena, Mavreli, and Dheskati to Pelinna in Thessaly between the hills of Tymphaea and Perrhaebia (Arr. *An.* 1. 6. 5); this is a route I used often in 1943.

group with their own worship of Zeus as Δειπάτυρος,¹ associated probably with their own mountain, Mt. Tymphe.²

One of their towns, Aeginium, is described by Strabo, *ibid.*, as ὄμορον Αἰθικία καὶ Τρίκκη, and Marsyas (*FGrH* 135 F 18) placed Aethicia between Tymphaea and Athamania in the later part of the fourth century. The position of Aeginium is therefore important. It has been identified by Leake and others, including Stählin and Philippson-Kirsten, with Kalabaka, because an inscription mentioning the people of Aeginium was found on a block in a church there.³ But inscribed stones may be carried considerable distances; all that can be legitimately inferred is that Aeginium was within a pack-horse's journey of Kalabaka. Now Kalabaka has no remains of ancient fortifications;⁴ and the rock pinnacles which carry the Meteora monasteries do not afford the emplacement for a fortified town. Yet Livy 44. 46 speaks of a sortie from Aeginium which caused the death of 200 Roman troops in 168 B.C., and Aeginium was punished by being destroyed in 167 B.C. Moreover, Flamininus attacked Aeginium in 198 B.C.; even with a small garrison it was 'tutum ac prope inexpugnabilem' (Livy 32. 15. 4). These accounts mean that Aeginium was a fortified town. We therefore need a strong natural site of which the fortifications were razed and which is closer to the sources of the Peneus than Kalabaka, which is a day's journey from Malakasi. This site exists at Nea Koutsoufliani on the Rock of the Goat (see p. 260, above). Moreover, it has a strategic position; for it commands the route from Athamania in the upper Achelous to the upper Venetikos river and so to Elimiotis in Macedonia, it threatens the route to the Zygos pass between Thessaly and Epirus,⁵ and it is close to the sources of the Peneus, Malakasi being an hour and a half's walk away. The site is less high than the site at Voutonosi below Metsovon. I therefore identify the Rock of the Goat with the acropolis of Aeginium. The walls have been totally destroyed, and this destruction was probably carried out by Roman troops in 167 B.C.⁶ This identification receives strong support from the operations of the Civil War. Caesar marched 'per Epirum atque Athamaniam', using Ambracia as a base of supply for his large forces and entering Thessaly at Gomphi; and Domitius escaped from the upper Haliacmon valley with only four hours' lead. They met at Aeginium, that is

¹ Hsch. s.v.

² St. Byz. s.v.

³ Leake 1. 419 = *IG* ix. 2. 329 πόλις Αἰγινιέων, and Stählin 122 f.; also Wace and Thompson in *BSA* 18. 181.

⁴ Stählin *loc. cit.* gives a list of the attempts to find such remains.

⁵ See p. 260, above, for remains of an ancient bridge below the site.

⁶ Kalabaka then lay in the territory of Tricca, as we should expect since it is on the edge of the plain.

on the route from Athamania to upper Macedonia; and the town was at the same time 'obiectum oppositumque Thessaliae' (BC 3. 79).

Aethicia then lay on the south side of the Peneus opposite Tymphaea. This area now has well-populated villages such as Ambelokhori and Kastania. This high part of East Pindus and the high part of West Pindus both figured in the traditions of the Aenianes (Plu. *GQ* 13 and 26). The high watershed between the headwaters of the Peneus and the headwaters of the Achelous marks the boundary between Aethicia and Athamania. The Athamanes held not only the headwaters of the Achelous and its highest tributaries but also the fertile highlands which shelve down to the Thessalian plain (Ps. Scymn. 618); and it was this latter area which gave them greater economic and military strength than any other tribe possessed in the Pindus area. The Athamanes were immediate neighbours of the Epirotes to the west of the Achelous watershed (Livy 42. 55: iter expeditum primo per Epirum habuit; deinde postquam in Athamaniam est transgressus) and also of the Amphilochi further south (Ptolemy 3. 14). Their frontier was the western watershed of the Achelous valley.

The position of the Atintanes has been confused by the failure to distinguish between them and the Atintani of Illyris (see pp. 599 f., above). When part of the Epirote army was defeated by the Illyrians outside Phoenice and another part was awaiting the arrival of Scerdilaïdas via Antigonea, the survivors of the battle fled in the direction of the Atintanes (Plb. 2. 5. 8: ὡς ἐπ' Ἀτιντάνων). They headed for the hills to the south-east, not to the pass by Gardhikaq over which Scerdilaïdas might come nor to the lowlands round Lake Butrinto, but to the hills of Koqino Lithari, and Dhrovjan (see pp. 117 f. above). Because Thucydides (2. 80. 5) described the Atintanes as being under the same command as the Molossians, Atintania may be assumed to have been contiguous with Molossis. The area which they occupied is best identified with the group of fortified sites extending from Koqino Lithari, and Dhrovjan to Glousta in the south-west and Pepel in the south-east. All the sites are high on the mountain-sides (see p. 218, above). As they must have cultivated the valleys of the upper Drin below Pepel and the valley of the Kseria stream, I attribute to them also the sites which defend the approaches to these valleys, namely those at Ktismata, Sosinou, Ieromnimi, and Dhespotikon. Thus the Atintanes lay athwart the direct route from the Drin valley to the plain of Ioannina; for this route followed the Kseria valley and crossed the Kalamas by the *theoyephyra* below Zitsa. We are left in this area with the sites round Poliçan in Paleo-Pogoni (see pp. 213 f., above). As the approach to their territory is either from Pogoni or from part of the Drin valley, I propose to identify the peoples of these sites as

a tribe on their own, not belonging to the Atintanes. Reasons for identifying them with the Omphales will appear later (see p. 704, below).

The frontiers of Molossis on the south and on the west have already been defined. The frontier with the Atintanes follows the line of the upper Kalamas as far as Kalbaki and Lake Tseravina. The highland area of Pogoni, that is the area between the upper Kalamas and the middle Aous (see p. 268, above), certainly belonged to Molossis. For it is an essential area for communication between the plain of Ioannina and the small plain by Konitsa which we know belonged to Molossis; for the 'castra Pyrrhi in Triphylia terrae Molottidos' lay in this small plain (Livy 32. 13; see p. 280, above). Here the Molossians held a bridge over the Aous against Perseus, when he came to capture the Roman consul Mancinus (see p. 280 and p. 628, above). The importance of this district of 'Triphylia' in antiquity is shown by its three sites, Artsista on the south bank of the Voïdhomati, Mesoyefira on the north bank of the Aous below its confluence with the Voïdhomati, and Palea Goritsa between the Aous and the Sarandaporos before their confluence. The site at Mesoyefira is beside the modern bridge over the Aous; it was presumably occupied because the ancient bridge was there. The Molossians would not have held the site at Mesoyefira alone, because it is north of the river and could be easily cut off, and it is likely that they held also the triangle of land between the Sarandaporos and the Aous, that is the area in which Konitsa lies, and occupied the three sites. As very little is left of their walls, it may be deduced that the circuit-walls were razed by the Romans in 167 B.C.

The communications between the district of Permet and West Pindus turn inland north of Konitsa, as the gorge of the Aous above Konitsa is impassable. They were therefore not interrupted by the Molossian position in Triphylia. The canton of Zagori is certainly part of Molossis, as there are no fortified sites between this canton and the canton of Ioannina. Molossis therefore included Zagori and then extended up to the line of the Aous by Vovoussa and beyond its headwaters to the watershed between the Venetikos and the Peneus on the east and the Aous and the Arachthus on the west. The Molossian position up to the watershed is required by Strabo's statements that the Epirote tribes nearer Macedon are the Molossians, Athamanes, Aethices, Tymphaei, and Orestae (7. 7. 8) and that west Thessaly is shut in by the Athamanes, the Molossians and the territory of the Aethices (9. 5. 1). As Marsyas said that Aethicia lay between Tymphaea and Athamania, Molossis probably had no formal frontier with Thessaly in the fourth century or indeed in the third century B.C.¹

¹ The evidence of Marsyas (*FGrH* 135-6 F 18) is important, because he was a Macedonian of the second half of the fourth century. Much of Strabo's information about

But the forests are extensive, the high pastures are used by nomad shepherds, and there cannot have been a hard and fast division of the area in antiquity between these tribes. The Molossians had particular importance among them because they held the western side not only of the Zygos pass but also of the direct passes from Macedonia to Central Epirus, and these passes can be most readily and effectively blocked on the western side of the watershed.¹ The fortified sites in Zagori are high up near West Pindus, namely Skamneli, Makrinon, and Voutonosi. They are reinforced in depth by the sites of Dhemiati and Gradetsi near the confluence of the river of Zagori (the Dhi-potamos) and the Arachthus. The centre of Zagori is by Moni Voutsas, where there is an ancient site; the monastery itself is of early Byzantine foundation.² The very scanty remains of the circuit-wall at Voutonosi suggest that it was razed by the Romans in 167 B.C., like the circuit-wall of Aeginium, its counterpart on the eastern side of the Zygos pass.

Pliny, *HN* 4. 1. 4, calls the Arachthus one of the rivers of the Molossians (his form of the name is Aratthus). Strabo 7. 7. 6, a passage based on Hecataeus (see pp. 477 f., above), says that the Aratthus rose in Mt. Tymphe and in Paroraea, and it appears from inscriptions (e.g. *SGDI* 1350) that the people of Paroraea were the *Πάρωροι*, an ethnic group. As the Ambraciotes held some of the lower Arachthus and the Parori part of its headwaters, we may attribute the middle Arachthus definitely to Molossis. This attribution is necessary in order to make the river defensible by Dhemiati and Gradetsi (see p. 267, above). Paroraea, 'the area by the mountains', is then the southern side of the headwaters of the Arachthus, that is the steep flanks of Mt. Peristeri. The frontier between Molossis and Athamania ran along the watershed of Mt. Peristeri and Mt. Tsoumerka, and the Molossian fortified sites near this frontier were high on the mountain-side at Kalarritai and Pramanda. The southern frontier with Ambracia has already been mentioned as one defended by the fortified sites of Chuka, Khosepsi and Gouryiana. This southern area and that which contains routes west of the river Arachthus were heavily fortified by the Molossians (see pp. 159 f., above).

The frontiers of Ambracia's territory and those of the Amphilochoi and the Argeia have been described already (p. 159 and p. 247, above). Ambracia relied on her own fortifications and on Ambracius to close the approaches from the west, and in the period of the Epirote League she was generally in alliance with Athamania and Amphilochia. The Molossian tribes, such as the Talaes, comes from Hecataeus and has been considered on p. 458, above.

¹ Where the descent is much steeper, especially above Metsovon on the face of serpentine rock (see p. 261, above). The motor-road, of course, follows a different route.

² Illustrated in *MEE* 12. 346.

Amphilochi, on the other hand, had many fortified sites. They extended inland up to the western watershed of the Achelous at Embesos.

This delimitation of the ancient cantons of Epirus underlines the great differences between them in the number of walled cities and towns. Such differences reflect a different standard and way of life, and no doubt different institutions. Cassopaea, Thesprotia, most of Molossis, the plain of Buthrotum, Atintania, the area of the confluence of the Shushicë and the Aous, and also the area by Saraginishtë were far more advanced than the mountain areas of the Chaonian homeland (the Kurvelesh), Parauaea, West Pindus, Tymphaea, Aethicia, Paroraca, and even Athamania. What these people lacked in culture, they made good in their quality as fighters, as the history of Athamania shows. The survival of kingship in Athamania, Molossis, Chaonia, and Tymphaea is a contrast with the institutions of Ambracia and Cassopaea. The Athamanians owed their eminence at the time of the Epirote League to their kings (Str. 9. 4. 11). The fall of the Molossian kingship coincided with a weakening of the Molossian state and of the group of Epirote tribal states. We do not know when the monarchy ended in Chaonia; but we learn of a daughter of a king of the Chaonians, one Phaennis, who possessed the gift of prophecy and lived in the first half of the third century B.C. Polyperchon, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, was described by Tzetzes ad Lycophr. *Alex.* 800 as ὁ Τυμφαῖος Αἰθίκων βασιλεὺς. Their vigour was a cause for alarm to the more sophisticated Greeks of the plains, who might have echoed Strabo's words on the Aethices: τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἐπιεικῶς παράβολόν τε καὶ βάρβαρον καὶ ληστείας ἐπιεικῶς προσκείμενον.

In considering the frontiers of the tribal cantons we noted the destruction of certain walled sites, probably carried out in 167 B.C.: Ammotopos in the south of Molossis, Kalokhori in the west of Molossis by the Kalamas valley, the three sites in Triphylia (Palea Goritsa, Mesoyefira, and Artsista) and Voutonosi on the east side of Molossis. Signs of destruction have also been noted at Radotovi (Passaron) and at Dodona.¹ I considered that the circuit-wall of Vourta on the western edge of the Ioannina plateau had been deliberately smashed (p. 182, above). It is evident that the Romans destroyed more thoroughly those walled sites which defended the entries into Molossian territory. The destruction of the whole wall-circuit of a town such as Eurymenae (Kastritsa), of which the periphery was between 2 and 3 kilometres long, was unnecessary, and here a part only was demolished.

Outside the area which we have ascribed to Molossis there are some demolished sites. One is the Rock of the Goat at Nea Koutsoufliani

¹ *PAE* 1952, 306, burnt roof-tiles, and *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961/2) 2. 198, six burnt silver coins of the Epirote League.

(Aeginium). Another is Selo (p. 206, above). It is the most northeasterly of the group of sites which I attributed to the Atintanes, and it threatens the passage along the Drin valley. Another is Zimnec (p. 97, above); it is at the western end of the same group, on the pass from the lower Kalamas valley into the plain of Buthrotum. It seems likely that this group of sites was also sacked and their defences partly demolished by the Romans in 167 B.C. This means that the Atintanes sided with the Molossians against the Romans. The order of the Senate was that cities which had defected to Perscus should be destroyed, and the statement of Polybius 30. 16, that the cities were mainly in Molossis, indicates that some non-Molossian peoples had shared in the revolt and its consequences. The hostility of the Atintanes to Rome provides a reason for the line of retreat which Appius Claudius took in 170 B.C. and for the line of advance which Anicius took in 168 B.C. Both armies came from Illyria. The easiest route from the north follows the Drin valley; moreover, the upper reaches of the Kalamas offer a less serious obstacle, if one advances, for instance, against the fortress of Khrisorrakhi. This line of advance has been the usual one (see p. 278 and 619, above). The Romans, however, were attempting a much harder route in attacking Phanote; for the Kalamas at Raveni is a formidable obstacle, and the natural and artificial defences between Phanote and Passaron are much greater. The obvious explanation is that the Atintanes who lay athwart the exit from the upper Drin valley were against Rome and with Molossia. Therefore the Roman commanders chose to advance from allied territory, that is from Chaonia into Thesprotia and along the coastal route into the lower Kalamas valley. When Appius Claudius withdrew from Phanote, he was pursued by Cleuas 'sub radicibus prope inviis montium' and lost 1,200 men before 'superatis angustiis' he halted for a few days 'in campo quem Meleona vocant' (Livy 43. 23). Cleuas then crossed over into the territory of Antigonea ('transcendit'); later he returned to watch Appius Claudius, lest he should harm their (the Macedonians') allies. Livy's description, based on that of Polybius, does not fit a retreat through friendly Thesprotian country to Gitana; nor would Cleuas have gone to Antigonea if Appius Claudius had halted at Gitana which is only a few hours away from Phanote. It is possible that Appius Claudius crossed by Zimnec to the plain below Malçan, where he had both Chaonian and Thesprotian allies at hand and he could obtain supplies from Buthrotum. In that case he passed through the edge of hostile Atintanian territory and his heavy loss, 1,200 out of 6,000 men, is understandable. Cleuas, too, was now within one day's or two days' distance of Antigonea. He returned to protect not the Molossians but the Atintanes from reprisals by Appius Claudius.

The last site which I think shows signs of destruction by Rome is that at Labovë, where an angle of the wall is reduced to rubble (p. 209, above). This site is the point of entry to the group in Paleo-Pogoni, an area which may be the seat of a Molossian tribe (see p. 682, below). If they did participate in the revolt, then they and the Atintanes would have threatened the route along the Drin valley from both sides.

Aemilius Paullus is said to have sacked 70 *urbes* or *oppida*. If we take the walled sites in Atintania and Molossis, as we have defined them, and if we add Phanote (Raveni) and its neighbour Vrousina, we have a total of fifty-nine walled sites.¹ It is likely that there were some *oppida* in the plain of Ioannina which had no walls, towns such as the open town of Passaron (as distinct from its acropolis at Gardhiki); for Gardhiki and Kastritsa are the only walled sites in the large plain, which at that time had no lake and was more productive. If so, they would bring the total to seventy. At any rate, our figures are close enough to support the statement of Polybius. We may accept the fact that Rome destroyed every considerable inhabited centre throughout an area which extended from Labovë to Ammotopos and from the Pindus range to the line of Mt. Korillas and Mt. Tsamanda. The walls of cities and houses were left standing, but the survivors fled to other parts of Epirus. It was not the intention of Rome that this area, the very heart of Central Epirus, should revive. Writing at the beginning of the Principate, Strabo testified to the continuing desolation of the interior (C 326), and in founding Nicopolis Augustus moved people down towards the coast. Two centuries later Ptolemy gave a list of the inland cities of Epirus. There is a significant gap. *Χαόνων· Ἀντιγονεΐα, Φοινίκη, Ἑκατόμπεδον, Ὀμφάλιον, Ἐλαιούς*. Then *Κασσιοπαίων* and *Ἀμφιλόχων*.

While some have underestimated the effectiveness of Rome's policy, others have exaggerated it by extending the area of destruction to include, for example, the Nekyomanteion in Thesprotia and Cassope itself.² But Rome was logical, as well as ruthless, in her treatment of Epirus. She punished with severity her treacherous allies, but she did no damage to loyal allies, such as the Thesprotians, who had sent troops to help Appius Claudius in 170 B.C. Her aim was to encourage loyalty. Chaonia and Buthrotum flourished. Phoenice issued coinage, and the prosperous Chaonian plain attracted Italian speculators, such as Cicero's friend Atticus. In the south Cassope prospered from 167 B.C. until the foundation of Nicopolis; repairs were undertaken in the

¹ These are numbered as follows on the list on pp. 659 f., above: 6, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 21, 26, 30, 31, 33, 37, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47-51, 53-64, 66-68, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 89, 91, 93, 94, 97, 98, 101, 102, 105, 106-9, 112.

² *Ergon* 1963, 58 and *PAE* 1954, 209.

katagogion, dedications were made to Zeus Soter,¹ and coinage was issued by the Cassopaei and also by the Pandosieis (see pp. 643 f., above). The Nekyomanteion in Thesprotia continued to attract pilgrims in late Hellenistic and Roman times.²

The place on the coast which suffered most from the effects of Rome's action was Gitana; for its hinterland—the middle and upper Kalamas valley and the plain of Ioannina—was now depopulated. Other places were better fitted to export the goods of the cantons of Margariti and Paramythia, which were still prosperous and had not depended on a hinterland. A new harbour appears in Ptolemy's list between the mouth of the Thyamis and Sybota, namely Torone, which is not to be confused with Toryne.³ The only ancient site on the coast between the delta of the Thyamis and Sybota is Nista, at the head of the Plataria Bay. It is mentioned in the Greek Portulan between Igoumenitsa and Sybota. It is well placed to export the goods of Margariti (see p. 80, above). Another port, which is first mentioned in Roman times, is Toryne, a 'ladle shaped' port, which should be identified with Parga. When the fleet of Antony was at Actium, Octavian occupied Toryne and in Cleopatra's words 'sat on the ladle' (Plu. *Ant.* 62); thus the base for his fleet was there. He had to be south of Cape Varlam (Cheimerium) in case he was held up by adverse winds, he had to have a clear view of the sea southwards to Actium and he needed a station with beaching facilities and protection. He could meet all these requirements at Parga. The harbour consists of a beautiful semicircular bay.⁴ Its importance certainly grew, as it did in Turkish times, as a centre of export from Margariti and Paramythia.⁵ The remains there (see p. 77, above) show it was a port in late Hellenistic times and in Roman times.⁶ When Nicopolis was founded, the harbour of Kastrosikia (Berenice) was displaced by Comaros (Str. 7. 7. 5), because there was no longer any need for strong defences.

The area which gained most from Rome's settlement was Northern Epirus. It found a good market for its products not only in Italy but

¹ *PAE* 1953, 170 f.; 1954, 201 f.

² *Ergon* 1963, 58.

³ As in *PW* s. Torone. If Ptolemy's Torone (3. 14) is changed to Toryne and placed north of Sybota, it will not fit Plu. *Ant.* 62. Gomme, *Comm. on Thuc.* 1. 181, made this equation 'Torone, i.e. Toryne', but he saw the difficulty.

⁴ I take it that the 'ladle' refers to such a shape.

⁵ The Greek Portulans show it was a port not only on the coasting route to Preveza (Delatte 204. 17 f.) but also on the route further out to sea to Cephallenia, avoiding Preveza (306. 5).

⁶ The polygonal walling there is likely to be of the third century. S. I. Dakaris (*Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 205) has suggested identifying Toryne with Ayia Kiriaki and its harbour with Ayios Ioannis; but the harbour, though good (see Delatte 204. 19), has no beaching facilities, it has no view of Actium and its communications inland are even poorer than those of Parga. The mouth of the Acheron is ladle-shaped, but the bar makes egress difficult in rough weather.

also at Aulon and Apollonia, through which the great road linking Italy and the East passed, the Via Egnatia. Aulon, 'the channel', derived its name from the funnel which leads from the open sea into the lagoon of Artë. This lagoon provided better anchorage than the Aous river, in which the current of the stream and an onshore wind might cause difficulty. The south side of Cape Treporti on which Aulon stood provided good harbourage in most weathers (see p. 133, above). The quay and the road which have been seen at Cape Treporti probably mark the start of the Via Egnatia at Aulon. The stage of the road from Aulon to Apollonia is given as 24 or 25 Roman miles,¹ that is up to 37 kilometres, with 'mutatio Stephana' half-way between them. The direct route is 22 Roman miles, i.e. 32 kilometres, but it would cross the Aous at a difficult point. The additional two or three miles take one to near Qesar, just below the confluence of the Aous and the Shushicë, and it is here at the crossing of the river that we should put 'mutatio Stephana'. The Aous was navigable up to, and probably above, the level of Apollonia (see p. 134, above); a ferry was no doubt maintained at 'mutatio Stephana', and there was no need to bridge the Aous, which is 150 yards wide at this point.² The traffic of the Via Egnatia created a demand for supplies, which the cities of the Aous valley, especially Byllis and Amantia, could meet. Oricum, until it was sacked by Pompey, and its hinterland in the Shushicë valley also benefited. The *odeum* at Oricum was built in the Roman period, the district round the Nymphaeum has produced Roman sherds, and the Vlorë collection has many pieces of Roman statuary.³ Ploçë and Qesarat

¹ The figures of It. Ant. (25) and It. Hi. (12 + 12 with a 'mutatio Stephana') agree well enough. The figure 16 in the Peutinger Table (ed. Miller p. 562) is for an alternative route. The gap in the line on the Table between Aulon and Apollonia probably indicates that a part of the passage was on a waterway, and this is possible as the lagoon of Artë is large today and the basin of the Aous may have had more open water in antiquity than it has now. Miller (Map 179) put Aulon mistakenly at the modern town of Valona and brought the road over the marshes from Apollonia to the coast and then across the lagoon to Aulon; this seems an impossibly boggy and devious route. G. Stadtmüller in *Historia* 3 (1954-5) 246 holds that 16 is an error for 26 in the Peutinger Table, and he misses the references in It. Ant. and It. Hi. Aulon in the Greek accusative produced the Latin name Aulona of the Itineraries, and the modern Greek pronunciation produced the name Avlona, which has been transposed to Valona and Vlorë. The place too has changed. Aulon was open to attack; Valona was defined in the Greek Portulans in relation to the castle of Kanina (Delatte 203. 12 f.).

² The Aous ran closer to Apollonia in antiquity (see p. 133, above). Nowadays the area where the rivers join and the area lower down are marshy and wide; bridging would be a very difficult task in the marshes. The milestone found at Levani is on a direct and on an indirect route and gives no help in this problem (*CIL* iii. 7365). Kiepert, *FOA* 17, put Stephana south of the river. A road 6 m. wide with paving has been found outside the circuit-wall at Apollonia; the excavators call it a strategic road, but it is more likely to be a piece of the Via Egnatia, as one does not usually provide a strategic road for one's enemies (*BUST* 1960, 1. 95).

³ See *AA* 1. 108 (Nymphaeum) and 1. 76 f. for statuary.

have yielded several statues of the Roman period: a bearded Asclepius, an Eros in marble, a head of a young girl and a woman holding a round basket of fruit with a snake on it. A relief of the third century B.C. from Ploçë shows a god of fertility holding a large cornucopia and flanked by a woman and a man, the latter also holding a cornucopia.¹ The abundant foodstuffs, especially meat and milk products, which were produced in Northern Epirus, were mentioned by Julius Caesar during the Civil War;² and hay and oak leaves were important as winter fodder for animals. The prosperity of Northern Epirus makes a marked contrast with the collapse of Central Epirus.

2. THE ROMAN ROADS

The Roman road system in Epirus shows that the coastal areas were the more important ones, because the main road most mentioned in the records proceeded from Aulona 'per loca maritima' to Nicopolis. The lengths of the first three stages are assured because they are the same in the Peutinger Table and in the Antonine Itinerary:³ Aulon to 'ad Acroceraunia' 33 miles (49 km.), to Phoenice 41 miles (61 km.) and to Buthrotum 56 miles. The sameness of the figures has established the presumption that the Table and the Itinerary were using the same original source; this is a sound deduction (especially as the figure 56 is unusual), but we must add that they made independent use of the original source in the next section of the road. The distance from Aulon at Cape Treporti to 'ad Acroceraunia' at the head of the Llogora pass is some 46 kilometres when measured flat on the Greek Staff Map 1:100,000; and this fits well when we allow for the steep ascent and the twists along the coast.⁴ There are signs of a road and many Roman and Byzantine remains at Oricum,⁵ from which a side road no doubt entered the main road. The distance on the same map from the head of the Llogora pass to Phoenice is 58 kilometres on the flat; this is a particularly up-and-down road between the pass and Palermo, and the Roman distance of 41 miles, that is of 61 kilometres, is again a correct one.⁶ The figure 56 miles to Buthrotum is from the Acroceraunia,

¹ *BUST* 13 (1959) 3. 109 f. with figs. 10 f.

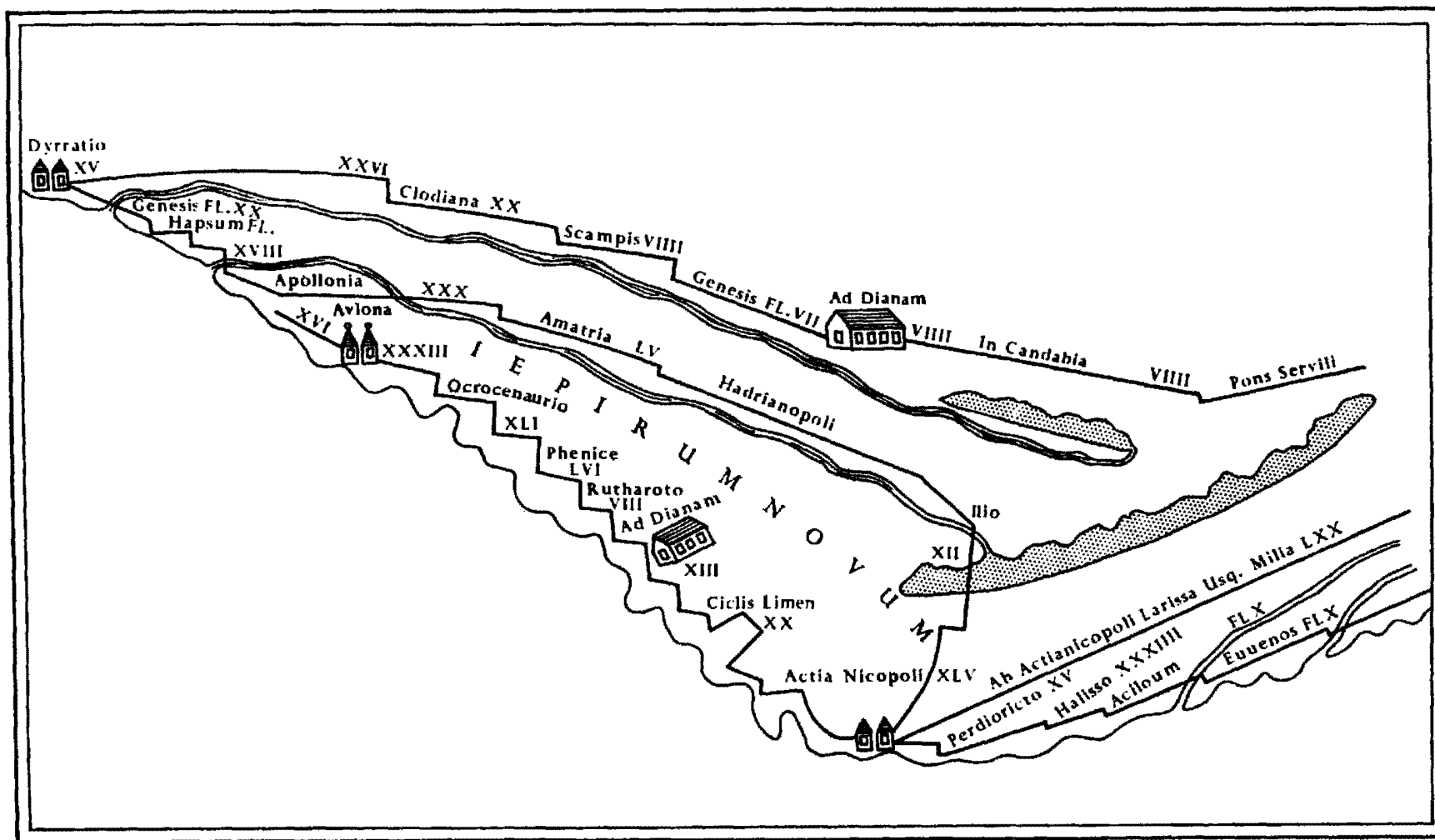
² *BC* 3. 40 from Byllis and Amantia; 42; 47, 6 'pecus vero cuius rei summa erat ex Epiro copia', and also a sort of thick *yiaourti*.

³ The editions are K. Miller 559 with Maps 117 and 148/50 and Maps 179-80 for the Peutinger Table; O. Cuntz for the Antonine Itinerary; and J. Schnetz for the Ravenna Geographer and the Guidonis Geographia. The article by G. Stadtmüller 'Das römische Straßennetz der Provinzen Epirus Nova und Epirus Vetus' in *Historia* 3 (1954-5) is of little worth.

⁴ As Miller put Aulon at the modern town Valona, he said the figure was incorrect (p. 563).

⁵ Not mentioned by Stadtmüller on p. 246 n. 2.

⁶ A less arduous and twisty route lies inland along the Shushicë valley and then the Kalasë valley; but the distances fit the coastal route better.



MAP 17. Roman Roads in the Peutingr Table (f. 902)

but it is too high for the road to have gone direct to Buthrotum along the Hexamili peninsula. The figure fits only as an aggregate of 41 (Acroceraunia to Phoenice) and 15 (Phoenice to Buthrotum). The road then went via Phoenice and from there along the east and south side of the lake to a point across the channel from Buthrotum. The distance in fact from Phoenice is 22 kilometres, that is 15 Roman miles. Buthrotum was a key point in the communications; for the Antonine Itinerarium Maritimum (489) went from Nicopolis to Buthrotum to 'Sasonis insula' leaving Aulon 'interius' on one's right and then crossing to Hydruntum.¹

For the next stage, because the total of Roman miles is impossibly short, Miller held that one name and one distance had been omitted on the Peutinger Table. I include his proposal of 24 miles in the entries:

<i>Antonine Itinerary</i> 324 (ed. Cuntz)		<i>Peutinger Table</i> (Miller 563)	
Butroto (Butroton <i>P</i> Bruthroto <i>D</i>)		Rutharoto	
		—[24]	
		ad Dianam and temple-symbol	8
Clycis Limen (clicis <i>P</i> cilycis <i>D</i> limena <i>D</i>)	30	Ciclis Limen	13
Actia Nicopoli	20	Acta Nicopoli	20

Miller's hypothesis, however, is not very cogent. The Ravenna Geographer, who is believed to have drawn on the original source used by the Peutinger Table,² gives us at 4. 13 the places: Actia Nicopolis, Glicisme (glicisine *C* slicisme *G*), Diana, Butaroton (butarutan *G*), Penice, etc. The *Guidonis Geographia* gives the same list: Actranicopolis, Slicisme, Diana, Butarutan, Penice, Acroceraunium quae et Butrehntos, Aulona, Appollonia.³ The fact that the Peutinger Table and the Ravenna Geographer both go from Buthrotum to Diana suggests that their original common source did so; and it should be noted that they derived from this source an odd spelling which they rendered in the nominative as Rutharotum and Butaroton (butarutan *G*). The *Guidonis* Geographer gives supporting evidence that no station was mentioned between Buthrotum and 'ad Dianam' in the original Peutinger Table.

If then the stations were Buthrotum, 'ad Dianam' and Ciclis Limen in the Peutinger Table's original source, we must suppose not that a station has been omitted but that the figures are corrupt, either one or both of them: viii and xiii. The Antonine Itinerary gives us xxx to Glycis Limen presumably from the station which we know was in the original source common to it, the Table and the Ravenna

¹ Ed. O. Cuntz p. 76; Stadtmüller 246 does not discuss the route taken by the road from Phoenice to Buthrotum.

² So Miller holds.

³ Ed. Schnetz 112 on p. 137. In theory 'Butrehntos' should be the name of the halt at the Acroceraunium, but it looks like a variant form of Buthrotum.

Geographer, i.e. from the temple of Diana. Let us suppose then in the first place that the Peutinger Table's XIII is an error for XXX, the true reading preserved by the Itinerary. Reckoning back from a fixed point, that is from the Glycys Limen of Hecataeus at the mouth of the Acheron, we come exactly with $44\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres = 30 Roman miles to the Kalamas river by hill 59, if we travel via Margariti, Nista and Igoumenitsa. But if we go instead to Liboni, north of Paramythia, it is only 34 kilometres = 23 Roman miles. This latter figure does not fit either the 30 miles of the Antonine Itinerary or the 13 miles of the Peutinger Table. I mentioned hill 59 on the Kalamas for two reasons. First, it is on the shortest route 'per loca maritima' and it affords the best crossing over the Kalamas; for the river was navigable up to there, and there was no need for a bridge. Second, there are Byzantine and medieval remains on hill 59 and nearby at Klisia and Plisivitsa (see p. 86, above). The site is just below Goumani (Gitana). Ph. M. Petsas found by hill 59 a broken tile of the time of the Roman Empire; it carries an inscription which I complete as ΔΙΩΝΑC. The tile suggests that there was a temple of Dione on or by hill 59.¹ Confusion of Doric 'Diona' and Latin 'Diana' is easy. Thus 'ad Dianam' is likely to have been at hill 59 beside the crossing of the Kalamas, like Stephana beside the crossing of the Aous.

The place which has sometimes been acclaimed as the 'mansio ad Dianam' is Liboni near Paramythia, because a Latin inscription mentioning 'Diana Tenacria' was found there. Liboni, we know, was the site of Photice, an important place in the time of the Roman Empire. If the road came here, we should expect to have found 'civitas Photice' in the Itineraries and not 'mansio ad Dianam'.² But the greater objection is that the route via Liboni involves a longer détour and carries one away from the coast, that is up the Kalamas valley to Minina and then via Liboni down the Cocytus valley and round to Splantza (Glycys Limen). Moreover, the distance from Liboni to Splantza is 23 Roman miles; as we have said, this does not fit either of the figures given in the Itineraries for the stage from 'ad Dianam' to 'Glycys Limen'. The worship of Diana (or Artemis) was very widespread in Epirus, and there is therefore no need to assume that, because Diana was worshipped in Photice, the 'mansio ad Dianam' was necessarily there.³

The route from Buthrotum to 'ad Dianam' goes in any case via

¹ *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 13; see p. 667, above.

² See K. Geroyannis in *WMBH* 8 (1902) 204 f. and *Eph. Arch.* 1924, 195 f. P-K 2. 1. 102 n. 2 has questioned the connexion between the worship of Diana at Liboni and the course of the Roman road; not so Stadtmüller 248, who finds it 'eine unausweichliche Annahme' and cheerfully asserts that the 'Entfernungsangaben der Itinerare' support it!

³ We should indeed have expected 'Photice' and not 'ad Dianam' to have figured in the Itineraries, if the road had really had a halt at Photice.

Aetos and Sayiadha to the river Kalamas at hill 59. If it continues to Liboni as 'ad Dianam', it climbs over a ridge to Riziani (opposite the ancient fortified town at Dholiani), ascends the Kalamas valley to Minina and then climbs up a side-valley and over the watershed to Liboni. The distance from Buthrotum to hill 59 is 27 kilometres = xviii Roman miles; and the distance from Buthrotum to Liboni is 54 kilometres = xxxvi Roman miles. The figure in the Peutinger Table for the stage from Buthrotum to 'ad Dianam' is viii. It is easier to suppose that the x of xviii fell out, leaving viii, than that xxxvi became changed to viii. The balance of probability, then, favours the identification of 'ad Dianam' with a temple of Diona at hill 59. The stage from there to Glycys Limen is, as we have seen, xxx Roman miles. It should also be noted that, as the Kalamas (Thyamis) was navigable, the road at hill 59 was linked by water with the port at the *Θυάμιος ἐκβολαί*, as it joined the sea-route also at Buthrotum and at Glycys Limen. The common source behind the Antonine Itinerary, the Peutinger Table, and the Ravenna Geographer may then have read as follows:

Buthroto ad Dianam xviii
Diana ad Glycys Limena xxx¹

The length of the stage from Glycys Limen to Nicopolis in the Table and in the Itinerary is 20 Roman miles (almost 30 km.). Miller reckoned the real distance to be 24 Roman miles and held that the Roman source was incorrect or incorrectly transmitted, although the agreement of the Table and the Itinerary means that the original common source read xx. The mouth of the Acheron probably had two bays, as we suggested above (p. 63), and one of these was the bay of Kerentza.² If we measure from the south side of this bay to the north end of Nicopolis, taking a line through Loutsia, Rizo, and Kastrosikia, the distance is exactly 20 Roman miles. When I walked along the coast, I kept mainly to the shore; it does not afford footing for a road, but there are tracks on the hills above which may be fit for a road. It is better to respect the number xx than to go far inland on the track of the modern motor-road and reject the number xx.

A road from Apollonia to Nicopolis further inland and then to Larissa was evidently a less important road, as it is recorded only in the Peutinger Table and not in the other documents. The city Hadriano-polis, which it mentions, was founded by Hadrian and later refounded

¹ An alternative form of the name may underlie the readings Glicisme and Slicisme in the Ravenna Geographer and the Guidonis Geographia.

² We know from Procopius that floods and marshes grew more extensive in Epirus in the time of Justinian. The area at the mouth of the Acheron now is heavily silted up, and only one bay receives the waters of the Acheron.

as Justinianopolis by Justinian; therefore the original source of the Peutinger Table in this case was before the time of Justinian. It also describes the area as 'Epirum Novum'—the name of the new province formed by Hadrian (or perhaps Antoninus Pius) in order to revive the economy of Epirus, Acarnania, and adjacent areas.¹ Whether Hadrian built this road or not, he was certainly concerned with its value in opening up communications with the mountainous interior. The attempt to revive the economy of North-western Greece seems to have had little success. The details of the road are as follows:²

Apollonia	
river	
Amatria	30 (44 km.)
Hadrianopoli	55 (81 km.)
Ilio	24 (36 km.)
	12 (18 km.)
Acta Nicopoli	45 (67 km.)
Ab Actia Nicopoli Larissa usque	70 (104 km.)

The last entry LXX is certainly corrupt and should be CLXX. There is indeed a rent on the map before the L of LXX, as shown by Peutinger in the original edition, and the c could easily have been obliterated. The most direct route from Nicopolis to Larissa (see pp. 248 f., above) is by Arta, Katavothra, Korakou bridge, Aryitheia, and Porta Panayia to Tricca and Larissa. The distances on a flat map are Nicopolis–Arta 43 kilometres, Arta–Porta 107 kilometres, Porta–Tricca 20 kilometres, and Tricca–Larissa about 57 kilometres,³ totalling 227 kilometres. But the distance of the Roman road is greater, CLXX miles being 251 kilometres. Now the more southerly route from Korakou bridge via Mezilon is less arduous and runs less high, so that it is more likely to be open in severe weather.⁴ This route is some 15 kilometres longer. I prefer then to put the Roman road on this latter route, that is with a distance of 242 kilometres from Nicopolis to Larissa as measured on a flat map. If we add 9 kilometres for the ups and downs, we reach 251 kilometres = CLXX miles. Miller proposed to read CXX for LXX, but this is far too short.

The most direct route for the inland road from Hadrianopolis in the Drin valley to Nicopolis is up the Kseria valley and down the Kavsovitinos valley to Lavdhani; across the watershed at Dhespotikon, over the Kalamas by the Theoyefira (or by a man-made bridge at Soulopoulon); and through Dhragoumi, Grammeno, and Mouspina to

¹ Cf. *CAH* xi. 565 f.

² Miller 570 with maps 179, 180, and 183, and the Table on maps 148/150 and 117.

³ I have taken the distance Tricca–Larissa from Miller.

⁴ I lived at Mezilon for some months in 1944 and travelled often on this route.

Dodona.¹ The distance from Hadrianopolis to Dhespotikon is 40 kilometres and that from Dhespotikon to Dodona is 31 kilometres. The next stage is more difficult. The most direct and also the easiest route from Dodona to Nicopolis is by Variadhes, Assos, Thesprotikon, and Louro, totalling 63 kilometres. A less direct route, but one which has the possible advantage of coming close to Arta (Ambracia, through which the road from Nicopolis to Larissa went) proceeds on the line of the old Turkish road, i.e. from Dodona to Kopani, Pente Pigadhia, just west of Ammotopos, Filippias, and then along the edge of the plain via Louro to Nicopolis, totalling at least 75 kilometres. The alternatives then from Hadrianopolis to Nicopolis are $61+63=124$ kilometres and $61+75=136$ kilometres. The shorter route is the more likely also because there are many Byzantine and medieval remains in the valley of Thesprotikon but none on the old Turkish road.

I have taken Dodona as a fixed point. One reason is that it revived under the Empire and it was the seat of an early bishopric; games were held there in the third century A.D. (*Arch. Delt.* 16. 1. 35 f.). The main reason is that it lies on the most direct route. I propose, as Miller did, to restore Dodona as the missing name in the Peutinger table. We then have Hadrianopolis–Ilium xxiv, Ilium–Dodona xii, Dodona–Acta Nicopoli xlv. The last, being 67 kilometres, agrees admirably with the direct route via Thesprotikon, which is 63 kilometres on a flat map. On the other hand, there is a wide discrepancy for the distance from Hadrianopolis to the station we have assumed to be Dodona; for the Table gives $xxiiii+xii=54$ kilometres, and the map gives at least 72 kilometres. In view of this discrepancy Miller added [20]. [—] to his edition, meaning that a halt and a distance had been left out by the writer of the Table. But the omission of a halt is unlikely, and his figure 20 is a guess. The Table itself gives us something of a clue; for it shows Hadrianopolis–Ilium xxiiii, then a river-crossing, then xii, then the crossing of a high mountain range, which stretches far inland and lies above the road Nicopolis–Larissa. The river is certainly the Kalamas, and Ilium is short of it; as the xxiiii miles (= 36 km.) from Hadrianopolis brings us to a point between Lavdhani and Dhespotikon, I take the site on the ridge above Dhespotikon to be Ilium (see p. 197, above). From this point, if we cross the Kalamas by Soulopoulon, xii miles (18 km.) brings us to the edge of the Ioannina plateau near Grammeno. The plateau is evidently the mountain range of the Table, that is the Pindus range, which is shown extending into Macedonia. The last stage from short of Grammeno to Dodona is 17 or 18 kilometres, i.e. xii miles again. The simplest hypothesis for

¹ This was the usual route in Turkish times. The modern motor-road makes a long détour northwards via Kalbaki (now called Elaia) and Megalos Kampos.

the shortfall in the Table is to suppose that the second entry of XII was omitted in error.¹ Miller suggested adding XX because he took the line of the motor-road which is longer. This led him to place Ilium near Kalbaki; he also equated Ilium with Ptolemy's inland town of Chaonia, Elaeous. In both cases I think he was mistaken.²

Hadrianopolis is certainly the site in the plain by Sofratikë and Goricë, and not the later site called Palokastër (see p. 207, above) and far less Argyrokastro, as Stadtmüller suggests. I have therefore taken my measurements from a point half-way between Sofratikë and Goricë. Hadrianopolis was well placed; for the ancient road from Buthrotum and Phoenice descended here into the Drin valley (see p. 206, above). The upper part of a Roman milestone has been found recently at Goricë in the church of St. Theodoros.³ It is not known whence it came to the church, and it is evidence of a Roman road somewhere in the vicinity. Remains of a road were reported to me on the other side of the Drin valley at Episkop Siperinë (see p. 208, above), and it is on that side that the ancient towns and temples were situated. I have therefore put the Roman road on that side of the Drin valley.

The most direct and the easiest route from Hadrianopolis to Apollonia or to Valona is certainly beside the river bed, where there is excellent going for horses. The reports or traces of small Roman forts or guard-posts are all at places beside the river—at Tepelenë, Memaliaj, and Luneçi; and an inscription from Luneçi records the burial of P. Herennius P. F. Legionis VI in the first century A.D.,⁴ perhaps a relative of the P. Herennius who is mentioned on an inscription from Oricum.⁵ This is a much better route than that of the modern motor-road which climbs high up on the limestone spurs of the mountain-side as far as Ploçë and then proceeds to Valona and not to Apollonia.⁶

¹ Alternatively one could assume that an X had fallen out before the XII of the Peutinger Table; but the distance we need seems to be rather more than 10 miles. Miller did not take into account either the river or the mountain range on the Table; indeed he erroneously called the latter 'das Ceraunische, j. Übergang über den Berg Vlachoritico' (p. 571). Stadtmüller does not tackle this problem.

² Miller's ideas were adopted by the cartographers of Metaxas, who called Kalbaki 'Elaia'; but olives (which led to the name Elaeous) do not grow in the Kalamas valley above Uzdina. Moreover, as Kalbaki/Elaia is not in Chaonia, it cannot be equated with Ptolemy's Chaonian town Elaeous. St. Byz. s. *Ilion* attributed an Ilion to 'Macedonia' and connected it with Helenus; he is probably referring to the Ilion in Epirus, because Helenus was associated rather with Epirus and because after 148 B.C. Epirus was included in the sphere of the Roman governor of Macedonia.

³ *BUST* 1961, 1. 118 with figs. 13a and 13b. It is 0.33 m. high, 0.22 m. in diameter and carries the inscription IMP CAES GAL VAL SEVERO INV AVG CONSV PP PROCONS. There is a crack between SEVERO and INV, and the crack has an E in it.

⁴ *BUST* 15 (1961) 1. 133 f. and 16 (1962) 2. 119.

⁵ Le Bas no. 1097.

⁶ Travellers in Turkish times, e.g. Holland and Leake, followed the riverside; motor-roads are built for preference on limestone rock.

The problematic part of the route is the last part; for we have to decide whether the road went from the lower part of the Aous valley direct to Apollonia or joined the Via Egnatia at some point between Aulon and Apollonia. The latter is more probable because much of the traffic must have been destined for Aulon and the crossing to Italy. Here the distance on the Peutinger Table helps us; for the 85 miles (125 km.) of the Table from Apollonia to Hadrianopolis are considerably in excess of the 110 kilometres of the direct route, as measured on Nowack's map, i.e. Apollonia-Klos 34 kilometres, and Klos-Hadrianopolis 76 kilometres. On the other hand, if we take the road from the lower Aous valley to Bestrovë (on the line to Aulon) and then use the Via Egnatia to Apollonia, the distance is 122 kilometres (Apollonia-Klos 46 and Klos-Hadrianopolis 76 km.) and this fits the Peutinger Table's distance.

The intermediate station between Apollonia and Hadrianopolis on the Table is Amatria, a misspelling or a barbarized form of Amantia. The road is shown on the Table as crossing a river just before Amantia, which is on its right bank, and then keeping on the right of the river to Hadrianopolis. The Table is, of course, schematic, so that one cannot be certain, but the inference is probable that some xxx miles from Apollonia the road crossed from the left bank of the Aous to the right bank and so reached Amantia. The xxx miles on the road from Apollonia via Bestrovë brings us exactly to Klos (46 km.), which is on the right bank of the Aous. This route takes the road close to the famous Nymphaeum, the mines of fossilized pitch and the Roman colony of Byllis. We have already noted (p. 233, above) that, when Ampelius said the Nymphaeum was 5 (Roman) miles from Amantia, his information probably came from the measurements of a Roman road. The Nymphaeum at Romës is on the left bank and Klos is on the right bank at the correct distance. I take it, then, that the Roman road crossed the Aous here to Klos = Amantia. It ran on that bank to Dragot by the Aoi Stena, where there may have been a bridge over the Aous in Hellenistic times (see p. 220, above), and it proceeded then via Antigonea into the Drin valley.¹

If we are correct in our conclusions, the presence of a road crossing

¹ The rival candidate for Amantia is Ploçë. Patsch and many others down to Stadtmüller (op. cit. 248) have supported this identification. The chief difficulty, so far as the road is concerned, is that on a flat map the distance from Ploçë to Hadrianopolis is 68 kilometres and that the Peutinger Table gives LV miles = 81 kilometres from Amantia to Hadrianopolis (whereas Klos-Hadrianopolis is 76 kilometres). Then the datum of Ampelius also is incompatible with Ploçë being Amantia. The other distance in the Table—xxx miles from Apollonia to Amantia—fits either Klos or Ploçë via Bestrovë. The position of Amantia maritima does not help to decide the position of inland Amantia, that is if one places Amantia maritima at Krioner; for I think U. Kahrstedt in *F. S. Abramic* 2. 48 is mistaken in claiming that Oricum became Amantia maritima.

the Aous by Klos throws some light on the famous inscription at Gradisht=Byllis, in which the generosity of Lollianus was recorded in repairing a *via publica* and in repairing [*pon*]tes in *Argya* [*f*]lumine et rivi. Anyone living at Gradisht appreciates the distinction between the *flumen* and the *rivi*; there is only one 'river'—the Vjosë to an Albanian, the Aous to a Greek, and the Bāyāsa to a Vlach.¹ In ancient times Romans, Greeks, and Illyrians probably had their own variant names for the river. We find *Αἶας*, *Αὔος*, *Ἀῶος*, *Ἀραούα*, and (I think) here *Argyas*; and we find *Argyas* again, but in Greek *Ἀργύας*, when Procopius mentions the place, which is probably Byllis, as having been repaired.² The bridge then which Lollianus helped his city to maintain was probably the bridge of the Roman road which we have been considering; for Byllis (Gradisht) and Amantia (Klos) are cheek by jowl. The bridges over the 'rivi' and the 'narrow and dangerous road *per Astacias*' was a different road, perhaps one through the Hekal region to Apollonia.

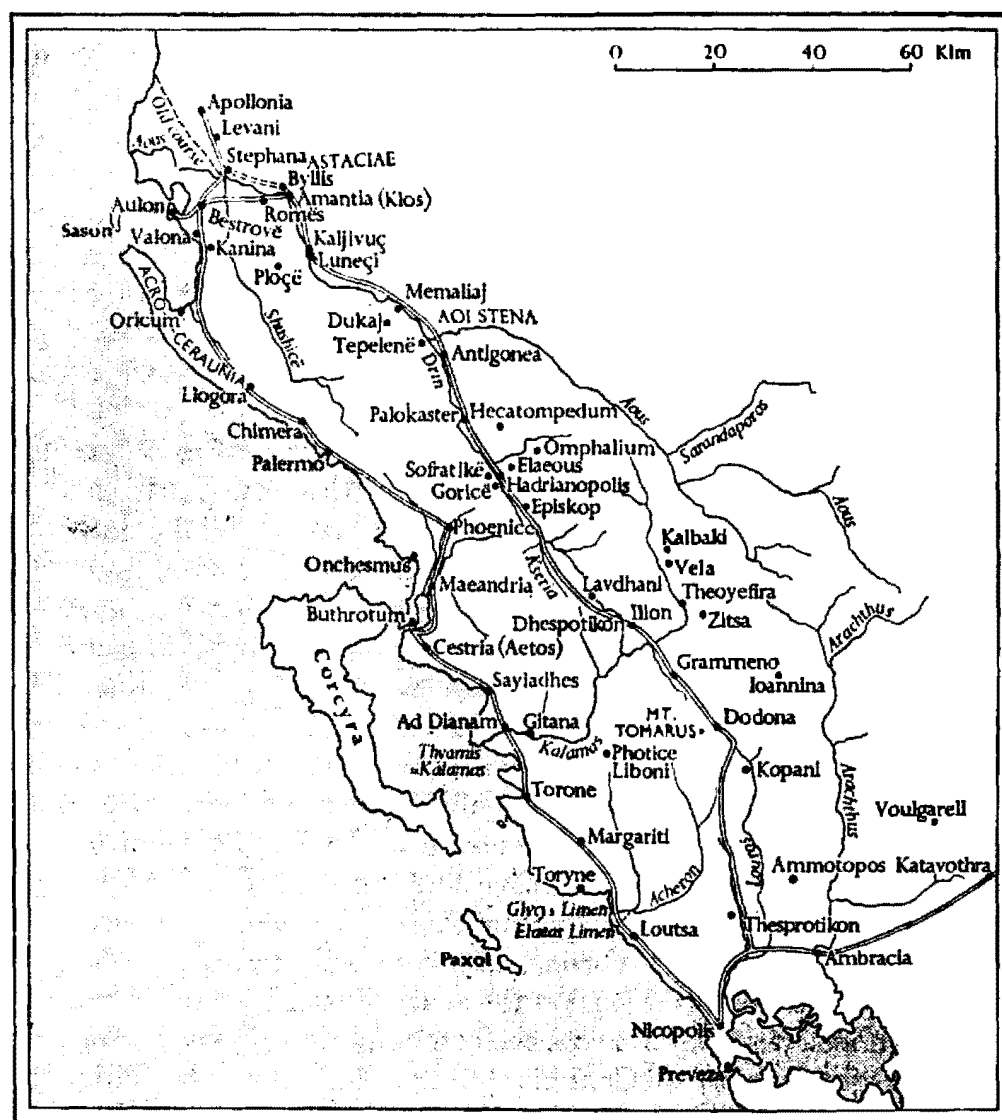
The planners of the Roman roads in Epirus aimed to secure the coastal arcas and provide them with access to the ports, and it is these areas which were best known to writers of the imperial period. The elder Pliny gives a hotch-potch of mythological and antiquarian information on Epirus but names only a few towns: 'in Acroceraunio Chimera, sub eo Aquae regiae fons,³ oppida Maeandria, Cestria . . . colonia Buthrotum, . . . Ambracia'. If my identifications are correct, Chimera (Himarë), Maeandria (Kara-Ali-Bey), Cestria (Aetos), Buthrotum, and Ambracia were all on or by the Roman roads which we have described. Ptolemy, writing in the time of Marcus Aurelius, probably made indirect use of an earlier Portulan for the coast, since *Πάνορμος λιμήν*, *Πηλώδης λιμήν* and the territorial division *Ἀλμύνης* (ἡ *Ἀλμίνης*) have an archaic look, reminiscent of terms in Hecataeus; but the port Torone, unmentioned elsewhere, was presumably named here as it was on the coastal road from Buthrotum to Glycys Limen. His inland towns are contemporary towns, because no cities are given south of Chaonia (3. 14). The Chaonian cities are Antigonea, Phoenice, Hecatompedium, Omphalium, and Elaeous. Phoenice was on the coastal road. Antigonea was on the inland road

¹ Boyāssa on the English version of the Greek Staff Map.

² Sestieri in *RdA* 4 (1943) 48 saw that *Argyas* in Procopius is probably Byllis, where there are repairs of the right period. He and others (e.g. Patsch 115) have identified the *Argyas* of the inscription with a side-stream of the Vjosë or even of the Semeni. The form *Ἄνα* also appears in Dio Cassius 51. 45; it is usually amended to *Ἀῶος*, but it may be a variant name of the river.

³ A confused memory of this may appear in the Greek Portulan's *Τζιμέραις λιμόναν καλὸν καὶ λέγουν τὸν βασιλικόν*, but it is misplaced in the first entry and yet comes next to *Πάνερμον* (i.e. Palermo today) at the second mention (Delatte 1. 26. 5 and 1. 27. 3).

and so was Omphalium, if it is the centre of the Omphales and is placed at Labovë (see p. 704, below). There are few Chaonian sites left unnamed. In the Chaonian plain there is only one, at Malçan; but this was probably Atintanian. The Drin valley has a category A site



MAP 18. The Roman roads in Epirus.

at Saraginishtë and a category B site at Meliani. The latter is situated in the only district of the Drin valley where olives grow (see p. 207, above). This site may be reasonably identified with Elaeous, and Saraginishtë with Hecatompædum. Amantia is mentioned by Ptolemy under Macedonia; for he used the earlier arrangement of provinces. But the higher areas which were the core of Molossis go unmentioned. They were not touched by the Roman roads.

3. THE TRIBAL SYSTEM, 272-167 B.C.

The extent to which the peoples of Epirus were organized by tribes was not apparent from the main stream of the literary evidence. For Thucydides (2. 80) mentioned only the larger tribal states, whose existence probably went back into the dark age (Chaones, Thesproti, Molossi, Atintanes, Parauaei, and Orestae); and Proxenus added Tymphaei, Amymones, Abantes, and Cassopi (*FGrH* 703 F 6 = St. Byz. s. *Χαονία*). Theopompus gave a list of fourteen, but the list is lost. The indication that there were many smaller tribal groups came from the fragments of Rhianus' *Thessalika*, an epic poem composed probably between 270 and 230 B.C. (he lived c. 296/3-214/13), that is during the period of the Epirote Alliance and the Molossian monarchy.¹ The numbered fragments from Book IV mention the following Epirote tribes: Arctanes, Genoaei, Donettini, Ceraines, Hypaelochii, Elini, Chauni, Cestrini, Celaethi, Parauaei, Omphaliēēs, and Syliones; and also one tribe of Thessaly, the Ethnestae, whose eponymous ancestor Ethnestes was a son of Neoptolemus. The citations, which are all given by Stephanus Byzantinus, appear to come from a catalogue of tribes, like Homer's catalogue of ships.² The tribes which come together in the verses were probably contiguous geographically. This seems to be so in fragment 17, for instance,

Κεστρίνοι Χαῦνοι τε καὶ αὐχήμεντες Ἐλινοί.

For if our identifications are correct, the Cestrini were in the area of Konispol, the Elini in the canton of Margariti, and the Eleaei in the canton of Paramythia, so that the only place left for the Chauni is the lower Kalamas valley. The three peoples then adjoined one another. Thus we may infer that the Omphaliēēs were contiguous with the Parauaei from fr. 19:

σὺν δὲ Παραναίοις καὶ ἀμύμονας Ὀμφαλιῆας.

This fits in with Ptolemy's Chaonian city Omphalion, since Parauaea and Chaonia were adjacent (see p. 680, above). The only other pair in Book IV is in fr. 15:

αὐτὰρ Δωνεττῖνοι ἰδ' ὀτρηροὶ Κεραῖνες.

The Donettini appear again in fr. 22 from book VI:

ἐπτα δὲ Δωνεττῖνοι, ἀτὰρ (δυο)καίδεκα Κᾶρες

¹ *FGrH* 265 in vol. 3 A.

² Jacoby, *FGrH* 3 A p. 163, calls it 'ein Völkerkatalog'.

Here they occur evidently in a narrative and not in a catalogue. The Tripolissii figure in fr. 27 from Book XV, and the Amymnaei in fr. 33, which is cited without reference to a book.

Several of these tribal names appear as ethnics in third-century inscriptions which have been discovered by excavation, and the deduction may be made that Rhianus was describing tribes which were extant in his own day and was presumably speaking of them in their contemporary places of habitation. He was an antiquarian in that he was interested in eponymous ancestors (fr. 12 and fr. 30), and in that the warfare he described in his epic (fr. 25) was not contemporary but archaic. His innovation seems to have been in the blending of a traditional form of poetry with contemporary people in contemporary places. His work was highly praised and much used by antiquarian scholars. It may be suspected that some references to Epirus in other authors are due to a knowledge of his *Thessalika*. Thus while Rhianus fr. 19 explains the name Parauaei from their living *παρὰ τὸν Αἶον ποταμόν*, Plutarch in *GQ* 13 says the Aenianes were once called *Παραοῦαι*, because they lived in *τῆς Μολοσσίας τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀραοῦαν χώραν*. Stephanus himself preserves notes of other small Epirote tribes or of Epirote archaic names which probably came from Rhianus, e.g. St. Byz. *Αἰγεσταῖοι, οἱ Θεσπρωτοί, ἀπὸ τινος Αἰγέστου στρατηγοῦ, ὡς Ἀμυμναῖοι ἀπὸ Ἀμύμνου*, which may be compared both with *Γενοαῖοι· ἔθνος Μολοσσίας, ἀπὸ Γενοόου ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν· Ῥιανὸς δ' Θεσσαλικῶν* (fr. 14) and with *Ἀμυμνοί· ἔθνος Ἑπειρωτικόν· Ῥιανὸς λέγεται καὶ Ἀμυμναῖος* (the form in St. Byz. s. *Αἰγεσταῖοι*); or with *Ἀμύνται, ἔθνος Θεσπρωτικόν "μένος πνείοντες Ἀμύνται"*.

The tribes are described sometimes as Epirotic, sometimes as Thesprotian or Molossian and sometimes as 'of Molossia' or 'of Chaonia'.¹ These are evidently the words of Stephanus, but the sense comes from Rhianus when the description is more than just 'Epirotic'; for no-one else is likely to have mentioned these obscure small tribes and their affiliations. The question then arises whether Rhianus' labels were contemporary or archaic. The answer is that they were archaic, because the third-century inscriptions show that the Celaethi and the Tripolissii were members of the Molossian state, whereas they are called Thesprotian in frs. 18 and 27, and because tribes called Thesprotian in frs. 18 (Celaethi) and 19 (Parauaei) could not have belonged to the Thesprotian state in the third century B.C. on geographical grounds. Thus we may say that Rhianus provides an addendum to Hecataeus' description of 'Molossian' tribes; and there is no clash between Rhianus and Hecataeus. Thus we may make the conjecture that because the

¹ Jacoby's idea that this was a matter of indifference is unlikely to be true (*ibid.* p. 103 'Epeiros, Chaonia, Thesprotia, Molossia nicht auseinander gehalten werden').

Parauaei and the Celaethi 'near Thessaly' were Thesprotian in the archaic period (Rhianus 18 and 19) but the Orestae were Molossian (as we know from a fourth-century inscription), the intrusion of the Molossians southwards to Dodona indicates that the Molossians came from the area between Parauaea and the Celaethi, that is from Pogoni, Zagori, and West Pindus where they abutted on the Orestae and Tymphaei. The Parauaei and the Celaethi held their Thesprotian name from a period which goes back to a time before the Chaonians came in from the north-west and the Molossians occupied Pogoni and Zagori; for after that time the Parauaei and the Celaethi were cut off for ever from the Thesprotian state in the coastal districts. In a similar way the Ethnestae too were members of the Molossian state in 370-368 B.C.; but they were evidently absorbed into Thessaly as were other Epirotic tribes (Str. 9. 5. 11, C 434). They may have been so absorbed before Rhianus wrote his poem.

The fragments of Rhianus together with the remarks of Stephanus show that some of these tribes varied in the termination of the ethnic—Celaethi and Celaetheis (fr. 18), Tripolissi and Tripolissii (fr. 27), and Amymni and Amymnaei (fr. 33). Variant spellings occur also in inscriptions, e.g. Orraitas and Oriatas, or Cariopos and Caropos, and in texts, e.g. Cassopi and Cassopaei, Amymni and Amymnaei, or Amantes, Amanti, and Amantini. There is therefore no doubt that Rhianus' Omphaliēēs are the Omphales of our inscriptions.¹ The ethnic terminations fall into groups. Those in -īni (Donettini, Amantini, Elini, and Cestrini) are related to the Parthini, Caloecini, and Pisantini of the upper Shkumbi valley and the basin of Lake Lychnidus; those in -ānes (Arctanes, Atintanes, etc.) to the Enchelanes and Agrianes further north as well as to the Eurytanes and Cephallanes further south. Those in -ōpi (Cassopi, Cariopi, or Caropi) and in -i (Amymni, Aterargi, Cartoni, Celaethi, Onoperni, Parori) are rare; the forms with -aei and -ii are very common (Arbaei, Aegestaei, Amymnaei, Cathraei, Dodonaei, etc., and Europii, Aexonii, Pergamii, etc.), and they are probably forms which developed in accordance with general Greek usage. Local forms are notable with -ati (Clathiati, Calyrati, Cartati, Phoenati, and Oriatae²); with -esti or -estae (Enchesti, Hyncestae, Kyesti, Peucesti; Orestae, Ethnestae, like the Lyncestae); with -acbi (Prasaebi, and Peraebi in North-west Thessaly); with -ales (Omphales and Peiales); and with -ōnes (Amymones, Bylliones, Syliones, like the Macedones and the Pelagones³). If we knew the location of each tribe, we might find that the ethnic terminations were related in some way to the large tribal groups (e.g. Amymones, Bylliones, and

¹ So Jacoby *ibid.* 104.

² A variant of Orraetae.

³ An Epirote tribe in Str. 9. 11 = C 434; the Myrmidones have the same termination.

Syliones to the Chaones); but there was certainly much interpenetration of tribes as in modern Epirus (see pp. 24 f., above); for instance, the Chauni seem to be of different stock from the Cestrini–Elini on the one hand and the Atintanes on the other. It is clear that some tribes had been split into separate groups at an early date: the Talares near Mt. Tomarus and the Talares near Thessaly, and the Chaones in the Kurvelesh and the Chauni in the lower Kalamas valley.¹

We have mentioned already the membership of some tribes in the larger tribal states of the Molossians, the Chaonians, and the Thesprotians, and we may assume the same system to have existed in the tribal states of the Atintanes, Parauaei, Orestae, and so on. The tribes existed long before the cities which they eventually built and often named after themselves, Cassopa, Elea, Elina, Cestria, Phanote, and so on. We can occasionally pin down the area occupied by a small tribe. The Phanoteis (οἱ Φανοτεῖς, Plb. 27. 16. 4) lived in the narrows of the Kalamas valley by Raveni and Vrousina, where they built their tribal centre Phanote (see p. 676, above). The Omphales provide an interesting example. This tribe has the same ethnic form as the Peiales,² whose eponymous ancestor was Pielos, son of Neoptolemus and brother of Molossos (Paus. 1. 11. 1), and they both belonged to the Molossian tribal state in 370–368 B.C. and later (*Eph. Arch.* 1956. 1; see p. 525, above). They are thus likely to have been Molossian for many centuries.³ Rhianus mentioned them and the Parauaei together, which means that the Omphales lived just west of Southern Parauaea; the triangular area by Konitsa, adjacent to Parauaea on the south, was Triphylia (see p. 280 and p. 683, above) and the Chaones were west of Northern Parauaea (see p. 679, above). Ptolemy 3. 14 mentions Omphalion as an inland city of Chaonia which, we have seen, is a statement referring probably to the time of the Roman Empire, and to the course of the Roman road; by then Molossis had disappeared and Chaonia survived as a geographical term at least. The only area which fits the Omphales and their tribal centre Omphalion is Paleo-Pogoni, a most remarkable area of Greek-speaking villages on high ground (see p. 29 and pp. 213 f., above). Its small fortified sites in antiquity resembled those in Pogoni and contrasted with the lack of such sites to the north and in the Kurvelesh, that is in mountainous Chaonia. The

¹ What Jacoby, *ibid.* 103, calls a 'Volkssplitter'.

² It is interesting to compare the ethnic formed from the like-named cities in Thessaly—Omphalitae and Pialeis (St. Byz. s. *Omphalion* and *Pialeia*). Jacoby's attempt by emendation to make Omphalion in Epirus and Omphalion in Thessaly one and the same place is unnecessary and ineffective (*ibid.* 104).

³ Jacoby's remark (p. 102) that they are Thesprotian seems to be a false inference from the fact that Rhianus names them and the Parauaei together and that he calls the latter Thesprotian.

Omphales then were the most advanced outlier of the Molossian group of tribes. Their country lies in the fold of the mountainous mass of Mt. Nemerçkë, and the term Omphalos, 'navel', may have been applied to it. The life-line of this area under the Albanian monarchy was through Labovë, a site marked by relatively early walls as a tribal centre and later renowned for its twelfth-century Byzantine church;¹ and it was this line to the Roman road system running through Chaonia which kept Omphalion alive, when much of Molossis was dead.

The tribal groups of West Pindus and the high country seem to have become extinct soon after the Roman deportation of 150,000 persons mainly from Molossis. Whereas Marsyas spoke of the Aethices as a vigorous if unruly tribe, Strabo wrote that they and the Talaes who had lived 'on Pindus itself' were extinct, and that those who lived in West Pindus in his time were Perrhaebi *μετανάσται*, that is roaming Perrhaebians who had occupied lands once owned by Molossian hill-tribes.² Strabo defined extinction as either the vanishing of a people or the vanishing of a political system. In many parts of mountainous Epirus extinction in both senses came with the Roman conquest,³ and in all parts of Epirus the Pax Romana meant the end of that political system of vigorous tribal units which had marked all periods of Epirote history and was destined to revive once more after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire.

¹ Illustrated in *MEE* 12. 347.

² Str. 9. 5. 12 = C 434.

³ τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ἐρημία κατέχει, τὰ δ' οἰκούμενα κωμηδὸν καὶ ἐν ἐρειπίοις λείπεται (Str. 7. 7. 9 = C 327).

APPENDIX I

Some Points of Topography

CONSIDERATIONS of space have prevented me from mentioning all the identifications which have been proposed by others. Most of them will be found in Philippson-Kirsten, *Griechische Landschaften* II.¹ Sometimes identifications have been proposed for a small area without full consideration of the literary sources; thus it has been suggested that Mikhalitsi was called Charadra at first and Berenice later,² that Kastriion was Pandosia and Likouresi was Cichyrus (the Elean colony and the seat of the Thesprotian kings being thus side by side), and that Toryne was at Ayios Ioannis, Cape Cheimerium above Splantza and Glycys Limen at Splantza.³ There has also been a tendency to treat the Epirus of Hecataeus as if it had the same names as Hellenistic Epirus.

A few problems have not been treated in the text. Livy (45. 26) mentioned three cities which resisted L. Anicius and then capitulated: Horreum, Phylace, and Tecmon. Too many sites are available for any identification. Tecmon is stated by Stephanus to be a πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν. It cannot have been such in 168 B.C., as the Thesprotians supported Anicius, and Stephanus may have been using Rhianus, who referred to times earlier than his own in similar cases. There are some puzzling statements made by Ptolemy and Pliny. Ptolemy seems to have used a source not employed by Scylax, Scymnus, or Rhianus. The Chaonian coast ends at Onchesmus in his map; the Thesprotian coast ends at Cape Thyamis;⁴ and a new area, Almene, extends from the mouth of the Thyamis river southwards. His divisions are probably related to the sea-routes and the roads of A.D. 100-150. Onchesmus was an important port of call; Buthrotum, being a Roman colony, must have had territory in the plain south of Phoenice, and therefore Chaonian territory may then have ended near Onchesmus. The crossing of the Thyamis river 'ad Dianam' was a main staging-point on the Roman coast road, and the mouth of the river was a port on the coasting voyage. Almene was no doubt a much earlier name, but it gained importance with a geographical division based on the road system. At some stage the name Panormus Limen, the harbour of Oricum in the time of Hecataeus,

¹ To which there should be added the following: P. R. Franke in *AME* and *AE*; S. I. Dakaris in *Chr. S.* 46 f. for the plain of Ioannina and *Eph. Arch.* 1957, 88 f. for the position of the tribes especially (he regards the Parauaei and the Parori as one and the same); and K. A. Papageorgiou in *EE* 1953, 252 f. for the area round the mouth of the Kalamas.

² *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961-2) 2. 194; this involves, I suppose, the re-re-naming of Berenice as Charadra for the benefit of Plb. 4. 63. 4.

³ *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 2. 202 f.; Papageorgiou, loc. cit., groups some of the same names too tightly round the mouth of the Thyamis river.

⁴ It was where Cape Kalamas is today, off Mavron Oros. See the reproductions of Ptolemy Map 10 of Europe in E. L. Stevenson, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy* (New York, 1932), and R. A. Skelton, *Claudius Ptolemaeus Cosmographia* (Amsterdam, 1963).

was either duplicated or transferred; for it appears on the coast south of the Acroceraunia in Ptolemy's account, and its position is marked by the modern name Palermo. The destruction of Oricum by Pompey ruined the place until Herodes Atticus tried to revive it, and the Panormus Limen there must have fallen out of use; it was perhaps in the early Empire that the name was transferred to the new situation, which is closer to the seaport but has no communications inland. The suggestion that Ptolemy was writing of conditions of his own day is borne out by his list of inland towns (see p. 687, above). The first city he gives after those of the Drin valley is Cassope, known through its proximity to Nicopolis and perhaps still occupied.

Pliny, *HN* 4. 1, writing under the Flavians, drew indirectly¹ from earlier sources for his galaxy of Epirote names, such as the Hellopes from Hesiod and the hundred springs of Tomarus from Theopompus, and there is no logic in his order as he moves from Antigoneses to 'locus Aornus et pestifera avibus exhalatio', mentioned by Sophocles² but publicized in Virgil's account of the Underworld. Dodonaean Juppiter's oracle is given its due of fame, though Strabo had remarked that it was practically extinct. The Perrhaebi are included in Epirus, perhaps the *Περραιβοὶ μετανόστοι* of Strabo. A few points may be due to contemporary knowledge or lack of it. Some measurements are given: those of Apollonia's distance from the sea, the dimensions of the Ambracian Gulf, and the distance of 25 miles between the Acheron leaving the Acherusian lake and entering the Ambracian Gulf ('in eum defertur amnis Acheron, e lacu Thesprotiae Acherusia profluens *XXV* passuum'). Such measurements were no doubt drawn from Roman *itineraria*. The idea that the upper Acheron flowed from Lakkasouli into the Ambracian Gulf persisted in many maps even in 1930, because it was lost in its impassable gorge by Pandosia (Trikastron) and was shown issuing at Louro; and Cyriacus of Ancona, crossing the Louros river near Louro thrice by moonlight, thought it was the dreaded Acheron, in 1438.³ We have seen that the Roman road passed along part of the upper Acheron valley, left it at Assos, and then reached the Louros and the Ambracian Gulf. The confusion of the Acheron and the Louros is likely in itself for a Roman traveller, and the significant thing is that Pliny's 25 miles (37 km.) is the distance from Assos to Nicopolis on the line of the Roman road. The confusion about the lake is also explicable from the text. For Pliny has 'lacus Pandosia' as well as 'lacus Acherusia'; a traveller on the Roman road passing by Pandosia may have confused its lake⁴ with the Acherusian lake the more readily because the Acheron did in fact flow into the Pandosian lake.

Pliny gives the Molossians two rivers, the Aratthus and the Aphas. The latter is not the upper Louros, which rose in Molossis, because we have the

¹ His immediate source may have been a Hellenistic writer; for the Perrhaebi, Tymphaei, and Athamaneae are all attributed to Actolia, and this was so only at the zenith of the Actolian League.

² Soph. fr. 678 = Hesych. s.v.; Paus. 9. 30. 6.

³ Epistula V in L. Mehus (see p. 710, below).

⁴ See p. 673, above, for the suggested site of this lake.

ancient name Charadrus. It might be the Dhipotamos or the Voïdhomati; the latter is more likely as the name Aphas may be related to the Aous into which it flows. Leake and others after him have held that the Louros was called the Oropus, because he reported a fragment of an inscription on a block built into the aqueduct for Nicopolis where it crosses the Louros by Filippias. The inscription runs as follows:

ωρωπωποταμω
καθιερ(ω)σανευχα

C. F. Edson has pointed out to me that Oropos is probably a hero, and he has suggested that the inscription should be completed as follows:¹

Ωρωπω Ποταμω[ν και]
καθιερωσαν ευχα[ριστηριον]

The block came probably from the vicinity; but it is far from certain that the hero is the hero of the river, or that there was a like-named town near the sources of the Louros on Mt. Olytsika.²

Trampya and Bounimae both worshipped Odysseus as their founder.³ It was claimed that Odysseus came to Bounimae and found men there who did not know the sea or use salt (*Odyssey*, 11. 121 f.), that is men living as far inland as possible and living on meat and milk, a diet with some saline content. The most remote area is Zagori. Bounimae, however, served as a meeting-place for the *synhedrion* of the Epirote League on one occasion (*SGDI* 1339 and p. 649, above) and it must have been centrally placed for the purpose. The centre of Zagori is at Voutsa, and the site most remote from the sea is at Voutonosi. I should therefore propose to identify Bounimae with the site at Voutsa, and Trampya with the site at Voutonosi.⁴

A few names have survived from antiquity, such as Butrinto and Finik. Assos, 'a small *polis* in Epirus' (St. Byz., s.v.), is probably another; for the village of this name is on the Roman road, if my interpretation of the route is correct. Chalcis, 'from which the Achelous flows' (St. Byz., s.v.), survives in the name of the village highest up the valley of the Akheloos, Khaliki, although I have not much confidence in the remains reported there by Heuzey (see p. 255, above).⁵

¹ The left-hand edge seems to be intact in the reproduction given by Leake in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*, second series, vol. 2 (London, 1847) 236; he refers there to *NG* 1. 221, 224, and 260. The letters of the first line are rather larger than those of the second line, and the lack of iota subscript favours a date in the second century B.C.

² As Leake went on to suggest.

³ St. Byz. s. *Bounima* and *Trampya*, and Lyc. *Alex.* 801 with Tzetzes ad loc. as Trampyia.

⁴ Trampya is closer than Bounimae to Aethicia; it was at Trampya that Polyperchon, king of the Aethices, killed the infant son of Alexander and Barsine.

⁵ The most northerly site is at Paliokhori, north of Mesokhora, and this may have been Chalcis (the name could easily have strayed); but I have shown Khaliki on my map, giving Heuzey the benefit of the doubt.

APPENDIX II

Cyriacus of Ancona in Epirus

THE travels of Cyriacus have been mentioned in the text where they were relevant to points of topography. I give a short account of them here because some points are matters of dispute, because the conditions of seafaring in the fifteenth century resembled those of ancient times, and because he preserves some ancient names, usually misapplied.

On 21 December 1434 Cyriacus of Ancona¹ in a bireme, a two-banked galley, sailed out from the Adriatic Sea. 'Chimerium superavimus quod nobile apud Epirum Neptuni promontorium . . . nautae Linguam vocant. Sed iterum in nos euro tumescente adverso proximum ad quemdam porticulum servatam ex undis biremem oculimus.' There the crew hunted deer on the promontory. The small harbour was no doubt Pasha Liman, the ancient Oricum, hidden behind the long promontory which is still called the Linguetta. Cyriacus applied the ancient name Cheimerium to it. On 25 December 'de quarta vigilia omni iam residente flatu linquimus Linguae porticulum et nostrum per iter Orientem versus Chimeri montis littora vadimus. Inde per noctem Cassiopepolim Corcyrae insulae civitatem vetustate dirutam praeterivimus.' On 26 December, as there was plague at Corcyra, they went on to 'Bothrotum, antiquam in Epiro Troiani Heleni urbem. Provehimur inde remis . . . Dodonaea secus littora Bargam Phanarium Arnatiumque vidimus et ad quintum denique Kalendas Januarii diem Dodonaeam ipsam venimus magnam et nobilissimam sylvam ubi insignem prope Nicopolim vetustissimam civitatem et antiquissima procul vidimus magni vestigia Iovis.'

During these two days under oar the ship covered some 80 miles to enter the Gulf of Arta near Nicopolis. The epithet Dodonaeus applies to all the south-west coast of Epirus. Barga is evidently the modern Parga and Phanarius is the modern Fanari, that is the mouth and the plain inland of the mouth of the river Acheron. On the other hand, Arnatium is unknown today. The great forest is probably the wooded peninsula extending from Kastrosikia to Preveza. For Cyriacus knew where Nicopolis lay; he visited it later.

'Postero quidem die prope Arachthi fluvii ostia amoeno superato remis ad ix miliaria amne arboribus praetexti variis varioque volucrum cantu pisciumque saltu laetati . . . Acarnaniam tandem Arachtheam civitatem ipsam in ripa quam tanto petivimus cursu convenimus optimo iuvante

¹ Epistula III in L. Mehus, *Kyriaci Anconitani Itinerarium* (Florence, 1742). The best discussions of his travels are in *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde u. Philologie August Wilmanns gewidmet*, 1903, pp. 341 f. = R. Weil, 'Oeniadae, Ein Beitrag zur nordgriechischen Reise der Cyriacus von Ancona 1436'; and in E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriac of Ancona and Athens* (Collection Latomus 43, Brussels, 1960). I am grateful to Mr. Bodnar for his kindness in discussing some points with me.

Iove . . . postquam magnam perambulavimus urbem vidimus Acarnaniae vetustissimae civitatis egregias architectorum operibus portas ac ingentia magnis immanibusque congesta lapidibus moenia.' Two navigable rivers fall into the Gulf of Arta—the Louros and the Arakhthos—and each has a medieval town on its banks—Rogous and Arta. But, as we shall see, Cyriacus visited Rogous later. The town which he calls Acarnania Arachthea must be Arta. The town lies some 17 kilometres from the sea, but the river Arachthus is navigable for 9 kilometres at least. Cyriacus doubtless admired the ancient walls by the medieval fort and by the monastery of Phaneromene. At Acarnania Arachthea he found Carolus the king of Epirus.

The next journey was from Acarnania Arachthea to Astacora. It is recorded in a letter written at Astacora¹ on 11 January 1436 to the secretary of King Carolus; as the letter ends with the words 'ex arce Regia', the court of the king was at Astacora. 'Heri quo a te decessimus quando cum cauda Phoebus caeli medium orbem conscenderat, Astacora quam incolae Rogum vocant incolumes venimus iuvante deo.' There they saw the remains of St. Luke the Evangelist and the head of Anna, the Mother of Mary. Next 'vidimus oppidana circum vetustissima moenia lapidibus mira magnitudine et diversa architectorum arte conspicua'. The name Rogous is in use today, and the identification is assured by the story of the remains of St. Luke the Evangelist (see p. 61, above). The distance too is suitable; for from Arta to Rogous is some 7 miles as the crow flies.

From Astacora he went to Nicopolis on 12 January 1436: 'ad pridie Idus Ianuarii 1436 vidimus Nicopolim, magnam in Epiro civitatem et ex cocto latere moenia vetustate diruta: vidique Dodonaei Iovis delubrum multa collapsum vetustate, circum undique vidimus marmorea ingentia atque ornatissima aedificia.' He refers to this same journey in prospect in the letter written on 11 January 1436 to the secretary of King Carolus: 'egoque cava trabe per amnem ad Dodonaeum Iovem Nicopolimque vado et inde ad te me statim conversurum scias optimo volente Iove.' It transpires then that he went from Rogous down the Louros river in a dug-out, such as is still used in Albania. He arrived at the lagoon east of Nicopolis, and he was shown there the supposed shrine of Dodonaean Juppiter. As we saw from his first letter, he identified the forest on this promontory with the Dodonaean forest.

In a letter² to King Carolus an adventurous visit in 1436 'ex Astacore ad Dodonaeum Orionatium' is described. 'Hodie xiii Kal. Iuniarum die per nobiles et vetustate collapsos Nicopolitanae civitatis aquaeductus Dodonaeum Orionatium venimus iuvante deo.' Here Cyriacus found one Turnus celebrating his daughter's marriage, which was a good omen for a journey . . . 'nam alia ut omittam trifariam te iuvante Acherontem tranavimus amnem et ut de novissimis dicam dum Georgium Pisaurensem egregium oratorem tuum ex Leucate nuper navigaturum peterem ad v Idus Maii ex Astacore Oceano submerso Phoebō navim per Acherontis ripam conscendi et illico iusseram nautam me quam primum per flumen transvectare.

¹ Epistula IV; cf. L. Mehus, Praefatio p. 50.

² Epistula V.

Coeperat ille per undam medias inter sylvas iter luna sub incerta'. But Cyriacus fell asleep during the journey! 'Igitur Leucatae adhuc morante apud Actium nobilissimam civitatem exoptatum Georgium nostrum . . . vidisti . . . ex Orionatio eo quo ad eum venimus supra iam dicto die 1436.'

As Cyriacus embarked after sunset at Rogous he contemplated a local journey and it was apparently over before dawn. The river Acheron is then the local river, the Louros, and Cyriacus' triple crossing of the dreaded Acheron by moonlight was enacted on the lower Louros between Rogous and the lagoon by Nicopolis. The journey which Cyriacus made 'ad Dodo-naeum Orionatium' presumably began from Rogous. He then passed some remains of the aqueduct which run along the foothills above the gulf and proceeded along the shore of the promontory to a spot where he awaited his visitor from Leucas. I take it that Cyriacus went to Preveza or its medieval equivalent, whether Orionatium or Arnatium; for the place name Arnatium in his first letter may perhaps be equated with Orionatium.

In a later letter¹ Cyriacus covered the same ground. 'Ad v Id. Maii Acarnaniam revisi et ad Karolum despotem me iterum contuli. Ad iii Idus per Astacora et Acherontem venimus Leucatem et vidimus Action nobilem et vetustissimam urbem ubi navale ingens et memorabile bellum . . . fuit.' It is here clear that he travelled from Arta (Acarnania) to Rogous and the Louros (Astacora and the Acheron) and so by boat to Leucas, where he saw 'Actium', a place evidently situated either on the island or on the mainland side of the Leucas channel and not on the promontory opposite Preveza, which is its true site.

The other travels made by Cyriacus in this area are known from his collection of inscriptions and his notes thereon. Thus we read 'ad ix K. Febr. vidimus in Epiro ad maritimas oras Ambraciam civitatem magnam, magnis circumdatam lapidibus, et vetustate magna ex parte collapsam.' Again: 'ad iii Kal. Febrar. venimus Argos Amphiloichicum in finibus Epiri iuxta Acheloum fl. quam incolae Geroviliam vocant, quae magna civitas habet ingentes muros in circuitu quadrangulari ad viii miliaria spatium . . . [containing many gates] . . . est sita ad ostia fl. Acheloi circa miliaria lx.' And again: 'in Epiro vidimus iuxta praefatum fl. ab ostiis millia xl praefatae magnitudinis et structurae lapidum civitatem Cassiopem quae hodie Manina ab incolis nuncupatur.' Next there came the city 'Azylea, called Trigardos', by the mouth of the Achelous.

This journey takes him down to the mouth of the Achelous, and there is no doubt that he took the normal and easy route from Karavassara via Stratos.² The ancient city 'ad maritimas oras' is the site at Karavassara which is still one of the most impressive ruins in the area; moreover, the name Ambrakia is attached to this locality, being applied now to a ruin south of Karavassara. The next site at Gerovilia 'iuxta Acheloum fl.' is

¹ *Epigrammata reperta per Illyricum a Cyriaco Anconitano apud Liburniam* (Rome, 1763) p. xix.

² R. Weil and E. W. Bodnar identified Cyriacus' Ambracia with the ruined site Ambrakos at the mouth of the Arachthos. I have discussed this identification above on p. 139, n. 4.

evidently Stratos, of which the name is Surovilia or Soroviglian; the huge area of the ancient site is described in *RE*. The distance from the mouth of the Achelous as the crow flies is 45 kilometres, so that Cyriacus' distance of 60 'miles' is approximately correct. Cyriacus identified this site with Argos Amphilochicum. The next stage was to another ancient site 'iuxta praefatum fl.' and 40 miles from its mouth. If we take a spot at two-thirds of the distance between Stratos and the mouth of the river, we hit on the Austrian Map 'Kucumbrina (Paleo Manina), R. Sauria'. Thus even the name 'Manina' given to Cyriacus has survived as Paleo Manina. The identification with Cassiope is certainly a strange one. At the mouth of the Achelous the name Azylea is evidently meant to be an ancient name, and it is presumably a mis-spelling of Alyzea which he identified with the ruins of Oeniadae, near which the name Trígardo is still in use.

On his travels Cyriacus copied inscriptions.¹ He found several 'apud Arachtheam Acarnanam'; of these he copied one 'ad cathedralem ecclesiam periblepteam': Κλαύδιος Ροῦφος ἔτων κβ' χαίρει. This stone was copied again at Arta by Seraphim Byzantiou who published it in 1884.² The cathedral church (for Arta was the seat of a bishopric) was the fine Byzantine Church, the 'Paregoritissa'. Some of the inscriptions which he mentioned are still at the church; for the church is used as a museum. On his return journey he was storm-bound at Grammata just south of the tip of Cape Linguetta, his 'Neptuni Promontorium'.

¹ Inscription no. 39 is wrongly identified by Boeckh, *CIG* no. 1817, with the sarcophagus which is drawn just above it; for I copied the same inscription at the church Ayia Trias near Riniassa on 6 April 1932. The stone was probably at Nicopolis when Cyriacus saw it, and it was later taken to the church, where it served as the altar block. Copies of Cyriacus' drawings by de San Gallo are published in *AM* 14. 217-28, and in Cte de Laborde, *Athènes aux XV siècles*.

² In his book *Δοκίμιον ιστορικῆς τινος περιλήψεως Ἀρτης καὶ Πρεβέζης*.

APPENDIX III

Styles of Masonry and Methods of Fortification

EPÍRUS is particularly rich in well-preserved fortifications. I draw some general conclusions here from the descriptions which I have given of individual sites. In the archaic period large blocks were used, the style was ashlar and the outer face of the blocks was convex; few or no towers occurred, and where they did they were generally at corners of the circuit, shallow in projection and wide in the face. This fits in with R. L. Scranton's general conclusion that few towers were employed in the archaic period and that towards the end of it some fortification walls were 'almost indistinguishable from Hellenistic work'.¹ Ashlar style is also the mark of the next period in Epirus, to which we attributed the Long Walls with towers at the ends at Argos Amphilochicum (mid-fifth century), an internal tower at Paleokoula, and the wall barring the entry into the Hexamili peninsula (latter half of the fifth century). The fortifications of Ambracus and the square tower there, which may be of the late fifth or early fourth century, are also in ashlar style. The first example of polygonal style in Epirus seems to be in the second stage of building at Rogous (Buchetium), in which large towers, projecting 7 m. from the curtain, were constructed; large and small blocks were used. This second stage was presumably before the intervention of Philip 343/2 B.C. It may be dated either before 390 B.C. or more probably after 360 B.C., since Scranton puts a cessation of polygonal work in 390-360 B.C.²

The great majority of the buildings in Epirus, as we have seen, are to be dated to the Hellenistic period. Ashlar style is used in the *peribolos* wall at Dodona (350-325 B.C.), and ashlar style and large towers in the massive acropolis walls at Phoenixe (325-300 B.C.). The third century saw almost every variety of style in the Greek world; it was an age of 'combination and elaboration' with ashlar style, pseudo-isodomic work, and polygonal style.³ The co-existence of these styles makes it impossible to date a site precisely by the style of its masonry alone. There is, however, an innovation which Scranton attributes to the first half of the century; this was the decorative use of headers and stretchers in a simple form.⁴ It occurred at Antigonea, which can be dated on other grounds to the 290's, and at some other sites such as Gardhiki. A particularly common style in the circuit-walls in Epirus is a roughly coursed polygonal style, which I have sometimes in the text called transitional between ashlar and polygonal (see Plate

¹ *Greek Walls* (Harvard, 1941) 138.

² Op. cit. 139; he mentions some ashlar masonry in the period after the Persian Wars and more after 420 B.C.

³ Op. cit. 140; polygonal and ashlar are used in adjoining walls of the same building, for instance, at Cassope (*PAE* 1953, 166).

⁴ Op. cit. 135 and 140.

XIIa). This style elsewhere is dated by Scranton, so far as certain evidence is concerned, to 'early Hellenistic', 'c. 279 B.C.', and 'Hellenistic'.¹

Many types of gateway are found in Epirus. Examples are shown in Plans 20, 21, and 22. The simplest is a passage running at right angles to the curtain straight through the thickness of the circuit-wall. There are two of these at Veliani: the smaller is shown as Plan 22, 3, and the larger, 4 m. wide, has an extended passageway 8.50 m. long (see also Plate Va). Neither of them has any further defences. Gateways of this kind are usually defended by a tower, e.g. at Gardhiki (Plan 20, 11), at Dholiani (Plan 20, 17), and more elaborately at Kastritsa (Plan 20, 7), or occasionally by an indented piece of wall on one or other side, as at Plocë (Plan 20, 12) and at Kaloyeritsa (Plan 20, 13). A more subtle way of making this type of gateway was to place the passageway at an acute angle to the curtain and to strengthen the sides of the passageway, as at Lelovo (Plan 20, 2) and more elaborately at Kastrion (Plan 20, 5). Another device was to stagger two pieces of circuit-wall and let the passageway run between them, as at Vereniki (Plan 20, 19; see Plate XIIb). More elaborate forms of this have a bend in the circuit-wall as at Kastritsa (Plan 20, 8) and at Kaloyeritsa (Plan 20, 9), or the addition of small towers as at Kastrion (Plan 20, 15). Another improvement from the point of view of defence is the introduction of a bend in the passageway at a right angle to the line of entry, as at Pramanda (Plan 20, 14), and this is made more subtle by having a slight change of direction in the circuit-wall as well, as at Raveni (Plan 20, 16).

A gateway is sometimes placed at a point where the circuit-wall takes a turn outwards. If a gateway is placed in this turn, the approach to it may be commanded from two angles by the defenders, as at Buthrotum (Plan 21, 6) and more elaborately at Lelovo (Plan 20, 3) and Buthrotum (Plan 21, 4). The final stage in the defending of a gateway is the construction of towers and inner walls. A simple example is at Lelovo (Plan 20, 1 and Pl. IIc), and a less simple one is at Goumani (Plan 10, Gate at C, and Pl. IVa). These forms of defence become more elaborate at Kastrion (Plan 20, 4 and 6 and Plan 21, 14), and most elaborate of all at the latest gate at Buthrotum (Plan 21, 7).

Defence inside the passage was a different problem. Some passageways seem to have been without artifice, as at Vereniki (Plan 20, 19; see Plate XIIb). Others had the refinement of the right-angled turn, which was awkward for transport, as at Pramanda (Plan 20, 14). Usually the passageway narrowed either towards the exit, as at Lelovo (Plan 20, 1 and Pl. IIb) and at Buthrotum (Plan 21, 4 and Pl. XVIIb), or towards the entry into the city, as at Kastrion (Plan 20, 5) and at Phoenixe (Plan 21, 3). In the gates mentioned so far except at Raveni, the sides of the passageway were parallel or narrowed in a parallel relationship. A more subtle plan was to build the sides of the passageway at an angle of inclination to one another, so that the passageway narrowed either inwards as at Buthrotum (Plan 21, 5) or outwards as also at Buthrotum (Plan 21, 4); a gateway of the acropolis of Dodona narrows outwards.² A further refinement was to add embrasures

¹ Op. cit. 165.

² PAE 1955, 173.

on one or other side-wall of the passageway, as at Kastriion (Plan 20, 6 and Plan 21, 14) and as at Dodona (Plan 20, 10).

The setting of the gates varied. They were hung occasionally at the outer end of the passageway, as at Ploçë (Plan 22, 1 and Pl. VIIIb) and at Veliani (Plan 22, 3), and occasionally at the inner end, as at Kastriion (Plan 20, 5 and 6) and at Buthrotum (Plan 21, 7). A midway position was favoured at Dholiani (Plan 20, 18 and Plate IVb), at Phoenice (Plan 21, 2 and 3), and at Buthrotum where there is also a step up (Plan 21, 4 and Pl. XVIIb). The side-walls on which the gates were set were sometimes built out into the passageway, so as to narrow it, for instance at Dholiani. A second gate or portcullis may have been used in the latest gateway at Buthrotum, where there are two vertical shafts near the exit. Evangelides suggested that there might have been one at Dodona,¹ and I thought a deep groove cut in the rock at Paramythia was probably for one.

The vertical channels, which occur commonly both on the side-walls of the passageway and on the outer face of the circuit-wall or of towers, served evidently to carry drain-pipes,² whether of wood or of terracotta. It was very important to protect the core of these massive dry walls from a combination of damp and frost which is very common in Epirus and led to the collapse, for instance, of the great *cavea* in the theatre at Dodona. The towers were certainly roofed.³ The top of the circuit-wall must have been protected either by a coping or by a roof. The latter could have been constructed with little cost at a time when Epirus still had plenty of timber; reeds and clay too were and are readily available near most sites. Where there was danger of water accumulating on the ground behind a circuit-wall, a horizontal drain was carried through it and a spouted block shot the water clear of the footing of the wall; such blocks I observed, for instance, at the *temenos* of the Nekyomanteion and at Lelovo, and von Hahn saw one at Ktismata (then Arinista). Brick was used at some sites for the upper course of fortifications and buildings, for instance at Cassope and probably at Goumani, where a number of low polygonal house-walls are standing with a level top course of stone. At most sites, and we see this particularly at Ammotopos, stone was used in the upper courses too. The foundations were almost invariably laid on rock, which was cut to receive the first layers of stone.

The towers vary greatly in size and in construction. We have described simple towers with walls two blocks of masonry thick and towers not even bonded into the circuit-wall. Other towers have walls as thick as the circuit-wall itself and they are bonded into it. Some rectangular towers have internal bonding walls in the form of a cross; and the curved tower of the

¹ *PAE* 1955, 173 and pl. 59 b, in which I do not see any indication of a portcullis. The gate-post turned on a bronze shoe; see *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 34 (1921) 384 for one at Dodona. Dakaris has recently found another there.

² One such at Buthrotum is well illustrated in *AA* 3 fig. 49; Ugolini suggests that it was intended to hold a rod for the correct aligning of the wall, but a plumb-line does not need a channel and there can be little doubt that a plumb-line was used.

³ See my description of towers in the Megarid in *BSA* 49. 109.

acropolis at Goumani has elaborate bonding walls inside it. A tower was entered sometimes at an upper level, and the stairway to it was built sometimes within the thickness of the circuit-wall, as at Dodona (*PAE* 1955, 173), or partly on it and partly on a wall built adjacent to it, as in Plan 21, 17 and Pl. Vc. If access was at ground level, the entry is sometimes still visible, as at Buthrotum (Plan 21, 7) where it was a doorway. The entry at ground level in the tower at Sistrunion (Plan 21, 15) was used for setting up a ladder in order to reach the upper story. This story gave the defender a commanding view and the opportunity to aim his javelin or arrow or throw his projectile down on to the attacker. The windows in it were either slit-windows or casement windows; they widened inwards to give the defender room, and their narrow outlets protected him from missiles from outside. The windows were so sited as to give the best field of fire. This is most clearly seen at Vagalat (Plan 21, 17 and Pl. VIIb). Such towers must have been costly to construct. They were evidently held to be effective; for many of them are found on large sites where the natural defences were not particularly strong. Towers were linked to one another by a wide track along the top of the circuit-wall, itself 2.50 to 3.50 m. thick. Access to the top of the circuit-wall was occasionally given by stone staircases, added to the inner side of the wall (see two examples in Plate XXd). In large sites, such as Goumani, a wide road ran just along the inside of the circuit-wall, so that reinforcements could be moved rapidly from one point to another. The controlling consideration in all these forms of construction was defence. Surprise has sometimes been expressed that the Greeks did not often use what I may call the natural arch with the keystone. The Epirotes were no exception. They knew how to make the natural arch, as we can see at the back of the *skene* at Dodona, built by Pyrrhus; but they did not use it in city-fortifications there or elsewhere then and later. The artificial method of giving the appearance of an arch, but of shaping each ashlar block with a curving face, has advantages; for whereas a successful blow by a battering-ram will smash the keystone and its neighbours in a natural arch and bring down the superstructure, the destruction of one or two ashlar blocks is far less disastrous.


The technique of ancient fortification has hardly been studied at all. It is possible that when a general study is made of gateways, towers, and so on, some chronological clues may be discovered. But it should be noted that the lie of the ground often determines the nature of the defences and the style of masonry; that many isolated experiments were made independently through individual enterprise and preference; and that the same problems may have been solved by the same means but at different times. For example, I show some strongpoints in Plan 21, 10, 12 and 13; but I should not suggest that they are contemporary with one another, even though they are rare. What impresses me most is the high standard of craftsmanship in masonry, the architectonic skill in using masses of great weight, and the beauty and proportion of the completed work, even in a ruined state.

APPENDIX IV

(a) *The Distribution of Coins found in Epirus*

THE following coins were bought by me in villages; there are others which I have not been able to identify. The places of purchase are given in alphabetical order. The coins are of bronze, unless it is stated otherwise. The reference no. is to the *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*; other references are to Head = *Historia Numorum*, to Franke = *Die antiken Münzen von Epirus*, and to Babelon = *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*.

Arta	1. Ambracia no. 26	238-168
	2. Ambracia no. 20, but with the letter N to the left and the letter M with a bar over it to the right on the obverse.	238-168
Bouga	1. Corinth no. 322 R	338-300
	2. Ambracia no. 15, of an Acarnanian type	238-168
Baousioi	1. Period of Gaius and Lucius.	A.D.
Chovista	1. Domitian, <i>Coins of the RE</i> 11, pl. 76, 1	A.D. 81-96
Dhragomi	1. Ambracia no. 6	238-168
Finik	1. Epirus no. 64 probably, monogram not visible	238-168
	2. Ambracia no. 9	238-168
	3. Epirus no. 54	238-168
	4. Ballaeus no. 7	after 168
Gradisht	1. Byllis no. 4	230-168
	2. Apollonia either no. 52 or no. 60	229-100
Ioannina	1. Epirus no. 4 (Franke 127)	297-270
	2. Dodona, with the name of the priest Menedemus Argeades = Franke 37, Group I	after 168
	3. Ambracia no. 9	238-168
	4. Cassope no. 4	342-340
	5. Philip II over stamped, perhaps with emblem of Corcyra	after 342
	6. Acarnanian League no. 21	229-168
Kamarina	1. Ambracia, new type: 'Pallas head to left; <i>Rev.</i> Zeus thundering to right. Diameter 18 mm.'	238-168
Kato Zalongon	1. Elea no. 4	c. 340
Likouresi	1. Epirus no. 42 R (Franke 189); said to be from Artza	238-168
Oricum	1. Apollonia no. 51, but with PMA on the obverse	229-100
	2. Acarnanian League no. 21	229-168
	3. Corcyra no. 147, letters not visible on reverse	400-300
	4. Corinth drachma, probably no. 411 R	300-243
Paleokoula	1. Ambracia no. 11	238-168
Paramythia	1. Corinth no. 73 R	c. 500-431
	2. Corinth no. 184 R	c. 400-338
	3. Epirus no. 46	238-168
Preveza	1. Ptolemy VI	c. 160
	2. Ambracia no. 9	238-168
	3. Epirus no. 54	238-168
	4. Epirus, Franke 125, Group I no. 6	329/5-c. 300
	5. Antigonus (Head 232 bronze no. 1)	277-239 or 229-220

Raveni	1. Probably Medeon. Head of Pallas right, in crested Athenian helmet/Tripod with A in upper left field and a two-handled urn in lower left field (cf. <i>BMC</i> no. 5 and no. 1)	400-300
Selo	1. Corcyra, new type: 'Cow to right; <i>Rev.</i> three corn-ears in ivy wreath. Diameter 19 mm.'	prob. 300-229
Silepiana	1. Phalanna no. 4	300-190
	2. Ambracia no. 20	238-168
	3. Thessalian League, probably no. 62	196-146
	4. Rhodes <i>AR</i>	
Trikastron	1. Epirus no. 4 (Franke 127)	297-270
	2. Epirus no. 65, with a new monogram 	238-168
	3. Epirus no. 65, very worn	238-168
	4. Molossi no. 3 (Franke 103)	360-330/325
	5. Cassope no. 7 (Franke 73)	342-330/325
	6. Ambracia, new type: 'Pallas head to right; <i>Rev.</i> Zeus thundering to right. Diameter 17.5 mm.'	238-168
	7. Acarnanian League type I, but in bronze	229-168
	8. Epirus, Franke 182, series 50, but in bronze; the $\Upsilon\Sigma$ of the magistrate's name being clear, but not the rest	238-168
	9. Roman Empire, uncertain period	A.D.

I gave the coins from Selo and Kamarina and coin no. 6 from Trikastron to the British Museum as the types were new.¹ The other coins are in my possession. Letters, symbols, or choices of metal which are not found in the *BMC* occur in the case of Arta no. 2, Trikastron no. 2, no. 7, and no. 8, and Oricum no. 1.

I saw a number of coins in the possession of villagers, which I was not in a position to buy, but I noted details at the time and I have identified the following:

Bouga	1. Ambracia no. 27 with inscription in field on obverse $\Sigma\text{ATE}\Lambda\text{H}\Sigma$ (<i>BMC</i> has $\text{H}\Sigma$ only)	238-168
	2. Larissa no. 89	400-344
Dhovroi	1. Aenianes prob. no. 77a	168-146
Dhrovjan	1. Syracuse <i>AR</i> with four-horse chariot	
Embesos	1. Philip II of Macedon (Head 224 Bronze no. 1 with Ξ in right field under the horse's neck)	359-336
Ioannina	1. Ptolemy II <i>AR</i> (Head 850 with E to left of the eagle and AT to the right of it)	285-246
	2. Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II <i>AR</i> (Head 850)	323-246
	3. Cassope no. 8 <i>AR</i>	238-168
	4. Cassope, Franke 76 Gp. 4 <i>AR</i>	238-168
Kalenji	1. Epirus, Kings no. 40	295-272
	2. Epirus no. 46	238-168
	3. Ambracia no. 24 but with ANT on the obverse	238-168

Kastrion In 1933 the Bishop of Paramythia told me that the most common coins from Kastrion were those of Elea with Persephone and Cerberus; and in 1935 I saw two specimens in the village. He said the next most common were those of the Epirote League. I saw several coins of Ambracia in the village and also one of Aetolia no. 67, but with the monogram not visible.

¹ The descriptions of these new types (in inverted commas above) are by Mr. J. K. Jenkins of the British Museum. The coin from Selo was picked up by me on the ancient site.

The Distribution of Coins found in Epirus

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Khouliaradhes	A hoard of 18 silver coins of Histiaea, no. 24 or, more probably, no. 36	196-146
Klos	1. Apollonia no. 4 <i>AR</i>	229-100
Kourenda	1. Corinth <i>AR</i> (Head 401)	460-338
Lekel	1. Epirus no. 62	238-168
	2. Epirus no. 48 probably	238-168
Mouspina	1. Larissa 86 but with Ξ instead of \equiv	400-344
Paramythia	1. Ambracia no. 5	238-168
	2. Ambracia no. 23 type	238-168
	3. Corinth stater <i>AR</i> thick fabric with incuse of swastika pattern	before 500
	4. Another specimen of the same	before 500
	5. Corinth drachma <i>AR</i>	500-400
	6. Another specimen of the same	500-400
	7. Caccina <i>AR</i>	A.D.
	8. Domitian <i>AR</i>	A.D.
	9. Clodius <i>AR</i>	A.D.
Parga	1. Elea no. 1 or 2 (emblem not visible) (This rare coin was in the possession of the Bishop of Paramythia; he said it was found at Palaea-Parga and he had several other coins from there.)	c. 340
Poliçan	1. Alexander the Great, tetradrachm <i>AR</i> (Head 226)	336-323
Santi Quaranta	1. Parthia tetradrachm <i>AR</i> , Mithridates II no. 2, but with TY under ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ	123-88
Tepelenë	1. Epirus no. 53, but monogram XV	238-168
Thiriakision	1. Ambracia no. 23 (but magistrate's name invisible)	238-168
	2. Ambracia no. 29 (I read ΛΑΜΠ for ΔΑΜΙ[ΩΝ])	238-168
	3. Aetolia no. 70, but with A below Heracles' right hand and no Φ visible	279-168
	4. Aetolia no. 64 but monogram not visible	279-168
	5. Syracuse <i>Æ</i> head of Zeus/triskeles but no inscription (Head 180)	357-317
Visani	1. Ambracia no. 29, but magistrate -ΟΥΜΗΔΗ-	238-168
Voulgareli	1. Ambracia no. 19	238-168
	2. Ambracia no. 29, but name of magistrate uncertain	238-168
	3. Ambracia no. 16	238-168
	4. Epirus no. 52	238-168
	5. Aetolia no. 64, but letters illegible	279-168
	6. Cassope probably no. 12	238-168
	7. Sicyon <i>Æ</i> (Head 410 no. 2)	323-251
	8. An unidentified coin: <i>Æ</i> head of Achelous left/bull butting	
	9. An unidentified coin: <i>Æ</i> head of Zeus wearing oak-wreath/obelisk (as on Ambracian coins)	

Clarke bought a large number of coins in the villages which he visited. After his death they were given to the Ashmolean Museum, but no record of their provenience has survived. Some coins are described in his notebooks, and I give here such identifications as I have been able to make, together with the reference to his notebooks. As he set out, I think, to buy the ancient coins of Epirus and its tribes, and as he usually described coins which he

did not buy, the proportion of non-Epirote coins is higher in his descriptions than it was in the villages. They are as follows:

Agnanda (A 133)	1. Anactorium \mathcal{R}	250-167
	2. Sicyon \mathcal{R}	
	3. Pherae	
Argyrokastro (B 56, C 54)	1. Epirote League (Franke 208 ser. 8)	238-146
Chuka (A 133)	2. Gordian III \mathcal{A}	A.D.
Dhovoī (A 147)	Coins of Ambracia with the obelisk are typical	238-168
	1. Larissa fake of type	400-344
	2. Taras fake	
Filiates (C 48)	1. Silver coin of Augustus	31-A.D. 14
Gouryiana (A 121)	1. Epirote 'Apeirotan'	
Ioannina (B 118 and 248)	1. Apollonia no. 18 \mathcal{R}	229-100
	2. Dyrrachium no. 30 f. \mathcal{R} . The combination of magistrates' names is unparalleled in <i>BMC</i> . Clarke read $\Theta\text{H}\Sigma\Omega\text{N}$ on the obverse and $\text{TE} \dots \Lambda\text{OY}\Delta\text{Y}\text{P}$, which may be completed as $\text{K}\text{H}\Sigma\Omega\text{N}$ (<i>BMC</i> no. 91) and $\text{TE}\Phi\text{I}\Lambda\text{OY}$ (<i>BMC</i> no. 116)	229-100
Konitsa (C 69)	3. A gold coin of Pyrrhus	295-272
	A hoard of coins was found here; Clarke was given nine, all Roman	A.D.
Ktismata (C 54 and 55)	1. Epirus type no. 50	238-168
	2. ditto	238-168
	3. Roman bronze coin	A.D.
	4. Apollonia \mathcal{R} type no. 3, but with new names of magistrates $\Delta\text{E}\Xi\text{I}\Sigma\text{T}\text{P}\text{A}\text{T}\text{O}\Sigma$ on the obverse and $\Phi\text{I}\Lambda\text{O}\text{K}\text{P}\text{A}\text{T}\text{E}\text{O}\Sigma$ [A]ΠΟΛ on the reverse	229-100
Lia (A 43)	1. Thasos \mathcal{R} drachma (Head 266)	after 146
Paramythia, all from Liboni (C 46)	1. Epirus type no. 50	238-168
	2. Many coins of the Roman period: Hadrian, Valens, Lucius, Verus, and Gallienus	A.D.
Poličan (B 68, 84, 108, 116, 156, 158)	1. Epirus 'Apeirotan'	
	2. Anactorium didrachm \mathcal{R}	350-250
	3. Anactorium, Ambracia, or Argos Amphiloichicum didrachm \mathcal{R}	
	4. Epirus prob. no. 50	238-168
	5. Epirus Zeus \mathcal{A}	
	6. Ambracia no. 10	238-168
	7. Dyrrachium \mathcal{R} of type no. 30; the names, not in <i>BMC</i> , are $\text{H}\text{P}\text{A}\text{K}\text{A}\text{E}\Omega\text{N}$ above the cow, a club behind its tail, and on the reverse $\Delta\text{Y}\text{P}\text{A}\text{P}\text{I}\Sigma\text{T}$ -	229-100
	8. Alexander the Great \mathcal{R}	336-323
	9. A silver Pegasus? koppa	
	10. Coin of Domitian	A.D.
	11. M. Aurelius Antoninus denarius \mathcal{A}	A.D.
	12. Sabina \mathcal{R}	A.D.
	13. Roman silver coin unidentified	A.D.
Saraginishtë (B 186)	1. Ptolemy \mathcal{A} (Ptolemy I or II)	323-246
	2. Epirus prob. no. 50	238-168
	3. Epirus perhaps ditto	238-168
	4. Epirus, but not in Franke <i>AME</i> . Obverse: thunderbolt in a garland $\text{A}\text{P}\text{E}\text{I}\text{P}\Omega\text{TAN}$. Reverse: female head right, stately neck, straight nose, crown like small fez, hair bunched behind ear (which shows), and to left below ear perhaps an ear-ring	

Trikastron (C 65)	1. Epirus 'Apeirotan'	
	1. Coins of Ambracian types	238-168
Vitsista (A 127 and 147)	2. Magnetes with centaur no. 3	196-146
	3. Diva Faustina SC	A.D.
Vagalat (A 99)	1. Epirus 'Apeirotan'	
	2. Alexander the Great	336-323
	3. Gold coin of Constantius and Helius	A.D.
	4. Maximinus Pius Aug. Germ./Salus Augusti	A.D.

In the years from 1922 to 1939, when these coins were collected or noted, Epirus was visited by very few people, and the villages lay outside the knowledge of scholars except Clarke and myself. There was no incentive to take coins from one place to another in the hope of selling them; even those which I saw in Ioannina were not in the hands of a dealer. The provenience of the coins is therefore pretty well assured. We can therefore reach some conclusions about the distribution of the various types, and we can draw some inferences of historical interest.

The only early coins are those of Corinth *c.* 600-400 B.C., and they are found only at Paramythia. The inference that Corinth traded with the area of the lower Acheron and the Cocytus valleys is supported by the evidence of Corinthian offerings at the Nekyomanteion and by Thucydides' statement that the Corinthians were friendly with the mainlanders near Cheimerium in Thesprotis (i. 47. 3); they may have obtained timber for ship-building from Mt. Korillas as well as olives and animal products from the lowlands. Some payments were evidently made in Corinthian silver. On the other hand, there are no coins of this period from Corcyra or from Ambracia. Yet Ambracia had a magnificent silver coinage in the fifth century.¹ It is clear that this coinage of Ambracia was used only for overseas trading and not for purposes of local exchange, and it is to be noted that Ambracia had no fractional coinage until the Macedonian period. My argument is based upon only a few early coins and upon their absence elsewhere, but it receives considerable support from coins found at Dodona. Carapanos found 662 coins. None was earlier than the fourth century, and only fourteen were of silver. Although Evangelides mentioned the theft of some coins as well as of bronzes from Ioannina Museum, he published no coins in his report in *Ep. Chron.* 1935 (264 b note); but he listed the coins found in 1953-5 as three of silver and 141 of bronze in *PAE* 1955, 174 f. and the coins from an earlier excavation as twenty in *PAE* 1952, 320. f. None of these coins is earlier than the fourth century. Carapanos made the suggestion that gold and silver coins dedicated at Dodona had been taken at the various pillagings of the shrine (i. 115). The evidence from the coins of Clarke and myself suggests rather that the wealthy probably dedicated other objects, and that the poor dedicated bronze coins; and that silver coins were not current in most parts of Epirus in the period before 400 B.C.

In the period after 400 B.C. it is obvious from the coins noted by Clarke and myself that the great bulk of the coinage which circulated in Epirus was local coinage of the period 238-168 B.C., that is of the time of the

¹ See especially O. Ravel, *Colts of Ambracia* (New York, 1928).

Epirote League. We noted thirty or more Ambracian coins of the period 238–168 B.C., a marked contrast with the absence of Ambracian coinage in the earlier period, and about the same number of coins of the Epirote Alliance and Epirote League together. The pattern of distribution of the Ambracian coins is mainly to the east of the lower Arachthus and in Amphilochia and in Athamania: at Bouga, Voulgareli, Paleokoula, Thiriakision, Chuka, and Silepiana, for instance. They occur also in Cassopaea and in Elaeatis, that is at Paramythia, Dhragomi, Kastrion, Trikastron, Kamarina, and Preveza, but rarely in Central and North Epirus. This pattern corresponds with Ambracia's area of trade in this period when her political affiliations were mainly with Athamania and Aetolia; and Cassopaea was independent of the Epirote League for most of these years. Coins of the Aetolian League are found at Voulgareli and Thiriakision but not in Central Epirus. Thessalian coins occur in Athamania and on the fringes of Athamania at Agnanda and at Bouga. In both cases their presence is in conformity with the alliances of the time. On the other hand, coins of the Epirotes are rare to the east of the lower Arachthus; they are commonest in Central Epirus and in Northern Epirus. This too represents a trading area, based on political alliances. Dodona was neutral in trade and in politics. There the result of three years of excavation was nineteen coins of the Epirote League and sixteen coins of Ambracia 238–168 B.C. The balance corresponds closely with our general findings. The coins of the Cassopaeans and the Eleans had only a local distribution, the furthest afield being a Cassopaeian coin at Voulgareli on the trade-route to Athamania; and coins of the Amantes and of the Oricii are lacking in Central and Southern Epirus.

The foreign coins which made most impact were those of Apollonia; they occur at Oricum, Gradisht, Klos, Ktismata, and Ioannina (Ktismata being on the route from the north to Ioannina) and at Phoenice (*AA* 2. 159). Two coins of Apollonia were found in the group from Dodona (*PAE* 1955, 174 f.) and two in that from Radotovi (*PAE* 1952, 323 f.). A few from Dyrrachium have been found too. Macedonian coins are next in importance. They come mainly from East and North Epirus: Philip II at Embesos, Ioannina, Mikhalitsi (*Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961–2) 2. 187), and Dodona (*PAE* loc. cit.), Alexander the Great at Poliçan, Vagalat and Phoenice, later kings at Dodona and Preveza (*PAE* 1955, 174), and Philip II, Philip V, and Perseus in hoards at Ioannina, Arta, Preveza, and Metsovon (Noe nos. 511, 691, 834¹) and also Philip V at Phoenice. Coins of the Ptolemies were found at Preveza, Ioannina, and Saraginishtë but none in three years of excavation at Dodona; those found inland may have been due to Ptolemaic subsidies for Pyrrhus. Syracuse, Corcyra, and Corinth are thinly represented in Central and Southern Epirus and even at Dodona where Corcyra leads in this trio (*PAE* 1955, 174 f.); but Sicily and South Italy are strongly represented at Phoenice, as we shall see. Anactorium does not figure at Dodona, but coins of hers were found at Agnanda and Poliçan.

The groups of coins found at some inland sites are of particular interest.

¹ See S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1937). Hoards are quoted by his numbers.

Dodona has coins from most states of Northern and Central Greece, but the great majority by far are from Epirus. Kastrian near the Nekyomanteion and Trikastron (Pandusia), which was on the route to Dodona and probably had a shrine of its own, yielded a wider variety of coins than other places in Southern Epirus. Poliçan produced a considerable variety of coins. Perhaps its inhabitants served as mercenaries abroad; even in recent times people have emigrated from there in large numbers.

With these exceptions we gain the general impression that in inland Epirus the local currencies only were in use, and further that each local currency had a restricted range within the regions of Epirus. These points show that trade here was local and that coins were used to ease a local trade, which was probably in terms mainly of bartering goods. The general absence of other currencies in inland Epirus indicates that the export of goods from inland Epirus was in the hands of merchants near the coast and that the materials which were collected for export were purchased not with foreign currency but by barter and sometimes by paying in local currency. This general view of Epirote coinage is fortified by the fact that only two coins of Epirote origin, excluding Ambracia, have been found in hoards outside Epirus—one in Elis and one in Pellene.

It is a different story with the ports and the markets of exchange near the coast. If a ship's captain needed food or wished to take on cargo, he might not be able to offer goods in exchange and he must have paid often in a foreign currency. Thus we find many more foreign coins, usually in silver, at the ports and marts than inland. A burial in the peninsula of Buthrotum, found in 1927, had fifteen silver coins of Corinth, Corcyra, Dyrrachium, Sicyon, and Caulonia (*AA* 3. 234 = Noe no. 174 and S. L. Cesano in *Atti e Memorie d. Ist. Ital. d. numismatica* 7 (1932) 47 f.). Oricum has produced coins of Corinth, Corcyra, Apollonia, and the Acarnanian League; and Mikhalitsi near the mouth of the Louros river 1 coin of Corinth, 3 of Corcyra, 5 of Philip II, 3 of the Molossi and 2 of the Cassopaei for the period 350–300 B.C. (*Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961–2) 2. 187). Phoenice, which became the most important centre of exchange in Epirus in the third century, if we except the Greek cities of Apollonia and Ambracia, has a much wider range of coins. The excavators published 93 coins. Of these 22 were Roman. Another 22 came from South Italy, almost all dating after 350 B.C., and 9 from Sicily. States of Greece and the Aegean were less well represented: Cnidus 1, Cos 2, Panticapaeum 1, Phlius 1 (minted c. 431–370, the earliest coin from the site), Corinth 2, Acarnania 1, Corcyra 4 (1 of 400–300, 3 of 300–229), and Ambracia 3 (of 238–168); then Molossians 1, Molossian kings 2, Epirote Alliance 1, Epirote League 8, Phoeniceans 4 (3 of 168–148 and 1 of Nero's principate); of adjacent areas Macedon 2 (Alexander the Great and Philip V), Larissa, Atrax and the Thessalian League 3, Apollonia 2 and Dyrrachium 1 (the last two of 229–100).¹ Thus Phoenice tapped the

¹ Apollonia figures more than Dyrrachium in Epirus, though the latter's coins had a wider range of distribution. The local strength of Apollonia is shown by the excavation of Irmaj near Gramsh in Dassaretis, where there were seven coins of Apollonia to one of Dyrrachium and one of Alexander the Great (*BUST* 1963, 4. 42).

international trade-route through the Corfu Channel, but the great bulk of her trade, so far as coins indicate it, was with South Italy, Rome, and Sicily, especially in the period from the First Punic War into the late Republic. This traffic with Italy was apparently not enjoyed by the ports of Southern Epirus. Phoenice was evidently the collecting point for exports from Epirus to Italy. She received foreign currency, but she did not use it for trade within Epirus, where the coinages of the Epirote League and, to a lesser extent, that of Ambracia served the purpose.

The hoards of coins which have been found in Epirus and in areas adjacent to Epirus tell the same story. Overseas from Epirus the coins of the Corinthian colonies and those of Argos Amphiloichicum, which traded within the same group, have a very wide distribution. Noe hoard no. 263 from a burial in Corcyra has 150 silver coins, all of Corinthian colonies. Nine hoards in South Italy and Sicily (nos. 108, 193, 497, 684, 784, 900, 1,002, and 1,016) contain coins of Ambracia, Anactorium, Argos Amphiloichicum, Leucas, Corcyra, Apollonia, and Dyrrachium, but not a single coin of Epirus or of its tribal states. Epirote coins were thus not exported; they were normally not current at all outside Epirus. For this reason hoarders in Epirus tended to collect foreign coins, because they were more useful for international exchange. A hoard from a burial probably near Preveza (no. 834) contained 600 silver coins; of these 510 were drachmae of Corinth and her colonies, 75 were of Histiaea,¹ 1 was of Boeotia and 1 was of Parium. Hoard no. 511 from Ioannina, which belonged to a burial of c. 169–168 B.C., had 71 silver coins of which 1 was of Philip V, 53 of Perseus, and 17 of the Epirote League. A burial at Metsovon (no. 691) had 25 silver coins of which 16 were of Rhodes, 4 of Philip V and Perseus, and 5 of the Epirote League. A burial at Arta of c. 280 B.C. (no. 69) contained 60 silver coins of Corinth, Leucas, Anactorium, Acarnania, and Philip II. On the other hand, a humble burial at Dodona (no. 333) contained 11 bronze coins of the Molossians and the Epirote state; the dead man, if he had traded at all, had traded only locally.

Coins of the Roman Republic were found by Evangelides (*PAE* 1955, 174 f.) and coins of many Roman Emperors by Carapanos (i. 122 f.) during their excavations at Dodona. Elsewhere coins of the Republic occur especially at Phoenice (10 out of 22 Roman coins); and coins of the Empire have been found at Phoenice (12) and near the Roman road inland (see pp. 694 f., above), that is at Argyrokastro, Poliçan, Ktismata, Baousioi, Trikastron, and further inland at Konitsa. In the coastal districts Buthrotum and Nicopolis issued coinage; and Paramythia has yielded Roman coins from the site of Photice.

An unpublished hoard of coins was found in the 1920's near Kamarina. Eleven coins from this hoard were given to me by Mr. Manthos in Athens in 1953. I describe those in my possession:

	B.C.
Æ Epirote League, Franke 177 Gp. 2, Series 31	238–168
Æ Epirote League, Franke 204 Gp. 7, Series 3, but monogram not visible under the chin.	238–168

¹ For the coins of Histiaea compare the hoard of eighteen at Khouliaradhes and see L. Robert, *Études de numismatique grecque* (Paris, 1951) 195.

Epirote League, Franke 226, no. 10	B.C. Franke = 148-50
Ambracia, BMC no. 5	238-168
Ambracia, no. 23	238-168
Ambracia, new type. Zeus hurls thunderbolt r. AMBP with a straight bar A / male head r. with a roll of hair and locks on neck.	238-168
Ambracia, new type. Zeus hurls thunderbolt r. with thunderbolt upright in r. field; AMBP with a broken bar A/strongly featured female head r. with hair in snood and locks hanging on and below the neck.	238-168
Ambracia, BMC type no. 29. Three specimens, but with different letters from those in the BMC. They are ΔΑΜΙΟΣ, ΚΑΕ, ΞΙΟΧ	238-168
Oeniadae, BMC no. 8 but monogram Ϙ	230-168


When Mr. Manthos showed me the coins from this hoard, he allowed me to note the names of magistrates on the griffin coins of Ambracia (BMC type no. 29). They are ΑΞΙΟΧΟΣ, ΣΚΥΜΝΑΣ, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΣ, ΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΣ, ΛΕΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΛΑΜΙΟΣ, —ΩΤΩΝ, ΙΣΧΡΩΝ, ΣΩΚΛΕΙΩΝ, ΑΡ—, ΑΝΔΡΩΚ—, ΧΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ. Only the fourth of these is in BMC.





In *Arch. Delt.* 16 (1960) 2. 200 S. I. Dakaris showed that Franke's dating of the Ambracian issue with the head of Dione and the obelisk of Apollo to the Roman period in II-I B.C. (AME 323 f. and coins 329 f.) was proved to be incorrect by the discovery of coins of this issue in close association with coins of the period of the Epirote League c. 230-170 B.C. Now the Kamarina hoard shows that one issue of the Epirote League which Franke dated to 148-50 B.C., partly on the ground that it was contemporary with the Ambracian issue we have just mentioned (AME 220), is really to be dated with the other coins of the Epirote League to the period c. 230-170 B.C. It appears that Franke's dating of these two issues is unsound.

(b) The Collection of Coins in the Ioannina Museum

In 1939 I made a catalogue of the coins in the Museum at Ioannina. There was no record of them at that time, and it is possible that some of them are among the losses suffered by the Museum during and after the War. P. R. Franke has included Epirote coins from the Museum in his publication of Epirote coins; but he has not given a list of the Epirote and non-Epirote coins in the collection when he studied it at some time after the War. My catalogue uses the numbers of the British Museum Catalogue, unless it is stated otherwise.

AR Greek Period

Corinth (31 coins)	Stater no. 153	B.C. 400-338
	no. 168	"
	no. 170	"
	no. 180	"
	type no. 306 f.	338-300
	no. 401	300-243
	no. 402 Pegasus left, koppa/helmeted head of Pallas left; to right 	"


		B.C.
	Drachm no. 181 (2 specimens)	400-338
	no. 182 (2)	"
	no. 183	"
	no. 184 (2)	"
	no. 185 (2)	"
	no. 186 (2)	"
	no. 189 (3) Pegasus left, koppa / head of Aphrodite left; hair in saccos, to right below Σ	400-300
	no. 406 (2)	300-243
	no. 406, but head of Aphrodite right	"
	no. 407, but Pegasus right	"
	no. 418	"
	Hemidrachm (5) Pegasus right, koppa/head of Aphrodite left; hair in saccos; below to left E, to right Π.	"
Corinthian Colonies (10)		
Ambracia (3)	Stater no. 28	432-342
	no. 49 with type right on R.	"
	no. 56	"
Anactorium (2)	Stater no. 44	350-300
	Drachm, type no. 7, very worn	"
Dyrrachium (2)	Stater, type uncertain	"
	no. 4	"
Leucas (2)	Stater no. 87 (2)	330-250
Syracuse (1)	Stater no. 1	344-317
Thyreum (2)	Stater no. 9	350-250
	no. 19	"
In the Dodona case:		
Corinth (1)	Drachm no. 184; on the reverse to r. 	400-338
Apollonia (2)	no. 4	229-100
	no. 35	"
Corcyra (1)	no. 370	229-48
Dyrrachium (2)	no. 99	229-100
	no. 126	"
Thyreum (4)	type no. 12 f. (4). Size 0.75. On the ob- verse r. above, ΔΠΟΣ; on the reverse on the throne to l.  . Type left.	after 168
Damastium (1)	type no. 5 f. 	
Epirus (3)	no. 23	238-168
	no. 26	"
	no. 43	"
Thessaly (5)	type no. 4 f. Size 0.95. On reverse to left ΣΙΜΙΟΥ; below r. arm Π and below l. arm 	
	no. 40	"
	no. 42	"
	type no. 44 f. but on reverse below l. Δ and below r. N	"
	no. 46	"
Larissa (2)	no. 27	450-400
	prob. silver example of bronze no. 94	400-344

		B.C.
Boeotia (8)	no. 17	387-374
	no. 30	"
	no. 90	196-146
	no. 96 (2)	"
	no. 99 (2)	"
	type no. 101 f.	"
Chalcis (32)	type no. 38 f. (32)	369-336
Histiaea (8)	no. 34 (5)	196-146
	no. 79	"
	type no. 34 f. but on reverse to l. Δ^K	"
	type no. 34 f. but on reverse below Δ and	"
	to r. NC	"
Achaia (6)	no. 26 (? Ceryneia mint) (2)	after 280
	no. 35 (Patrae mint)	"
	no. 41 (Patrae mint)	"
	no. 41 (Patrae mint) but on reverse below Δ	"
	" " but on reverse in field EM	"
Elis (2)	no. 83	362-312
	no. 140	271-191
Sicyon (7)	no. 53	400-300
	no. 111 (6)	"
Aegina (7)	Drachm no. 166	480-431
	no. 167 (6)	"
Athens (4)	Tetradrachm no. 142	c. 430-322
	Triobol no. 162	"
	? Barbarous copy of Tetradrachm	"
	Tetradrachm no. 429, but add to l. at foot	"
	Δ I (the last stated to be from North Epirus)	c. 186-147
Syracuse (2)	Decadrachm no. 173 type, but unsigned	412-366
	Drachm probably of period	412-366
	(both stated to be from North Epirus)	"
Thasos (1)	no. 74	II-I B.C.
Philip II of	Tetradrachm Babelon no. 872	359-336
Macedon (7)	Tetrobol Babelon no. 873 club (Heraclea	"
	Sinthica)	"
	Tetrobol Babelon no. 873 three-branched	"
	Tetrobol Babelon no. 873 trident (Amphi-	"
	polis)	"
	Tetrobol Babelon no. 873 aplustre and	"
	Λ (not in Babelon but a symbol of	"
	Amphipolis)	"
Alexander III of	Tetrobol Babelon no. 873 Macedonian	"
	shield in profile	"
	Tetrobol Babelon no. 873	"
	Drachm Babelon no. 892 (Macedonia)	336-323
	Drachm head of Heracles / Zeus seated	"
	symbol M (Newell pl. 28, 9)	"
	Drachm head of Heracles / Zeus seated	"
	symbol illegible	"
Macedon (5)	Drachm head of Heracles / Zeus seated	"
	symbol M	"
	Drachm head of Heracles / Zeus seated	"
	M to l.; below S	"

Roman Period: Æ Denarii (25)

		A.D.
Vespasian	no. 327 (M. & S.); mints of Asia Minor incl. Philippi	71
Titus	no. 41	80
Domitian	no. 107	88
Trajan	no. 337	114-117
Hadrian	no. 116	119-122
	no. 238	134-138
	no. 101	119-122
Trajan	IMP. TRAIANVS. AVG. . . . DEC head radiate r. / Victory adv. l., holding wreath and palm; to l. VICTOR . . . and to r. / ALLVC. Size 0.9 (inscr. cf. M. & S. no. 258)	
Antoninus Pius	no. 2	138
	'Barbarous' type no. 319 f.	
	no. 360 (2)	
Marcus Aurelius	no. 649	178
	no. 770	
	no. 775	176-180
Caracalla	no. 391	211-217
Gordian	type not identified	
Philip I	no. 170 (Cohen)	?247
	no. 194—'from North Epirus'	248
	no. 135	247
	(not in M. & S.) IMP. . . IVL. PHILIPPVS. AVG. head r. radiate / COSPPIII above fig. facing with head turned l. holding staff in r. and short wand in l. Size 0.9.	
	another undatable	
Severus Alexander	undatable	222-235
Trajan Decius	no. 86 (Cohen)	249-251
Volusianus	undatable	c. 250
Valerian I	type no. 91, but in silver (Cohen)	253-260

Æ Greek Period

		B.C.
Epirus (38)	no. 1	Ep. Alliance
	no. 1, but bull left	"
	no. 5 (3)	"
	no. 46 (19)	Ep. League
	no. 49	"
	no. 53	"
	no. 55 (4)	"
	no. 55 type = Franke 198 Series 3 (2)	"
	no. 55 type = Franke 199 Series 4	"
	no. 65 (4)	"
	type no. 65 = Franke 205 Series 5	"
Molossi (1)	no. 3	360-330/325
Ambracia (70)	no. 5 (15)	238-168
	no. 6 (3)	"
	no. 16 (5)	"
	no. 18 (1)	"
	no. 22, but on reverse to l. centre 	"
	no. 23 (6)	"

		B.C.
	no. 24	"
	type no. 24 with illegible inscription (13)	"
	type no. 24 and on obverse to r. NEAPXOΣ	"
	head of Apollo l. / tripod in laurel	"
	wreath and letters ^{AM} [B]P (not in BMC) (3)	"
	no. 28, but on reverse below N E A P	"
	type no. 29, but illegible inscription (12)	"
	type no. 29, but archon AΙΣΧΡΩΝ	"
	type no. 29, but archon AΞΙΟΧΟΥ	"
	type no. 29, but archon XAIPEA ¹ (2)	"
	no. 32 (4)	"
Elea (1)	Franke 44 Gp. 11	342-340
Cassope (5)	no. 5 (4) Dove flying l. in laurel wreath / oak wreath containing letters KA. Size 0·7 (not in BMC or Franke)	342-340
Pyrrhus (5)	no. 38 (struck in Macedonia)	295-272
	no. 40 (2)	"
	no. 44 (2)	"
Corinth (1)	type no. 423 f. Size 0·6	400-300
Apollonia (1)	no. 75	100 to Augustus
Corcyra (4)	no. 146	400-300
	no. 295	300-229
	no. 448 (2)	229-48
Leucas (7)	no. 15	fourth cent.
	no. 32 (3)	"
	no. 33	"
	no. 50	"
	no. 72	"
Thyrreum (1)	no. 1	"
Acarnanian	no. 15 (6)	229-168
League (13)	no. 16 (2)	"
	type no. 16, but on reverse to l. &	"
	no. 22 (3)	"
	type no. 22, but head of Pallas r.	"
Medeon (6)	no. 4	fourth cent.
	no. 6 (3)	"
	type no. 6, but owl r. Size 0·6	"
	obverse undecipherable / badger or boar standing r.; above ΙΦ; below ME upside- down. Size 0·6 (cf. inscr. on BMC no. 6)	"
Actolian League (7)	no. 43 (2)	279-168
	no. 45	"
	type no. 64, but young male head r. on obverse	"
	no. 65 (2)	"
	uncertain type	"
Argos Amphiloichicum (1)	no. 6	fourth cent.
Athamanes (2)	no. 4 (2)	238-168
Athens (1)	no. 543	220-83
Boeotia (1)	no. 106	196-146
Phocis (1)	no. 109	339-146
Thessaly (4)	no. 49 (3)	196-146
	type no. 57, but to l. of head ,ΠΟΛ and to r. a small O	"

		B.C.
Larissa (3)	no. 84	400-344
	no. 89	"
	no. 95	"
Histiaca (1)	stern of galley showing two banks of oars r.; above ΙΣΤΙ; below ΑΙΩΝ / male head r. Size 0.75	
Zacynthus (2)	head of Apollo l., laur.; hair long / tripod (cf. nos. 42 f.)	357-250
	no. 48	"
Elis (2)	no. 115	312-271
	no. 115 but below eagle ΔΙΟ	"
Phlius (3)	no. 13 (3)	431-370
Macedonia:		
Philip II (15)	Obols Babelon no. 887, but symbol illegible (11) Obol Babelon no. 887 spearhead Obol Babelon no. 887 N and trident Obols Babelon no. 887 ΧΕ (2)	359-336 " " "
Alexander III (6)	Obols head of Heracles / bow and club, above? Π (2) Obol head of Heracles / eagle r. head backturned Obols head of Apollo r. in border of dots/ horse prancing r. (3) Obol head of Heracles in lion-skin r./Zeus seated l. with eagle on r. hand; to r. ΦΙΛΑΠΠΟΥ. Size 1.0 (stated to be from Northern Epirus)	336-323 " "
Philip III (1)		
Cassander (2)	head of Heracles in lion-skin r./ΚΑΣΣΑΝ to l. above lion r. recumbent; below ΟΥ. Size 0.75. head of Heracles in lion-skin r./ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ; naked youth on horse stepping r. with r. hand raised; below Κ; to r. ΔΙ. Size 0.8	323-316 316-297 "
Antigonos Gonatas and Doson (3)	head of Athena r. / Pan r. erecting trophy (3)	277-220
<i>Roman Period: Æ</i>		
Macedonia (1)	no. 49 (Pella)	168-146
Amphipolis (1)	head of Augustus r. bare, repunched ΚΑ[ΙΣ]ΑΡΟΣ [ΣΕΒΑ]Σ[Τ]ΟΥ / Artemis Tauropolos on bull galloping r. ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	
Thessalonica (2)	head of Dionysus r. wearing ivy wreath / second goat standing r.; above ΕΣΣΑ; under belly ΗΣ. Size 0.8 Roman head with long thin neck r./ Θ[ΕΣ] [Σ]ΑΛΟ within wreath ΝΙΚ ΑΩΝ	
Nicopolis (4)	Monnet III Suppl. no. 244 Monnet III Suppl. no. 279 another specimen partly illegible BMC no. 46 (Salonina)	

These coins number 396 pieces, of which 180 are of silver; and there were many other coins which I could not identify. Some were in a case marked 'Dodona', when I catalogued the coins in 1939. In theory they might have come from the excavations there; but, as we have mentioned, Carapanos found only 14 silver coins in a total of 662 and Evangelides only 3 silver coins in a total of 141. Franke is probably right in thinking that the coins found by Carapanos left Epirus, and Evangelides does not say where he deposited his coins. On the other hand, Franke can hardly be correct in supposing that the collection of coins in Berlin, which is said to be from Dodona, came in fact from the excavations by Carapanos and his engineer Mineyko; for Franke has published the silver coins in Berlin as over 70 in a total of 228, but Carapanos expressed his surprise that he had found only 14 silver coins in a total of 662. I am therefore inclined to believe simply that the coins in the Ioannina Museum came from various sites in Epirus, including Dodona, but probably excluding the part of Epirus which is now in Albania; for, as we have argued already, there was little reason for anyone to bring coins to Epirus from elsewhere in the years before 1939.

The only coins minted before 400 B.C. are one from Larissa and two from Aegina, and perhaps three from Ambracia and two from Athens; all were of silver. They may have come from the shores of the Gulf of Arta; for the area of Paramythia has yielded no such coins, but only earlier Corinthian silver coins. After 400 B.C. the great bulk of silver coinage comes from Corinth (32) and her colonies (14), but there is only one coin from Corcyra, whereas Corcyra was quite strongly represented among the coins found in North Epirus; here too it is likely that many of the coins have come from or via the ports of the Gulf of Arta, including Thyrraeum (6) on the Acarnanian shore. The silver coins of Chalcis (32, obviously a hoard), Histiaea (8), Sicyon (7), Achaëa (6), and Elis (2) are probably to be associated with maritime trade; and Thessaly including Larissa (7) and Boeotia (8) may represent trade overland. Macedon is strong (12) but only in coins of Philip II and Alexander the Great. While there are only three silver coins of Epirus, there are fifty bronze coins of Epirus, Epirote tribes and Molossian kings. There are also seventy bronze coins of Ambracia, all of the period 238-168. This city was evidently paramount in local trade in South Epirus at that time, although its political history was so chequered. The other bronze coins are mainly those of neighbouring states: Macedon (27), Larissa and Thessaly (7), Athamane (2), Aetolian League (7), Acarnanian League and Acarnanian cities (20), and Leucas (7). There is only a small scatter of a bronze coin or two each from elsewhere: Apollonia, Corcyra (4), Corinth, Argos Amphiloichicum, Athens, Boeotia, Phocis, Histiaea, Elis, and Phlius. The bronze coinage indicates a considerable amount of local trade mainly within Epirus and at the time especially of the Epirote League.

The Roman denarii may be connected with the main road through inland Epirus, on which Dodona was a stopping-place.

APPENDIX V

Arrow-heads and a Sling Pellet

I DESCRIBE here three unpublished arrow-heads of bronze (see Fig. 30).

A. *From the ancient site at Trikastron*, acquired by me in the village and in my possession. It is 7 cm. long; the blade is 4.5 cm. long and the haft 2.5 cm. long. The blade is 1.5 cm. wide at the widest part, the edges are sharp and finely cut, both the barbs are broken. There is a large triangular boss at the point where the haft joins the blade, and a distinct but unornamented ridge runs from the centre of the boss to the tip. There are no blood channels. The haft is ovoid with four slight ridges by the boss but circular in section at the foot. The ridges suggest that it was cast in a mould. This arrow-head is similar to one measuring 9 cm. from Dodona (Carapanos, pl. 58 no. 18), and to others from Olympia.¹ Bulanda calls this type class F; whatever the chronological sequence may have been for the invention of different types, Bulanda considers that all types were contemporaneously in use into Hellenistic times.² Petrie³ dates this type to 1200–800 B.C. Kleeman⁴ dates it to 700–500 B.C.

B. *From the ancient site at Trikastron*, acquired in the village and in my possession. A three-sided pyramidal arrow-head with the haft broken off; the blade is 4.5 cm. long, and each of the three sides is 1.5 cm. wide at the widest point. The edges are prolonged into three sharp barbs. The haft springs not from the centre of the triangular base but from low down towards one side; on the outer surface of this side there are two grooves (perhaps blood-channels) which enclose a slightly projecting lump. Such an arrow-head is not represented at Dodona or at Olympia, and it is not among those described by Bulanda. The type is known at the time of the Persian invasion, and it may be dated to the fifth century.⁵

C. *Found at Vaxia in May 1939* and seen by me in Ioannina that summer. The length is 10 cm., the haft being 5.2 cm. and the blade 4.8 cm., and the blade is 1.7 cm. wide at the widest point. The boss at the point where the haft joins the blade is smaller than in A; the central ridge from it to the tip is plain, but there is a groove or blood-channel on the blade on each face, running from near the boss to near the tip. The blades are very sharp. The barbs are long and sharp. Blood-channels on one side only of each face occur on the three specimens from Dodona, though not exactly in this form,

¹ *Olympia, Bronzen*, Taf. lxiv, 1093. Carapanos mistakenly called them spearheads.

² *Bogen und Pfeil* (Abhandl. Arch-Epigraph. Semin. Wien XV) 106 fig. 75.

³ *Tools and Weapons* 35 and pl. xli no. 128.

⁴ In *Abhandl. d. Akad. d. Wissensch. u. d. Lit.* 4 (Bonn, 1954) 120–2 and fig. 3 a; for the date see his p. 138.

⁵ See A. Salmony, *Artibus Asiae* 17 (Switzerland, 1954) 303 f.

and long, sharp barbs occur on one of them (Carapanos, pl. 58 no. 17); the haft is unlike the haft of A above and also unlike the haft of one from Dodona (*ibid.*, no. 18, which is 9 cm. long). This arrow-head is of the same type as A and should be dated with Kleeman to 700–500 B.C.

Two arrow-heads of bronze are published from Phoenice in *AA* 2. 184, fig. 117. Number 1 appears to be another specimen of the pyramidal three-sided type like B above. It is not described in the text. Number 2 is described as being square in section with a long barb, 4.2 cm. long and 0.9 cm. wide at the widest point. This is known as the Cypriote type. Specimens were found at Marathon. It is probably of the fifth century.¹

Among the bronze arrow-heads in the British Museum which are said to have come from Corcyra there are seven examples of type A and one example of the pyramidal type B.² Archery was perhaps more in use in the north-west area than in Central and Southern Greece in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.³

The sling pellet, 2.6 cm. long, illustrated in Fig. 30 as D, was seen by me in Arta in 1937, and I was told it had been found at the site called Kastriotissa. It is of lead, and the shaded protrusion is for gripping it. The pellet had been cast in a mould and the letters were in relief. They stand, as on some of the coinage, for the Ambraciotes. The form of the letters is consistent with a date at the time of the Ambraciote operations against the Amphilo-chians, for instance in 426 B.C.; but a later date is also possible.⁴

¹ See E. J. Forsdyke in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 32 (London, 1919–20) 147 f. with fig. 1 nos. 2 and 3 and fig. 3.

² H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes in the BM* (1899) 347 no. 2811. A bronze arrow-head which has features of A and C here was found recently at Irmaj near Gramsh in the southern part of ancient Dassaretis (*BUST* 1963, 4. 41 fig. 29 c).

³ None of the types mentioned here occurs in the article by W. E. McLeod in *AJA* 64 (1960) 370–1.

⁴ C. F. Edson gave me his expert opinion on the dating of the letters.

APPENDIX VI

Inscriptions found in Epirus

CLARKE and I copied a number of inscriptions in Epirus. Some of these had previously been published; others have been published since one or other of us saw them; and others are unpublished. They are not placed in any particular order here. Neither of us took squeezes; we took some photographs, and I made as accurate sketches as I could.

1. In a field a quarter of an hour from Navaricë on a limestone *stele* 1.10 × 0.70 × 0.16 m. with a top in the form of an *aedicula* and an engraved entablature 0.59 × 0.19 m. between two small columns. The letters, 0.03 m. high, are in relief on smoothed beds, and each bed is separated from the other by a line in relief. Copied by Clarke (A 57 and 63) with sketch. See Plate XXIIa.

ΛΥΚΩΤΑΣΛΥΚΙΣΚ[ΟΥ]
ΑΛΚΙΝΟΑΓΛΑΥ[ΚΙΑ]
ΠΑΜΦΙΛΑΛΥΚΩΤΑ
ΧΑΙΡ[Ε]ΤΕ

The letters are so spread that the ends of the first three lines are in line. There is a 'flame-like flower' below the inscription.

2. In a pigsty wall by a house at Kastania on a limestone *stele* 0.37 × 0.25 × 0.06 m. with a top in the form of an *aedicula* and badly cut lettering; the face of the stone was worn and dirty. It had been found in a field ten minutes south-west of the village. Copied by me, with sketch as in Fig. 31.

N

P. Patunius | Zosimus Pinerus | Salvete

3. In the wall above the church door of St. Nicolas at Poliçan on the top of a *stele* with *aedicula* 0.74 × 0.48 m., which had previously been in a wall in the village; the letters are 0.03 m. high. Copied by Clarke (B 84) and by me, both with sketch; see Fig. 31.

Ξενος Αρχ[ε]λου χαιρε

4. In the church of St. Nicolas at the Saraginishtë acropolis, called Yerma, an inscription records the Bishop ΔΕΡΝΟΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΖΡΑΗ, that is in the year A.D. 738. Reported to me at Yerma.

5. In the church of St. Demetrius at Poliçan an inscription records 'Ιυμέων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Δρυινοπόλεως in A.D. 1523. Reported to me at Poliçan. Also mentioned in Lambridis, 'Ηπειρ. ιστ. μελετήματα 5. 11.

6. In the garden of Alex. Papaioannis at Poliçan on a limestone slab with the inscription carved on the top part and with a bull standing to the

spectator's right in silhouette, but with head facing outwards, set between small columns; the top is 0.17 m. wide and the lower part is 0.13 m. wide. The letter Π is 0.015 m. high. Said to have come from Kamcisht, north-west of Tepelenë and north of the Aous. Copied by me at Poliçan; see Plate XXIIb and Fig. 31.

ΠΟCCΙΑΝΙ

M. N. Tod suggested to me that the correct reading may be ΠΟCΕΙΑΝΙ. On the other hand, the double sigma is very common in Epirus. See nos. 11, 24, and 35, below, for similar dedications to ΠΟCΕΙΑΩΝΙ and no. 39 to ΠΟCΙΑΝΙ.

7. At Klos I copied the inscription recorded by Patsch, 119. My sketch shows that ΝΙΚΑΝ[ΟΥ] is a more likely restoration in line 4 than ΝΙΚΑΝ-[ΔΡΟΥ] in view of the available space. For the name Nikanos see no. 24, below.

8. At the south end of Gradisht village (Byllis) on a flat-topped limestone *stele* 0.60 × 0.40 × 0.12 m. with an *aedicula* in relief and with lettering 0.03 m. high. There is a large rosette in the centre of the *aedicula*, and there are fronds in the angles between the sides and the *aedicula* (cf. Fraser and Rönne, *Boeotia and West Greek Tombstones*, pl. 2 no. 6). Copied by me; see Fig. 31.

Ἰγνατία ζήσασα ἔτη κη' μνήμη[ς] χάριν ὁ σύμβ(σ)ιος Διοκλῆς ἐποίησε

9. Ibid. on a limestone *stele* 0.57 × 0.30 × 0.13 m. with an ornamented top and with side columns. Copied by me with a sketch; see Fig. 31.

Λουπαρίωνι ζήσαντι ἔτη λα' Ζωσίμη σύνβιος μνήμης χάριν

10. Ibid. on a limestone *stele*, which has the entablature of an *aedicula* on a rectangular slab 0.34 × 0.40 × 0.13 m. and the lettering below between two columns, each capped with an upright *fleur de lis*; the columns end at a level below the A and S. Copied by me with a sketch; see Plate XXIVd and Fig. 34.

A S Rubrio Teiano

11. In the house of Sadhi Selman at Kamcisht, north-west of Tepelenë and north of the Aous, on a limestone *stele* with a smashed top and broken edges, 0.71 × 0.23 × 0.12 m. Copied by me in 1931; see Fig. 31. There is room probably for one letter only at either edge of the *stele*. At the top of the *stele* a bull, standing left and head facing, is sculptured in relief (see Plate XXIVc). The dedication was evidently to Poseidon; for stone no. 6 is said to have come from here. See also no. 24 and no. 35.

λιφίλλ
λσινου
πειτου υἱο[ς]
Νεικοδαμ
εὐχαν

12. In the wall above the door of the church at Mouspina roughly inscribed on a piece of marble with all the edges broken, 0.22 × 0.41 m.; letters 0.04 m. high, and N 0.03 m. wide. Copied by me in 1931.

[V]IX·ANN·LX
[I]VLIA · LAETA
FIL FECIT
ΑΤΡΙ

13. Ibid. on a limestone *stele* 0.84 m. high × 0.55 m. wide, with letters 0.035 m. high. Copied by me in 1931. The letters cover 0.23 m. of its length. See Fig. 32.

τα και ὁ Τερε
ντίας · Παυλα
υῖος ὁ Νικιν.
λουπου ἀπελε
ουθερα ἐποιε
ἡ γυνη

14. On a block of limestone 1.25 × 0.60 × 0.65 m., which seems to have been the base of a dedication, with very worn lettering 0.06 m. high, outside the church of St. George at Embesos. Copied by me in 1931; see Fig. 32.

γ Ιασονος
αμ . ινι ι κτρο

15. In the garden of Shahin Magdis at Paramythia on a limestone slab 0.10 m. thick × 0.60 × 0.39 m., with a squared top, broken sides and foot, and letters 0.04 m. high; the lettering begins 0.19 m. below the top edge. It had been found in the district Paliuria on the east side of the Cocytus river below Veliani. Copied by me there in 1931. It reached the Museum at Ioannina by 1939. See Plate XXIIc.

του κυριου ἡμων αὐτο
[κρα]τορος Καισαρος Γ (or Π)
[αιου] Σουηρου Μαξ
τ υ

16. At the south gate of Nicopolis by the side of the road on a marble sarcophagus 5 × 1.2 m. with letters 0.04 m. high. Copied by me in 1930; see Fig. 32.

Κλαυ 'Ολυμπίας ἔτων ξ'

17. At the monastery of St. John in the Shkumbi valley near Elbasan I copied in 1932 four inscriptions, of which one is *CIL* iii. 617. The others are as follows. The top edge and the right-hand edge of (a) are intact. The right-hand edge and the bottom edge of (b) are intact. I have no note about the edges of (c).

(a) A S	(b) LVAM	(c) VCESSVSDIONYE
VALENTI	VLP	IOFILIOEIAVTO (? Flavio)
·NAEVIÆ	IO	NOF·ITIA·VXOR·VI
NAFOVA	IIAF	ROB·M·O·A·XXXVII
VSIACAE	MER	
T·F·B·MV	IVTBA	

The monastery itself is in a position which is not strong enough to have been an ancient fortified site; but there is an ancient fortified site on the second slight spur, which I reached at half an hour's distance from the monastery on the way to Elbasan. It is a sandstone hill linked by a ridge to the main hill, and it has been fortified with a wall, of which the blocks are, for example, $1 \times 0.50 \times 0.40$ m. A ramp, some 10 m. wide, leads up to the walls from the main hill; the circuit of the walls is some 400 m. It is probably the site from which the inscriptions came to the monastery.

18. At Riniassa in the church of Ayia Triadha in 1932 I copied an inscription on a block $0.98 \times 0.66 \times 0.45$ m. with letters 0.05 m. high, which was serving as an altar. The inscription was copied by Cyriacus of Ancona in the fifteenth century when the stone was at Nicopolis; his no. 39 = *CIG* 1817. See Plate XXIIIa.

19. Two inscriptions at Nounesation were reported to me at Paramythia in 1932. One was reported as reading ANHΔ . NEΣATHΣ and the other as

XAIPE
EION ΠΑΡΟΔ
ITA

The former is interesting, because the ending in *-ates* is likely to be an ethnic (the personal name ending in *-an*), and we know from Scylax of a district *Ἰδωνία* or *Ἡδωνία* (see p. 522, above), with which an ethnic *Ἡδωνεσάτης* might be associated.

20. In the fountain on the west side of Margariti on a limestone slab $1.10 \times 0.80 \times 0.20$ m. Copied by me in 1932; see Plate XXIIIb.

VS LVPV[S]
AE VXORISAE FECIT
ANNOS XXX ET
MIONI ET
OPOLI SOCRIS
ET

21. An inscription was reported to me from Khosepsi in the canton of Arta. It is on a *stele* which is intact. It is capped by an *aedicula* with a circle in its centre; the entablature below it carries two rosettes; and the inscription occupies the upper part of the main surface of the *stele*. It measures $1.75 \times 0.82 \times 0.12$ m. It was found in the district of Khosepsi which is called Kastri.

Ὁρακίδας Ἀρχία
Τηερτία Ἀρχία
Ποπλιος Ῥοβριος Ἀρχίας

There may be space for a letter between η and ε in line 2.

22. On a stone in the church cemetery by Tatarna bridge. Copied by me in 1933. See Fig. 32.

ΛΑΜΙΣΚΑ
ΦΙΝΤΙΑΣ

23. On the door-side of the church below Veliani village, on a piece of good limestone. Copied by R. M. Cook and me in 1933, see Plate XXIVe. Published by D. Evangelides in *PAE* 1930, 63 without indicating the form of the lettering. Our readings are as follows:

<i>Evangelides</i>	<i>Self</i>	<i>Cook's variants on mine</i>
τοῖς κυρίοις	τοῖς κυρίοις	
Ελιω Βαλεριω	Γαιω Βαλεριω	
Διοκλητιανω	Διοκλητιανω	
Ελιω . Αὐρ ΙΙΙ . .	καικυναρχ	και κυν
Μαξιμιανω	Μαξιμιανω	
σεβ . β . . .	σε β β	
καιωγε ΙΙ ο ω	ραΙΙ γατ ο ω	καιτ γλ ο ΙΙ ο ω
παε . κμ . . ρσ	ωαγι κ κ	.αγ κ κ
κ	κ	
κω . . . ρ	κ π	κ π μ

The first five lines may be restored: τοῖς κυρίοις Γαιω Βαλεριω Διοκλητιανω και συναρχοντι Μαξιμιανω (cf. *SEG* 2. 735).

24. I copied in 1933 in the Ioannina Museum an inscription which was first published by D. Evangelides in *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 232 f. and has been republished by P. R. Franke in *AME* 292 with plate 57, 1. It was found at 'Saliarē', i.e. Salar i Siperin, north-west of Tepelenë, on the south side of the Aous (not in the area of Buthrotum, as Franke 291). Our readings differ in lines 1, 2, 3, and 8. They are as follows:

<i>Evangelides</i>	<i>Self</i>	<i>Franke</i>
ΟΝΑ . . . ΟΣ ΧΟΣ	[ΚΛ]ΕΟΜΑΧΟΣΝ[ΙΚΑΝΟ]Υ
ΞΕΝΩΝΛΥΚΙΣΣΟ[Τ]Υ	Ξ[Ε]ΝΩΝΛΥΚΙΣΣΚΟΥ	ΞΕΝΩΝΛΥΚΙΣΣΚΟΥ
. . Ν[Ε]ΣΙΟΣΛΥ.ΤΑ	ΝΕΣΤΟΣΛΥ[Κ]ΩΤ	[ΦΙ]ΛΙΣΣΤΟΣΛΥΚΩΤΑ
ΝΙΚΑΝΟΣ	ΝΙΚΑΝΟΣ	ΝΙΚΑΝΟΣ
ΦΙΛΙΣΣΤΟΥ	ΦΙΛΙΣΣΤΟΥ	ΦΙΛΙΣΣΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝ	ΚΑΙ[ΤΟ]ΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝ	ΚΑΙΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝ
ΣΥΓΓΟΝΩΝ	ΣΥΓΓΟΝΩΝ	ΣΥΓΓΟΝΩΝ
ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΕΥΧΑΝ	ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΕΥΧΑΝ	ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙΕΥΧΑΝ

Although Evangelides published what he did in line 2, he suggested on p. 234 that the name was probably ΛΥΚΙΣΣΚΟΣ and compared this name with that in *IG* ix². 109 a 38, 121. The third line may be ΝΕΣΤΟΣ ΛΥΚΩΤΑ. The latter name occurs in three other Epirote inscriptions; the name *Νέστος* may be related to the tribe of North Epirus *Νεσταῖοι* in *Ap. Rhod.* 4. 1211. The bull below the inscription is very similar to that on no. 6

above, but stands to the spectator's left and holds its head lower. Evangelides dated it to the third or second century B.C. (so Franke, *AME* 292) and compared the *koinon* with one from Smyrna (*AM* 1887, 245 no. 1) and the relief of the bull with one from Macedonia (*AM* 1902, 316 no. 39).

I copied also in the Ioannina Museum in 1933 the inscription which Evangelides had published in *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 234 no. 2.

25 I copied some inscriptions in the Museum at Preveza in 1933. One had been published in *PAE* 1913 as coming from the aqueduct. My copy of part of this inscription has the following differences:

Line 1 I read ΕΡΓΑΣ for ΕΡΓΑ
 Line 5 I read ΥΟΝΤΩΝ for ΙΟΝΤΩΝ
 Line 8 I read ΔΡΑΧΜΑΣ for ΔΡΑΧΑΜΣ
 Line 9 I read ΘΥΤΟ for ΕΥΤΟ
 Line 10 I read [Β]ΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΩ for ΟΛΟΜΕΝΩ

My readings of parts 2, 3, 4, and 5 were the same as those in *PAE*. I also copied the inscription there which was published in *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Ost. Ung.* 14 (1890) 113; it has the place of the goddess *ἐν Κελκαίῳ*.

The only unpublished inscription which I copied there was on a limestone slab with the left-hand edge and the bottom edge intact, measuring 0.36 × 0.28 × 0.10 m., and with letters 0.04 m. high. See Fig. 32.

(Line 1 has only fragments of letters)

TITAAVT
 ΣΕΒΕΙΑΝ
 ΑΔΗΣΚΑΙ
 ΤΑΤΕΚΝΑ
 ΜΑΤΙΒΟ

The last line is probably to be completed as [ψηφισ]ματι βο[υλης].

26. I copied five inscriptions at Kamarina in 1931. They were shown to me by the guardian of the site, Christos Nouses. They are numbered here consecutively.

ΦΙΛΙΑ
 ΣΙΜΙΑ

on a stone with a rough border and a smoothed entablature for the lettering, which is 0.03 m. high; the M is 0.045 m. wide. The entablature is 0.30 m. wide × 0.28 × 0.10 m. See Plate XXIII*d* and Fig. 32.

27. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΙΜΟΣ
 ΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΥ

on a similar stone with entablature 0.21 m. wide and a broken frieze. See Plate XXIII*e*, and Fig. 32.

28. ΙΟ
 ΙΑΝΤΙΡΗ

The second iota may be a tau. There is room for three lines before this piece of the inscription. It is on a funerary *stèle* which has a flat top and is moulded like a cornice above the entablature. See Fig. 33.

29. ΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ
ΑΡΙΦΑΚΑ
ΑΙΑΝΩΤΩ
ΕΟΤΑΤΩ
Α ΙΙ

on a piece of pillar 0.52 m. high and 0.35 m. in diameter. On the side opposite the inscription there is a chi. See Plate XXIVa and Fig. 33.

30. ΑΜΥ
ΦΡΥΝ.

on a piece of pillar 0.35 m. high and 0.31 m. in diameter. The letters are in a section 0.18 m. wide, and they are 0.04 m. high. See Fig. 33.

31. On a piece of hard sandstone, 0.55 × 0.34 m., in the floor near the altar of the church of St. Theodoros in Murzië. Copied by me in 1930.

.ΙΝΤ
.ΟΝΤΑ
ΙΔΕΜ
ΑΑΓΓΑ

32. On a fragment of a *stèle*, 0.36 × 0.32 × 0.15 m., in the church of the Koimesis tes Theotokou in Paramythia. The inscription is in the top of the face of the *stèle*, and a relief which has now disappeared lay below it. The letters are 0.03 m. high. Copied by S. S. Clarke (C 46). See Fig. 33.

ΑΝCΑΙF VIX
HACNI O F . . I

33. In the same church on the top doorstep a piece of a funerary *stèle* 0.60 m. long with letters 0.025 m. high (see Fig. 34).

ΑΝΝ XXXI ΜΑΡΙΤ
•Τ•Ι•ΜΑΡΔS FECIT

Copied by S. S. Clarke (C 47). He noticed a whitewashed block above the lintel which may have had some six lines of Greek lettering. He copied the inscriptions published in *BCH* 1907, 30 and 38; the former lay in a field in Liboni, and the latter was in the possession of a shopkeeper.

34. S. S. Clarke (A 133) copied the inscription which was published by Romaïos in *Arch. Delt.* 16–18 (1919) 123 f. The stone was in the church below Kaloers near Vitsaina c. 1923.

35. In the house of Alex. Papaïoannis at Poliçan, but found at Leshnjë on the site of an old church c. 1912, on a funerary *stèle* 0.32 × 0.13 × 0.06 m., with a broken *aedicula* and below it 'a sunken rectangle in which is raised

a shorthorn wild bull with tail curled upwards, charging, left forefoot raised, all in profile, head front.' Below the bull

ΠΡΑΓΙΣΣΟΣ
ΝΙΚΟΔΑΜΟΥ
ΓΥΝΑ ΤΙΜΟ
ΥΠΕΡ
ΔΙΚΑ ΥΙΟΥ
ΕΥΧΑΝ

The letters are 0.012 m. high. Copied by S. S. Clarke *c.* 1923, from whose notes the quotation is taken (B 74). See Fig. 33. I assume that Pragissos, son of Nikodamos, and his wife Timodika made a dedication on behalf of their son probably to Poseidon, as was the case with inscriptions nos. 6, 24, and 39. This Poseidon is most probably the earth-shaker, not the god of the sea as Franke *AME* 291 f. supposed; for the Tepelenë area suffers from earthquakes and is far removed from the sea.

37. Clarke (B 158 and 172) copied an inscription on a stone in the floor of the church Ayia Paraskeve at Suhë, which had already been copied more fully and published by D. Evangelides in *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 238 a, as no. 15. Clarke noted that the stone had two square recesses 0.03 × 0.03 × 0.08 m. deep and two rectangular recesses 0.04 × 0.04 × 0.03 m. deep (due, I imagine, to its having been used as the threshold of a door).

38. On a white stone 0.18 × 0.18 m., with a very rough back, outside the annexe of the church Ayios Mikhail at Saraginishtë; the letters are 0.025 m. high. Copied by S. S. Clarke (B 180); see Fig. 33.

ΙΣ
ΑΠΑΘΗΤΟ
ΑΝΑΤΟΙCΙΙ
ΥΟCΤΕΡΜΗC
CΜΑΚΑΡΕC

The word *Ἑρμης* may be correct. For another inscribed stone, found on the south slope of the acropolis (Yerma) at Saraginishtë (Clarke B 88), records a dedication to Hermes and Heracles (Evangelides in *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 234 no. 2); Clarke heard of this stone, which had been taken to Ioannina; I copied it in 1933 in Ioannina Museum and had the same readings as Evangelides.

39. On a *stèle* of white stone at Saraginishtë, which had been found below the east side of Yerma; the *stèle* is 0.17 m. wide at the top and 0.12 m. thick lower down, and it has two small recesses 0.02 m. square. The letters, 0.02 m. high, begin 0.075 m. below the top and are in six lines. The *stèle* is 0.45 m. long, but is incomplete. Copied by Clarke (B 184); see Fig. 33.

ΣΥΜ | ΜΑΧΙ | Σ ΠΟCΙ | ΔΑΝΙ | ΕΥΧ | ΑΝ

40. The inscriptions published by Evangelides *Eph. Arch.* 1914 as nos. 13 and 14 were copied by Clarke (B 202 and 190); the *aedicula* of no. 14 has three *aetomata*, of which the central one has a floral device.

41. Evangelides published in *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 239 no. 20 an inscription from Radotovi, of which he took the reading from a peasant. I saw this inscription on three pieces of white limestone in the Ioannina Museum in 1935 and took the reading of the last word to be *Ἀγεμοναι*.

42. I copied there in 1935 an inscription cut on a soft dark stone, found at Voutonosi beside the police station:

ΩΣΚΟΠΩΚΤΟΙΣ.Τ. . . Ρ
[?ΒΕ]ΛΤΙCΤΟΥ ΔΟ

The back of the stone is rough. The letters are 0.06 m. high. See Fig. 34.

43. In July 1935 I copied five inscriptions on funerary *stelai* at Voutonosi. They came from a cemetery which lies below and to the south-east of the acropolis of the ancient site and which is some ten minutes north of the Triahania. In 1940 Christos Soulis excavated in the cemetery and found some more *stelai*. Ph. M. Petsas published inscriptions from ten of these *stelai* (which were then in the Ioannina Museum) in *Eph. Arch.* 1950-1, 44 f. Three of those I copied were published by Petsas. The following two have not been published. See Fig. 34.

(a) ΑΔΑ[?Μ]ΑΤΑΣ
ΝΕΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ
(b) Χ
ΚΕΣΕΝΕΙΚΑΙ
[perhaps a line missing]
ΤΕΜΜΑΝΔ[ΡΟΥ]
ΕΙ Ι Ο
ΧΕΙ Κ
! ΩΣ

The first of these has a plain *aedicula*. I publish here a photograph of one which Petsas and I both copied; see Plate XXIIIc. One published as no. 3 by Petsas *ibid.* was shown to me by Christos Soulis as having been found at Voutonosi.

44. I copied in Paramythia in the house of Matthew Statiras in 1935 an inscription which had been published in *BCH* 16 (1892) no. 6.

45. I copied an inscription in 1935 at the church of Ayios Karanomos in Santi Quaranta; it was on a rectangular block 0.47 × 0.43 × 0.16 m. with its right-hand top corner broken off. It was said to have been found in the church of St. George at Leshnicë and to have been brought from there to Santi Quaranta. See Fig. 34.

Δημ[ου] ἐπιμελη[τευ]σαμένης Νικη[? . .] της εἰερῆς Ἀρτεμίδι
Ἰβερία το βασιλεον Νηρευσ δωρον

46. In 1884 a number of inscriptions were reported by the then Metropolitan of Arta, Seraphim Byzantiou. Some of these were later published by others in *Hermes* 26. 148 f. and *BCH* 1893, 632, and his readings have

been confirmed in general. He mentioned some which have not been published elsewhere:

- (a) Built into the church of the Hodegetria

Κλεω | Αρχεια

- (b) On a tombstone in Arta

Απολωνιος

- (c) On an altar-stone at Palioroforon

ΜΝΑΣΙΠΠΟΣ
ΚΑΛΛΙΑ
ΜΝΑΣΙΠΠΟΣ

47. I copied some inscriptions in 1937 in the Museum of Arta; and later Ph. M. Petsas reported the presence there of some forty unpublished inscriptions. I made some notes at the time and mention the following, until such time as they are properly published:

- (a) *Αγηςιας Τιμοδαμου* on a plaque, 0.17 × 0.20 m.

- (b) On a stone 0.65 m. high × 0.68 m., which served as an altar-base in the church of Ayios Nikolaos

Ερμωνος Ξανθιππου
Ηροδωρος Ερμωνος
Αρκισα Έπανδρου
Ισει
Νεβουτι
Αρποχρατει

This inscription was published by M. Peranthes, *Αμβρακία* (Athens, 1954). The lettering is of the third century B.C.

- (c) In a wall of the house of Photia Karizeni (see Fig. 34).

Σωτων Σωτωνος
Εστιαια
Ευμηδης Πολυαν
Φιλομηδος Λυσι

- (d) The inscription described on p. 611, above. It was found in 1926 below the south side of the fort in the house of Andrea Kakathia. See Fig. 32.

- (e) *Νεουπτολημος Ηππια χαιρε*

- (f) *Θευφαν[ους]*

on a piece of slab, probably from a funerary *stèle*; Dr. L. H. Jeffery kindly commented on my sketch that 'the inscription dates to the first half of the fifth century or not much later'. See Fig. 34.

The inscription to Artemis Pasikrata, published in *Eph. Arch.* 1911, 397-8, was in Arta Museum in 1937.

48. Mr. Konstantinos Metsiones sent me in August 1939 a drawing of an

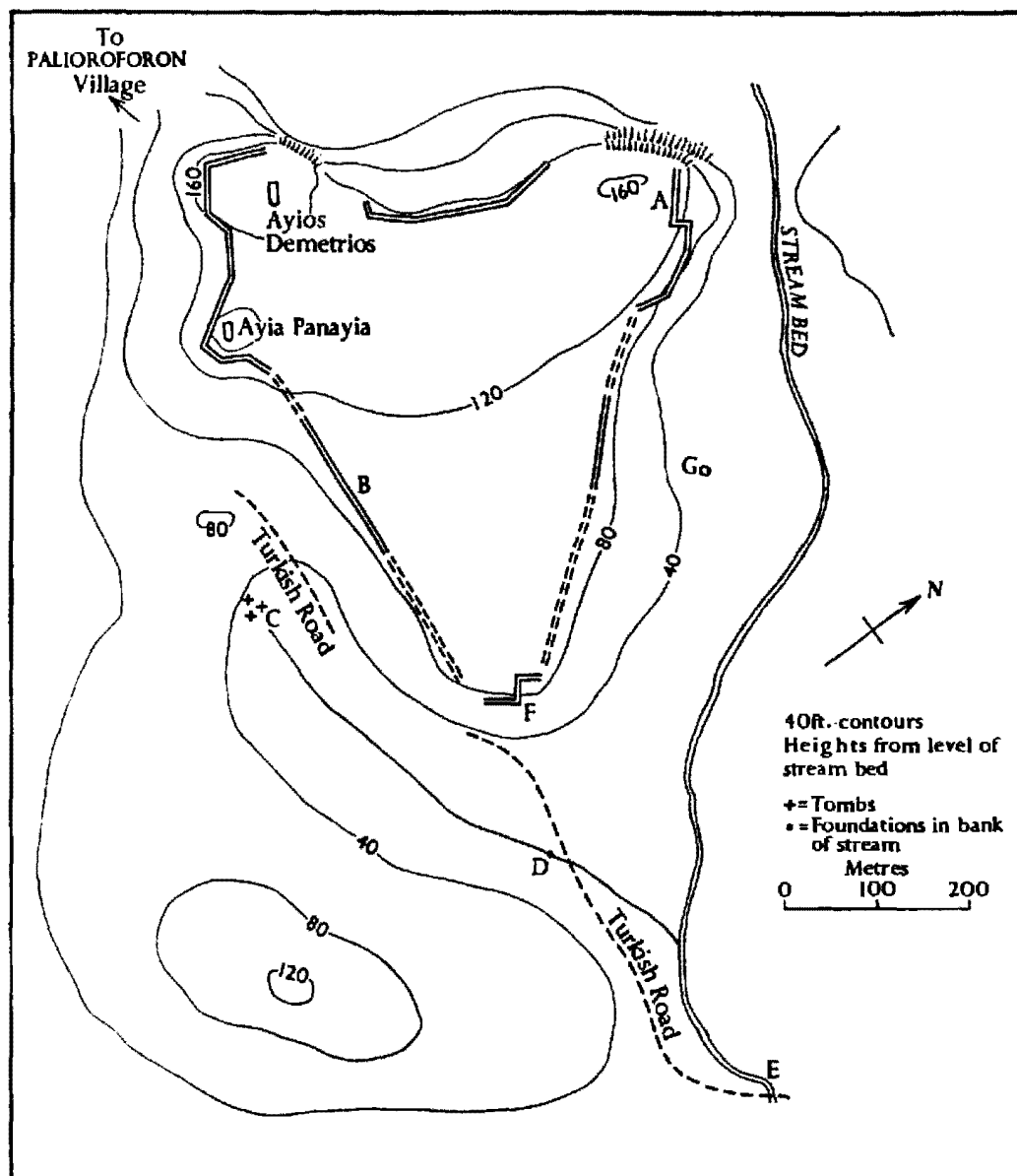
inscription found at Liboni near Paramythia on a stone plaque 0·70 x 0·55 m. The *stele* had an *aedicula*, inside which the lettering is

RHODOPEVI·X·

and immediately below the *aedicula*

ANNXVI· ORINVS
AVGLPIREPTAE FEC

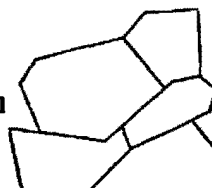
Below the inscription there is a wreath of which only the lower part has three sets of three leaves on each side; these point towards a four-leaved clover or rosette, which lies between them. Inset in the wreath is a schematic representation of an urn. The wreath and the urn are in relief.



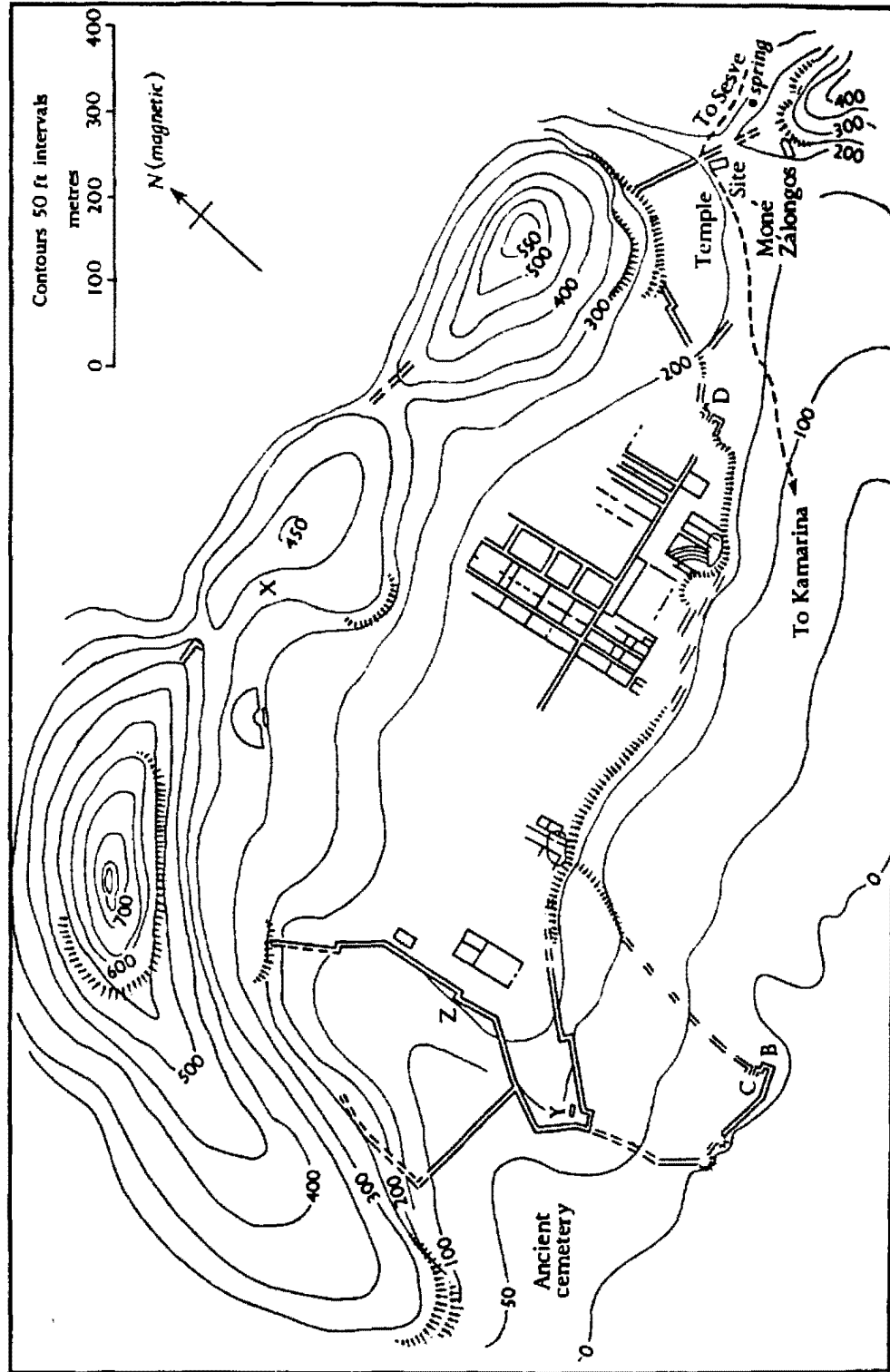
B. Wall of massive polygonal blocks (e.g. 1.30×0.90 face); 2.30 m. wide, faced both sides, probably rubble filled; up to 2.40 high but usually at 3 courses; at corners blocks rabbeted to fit closely e.g.



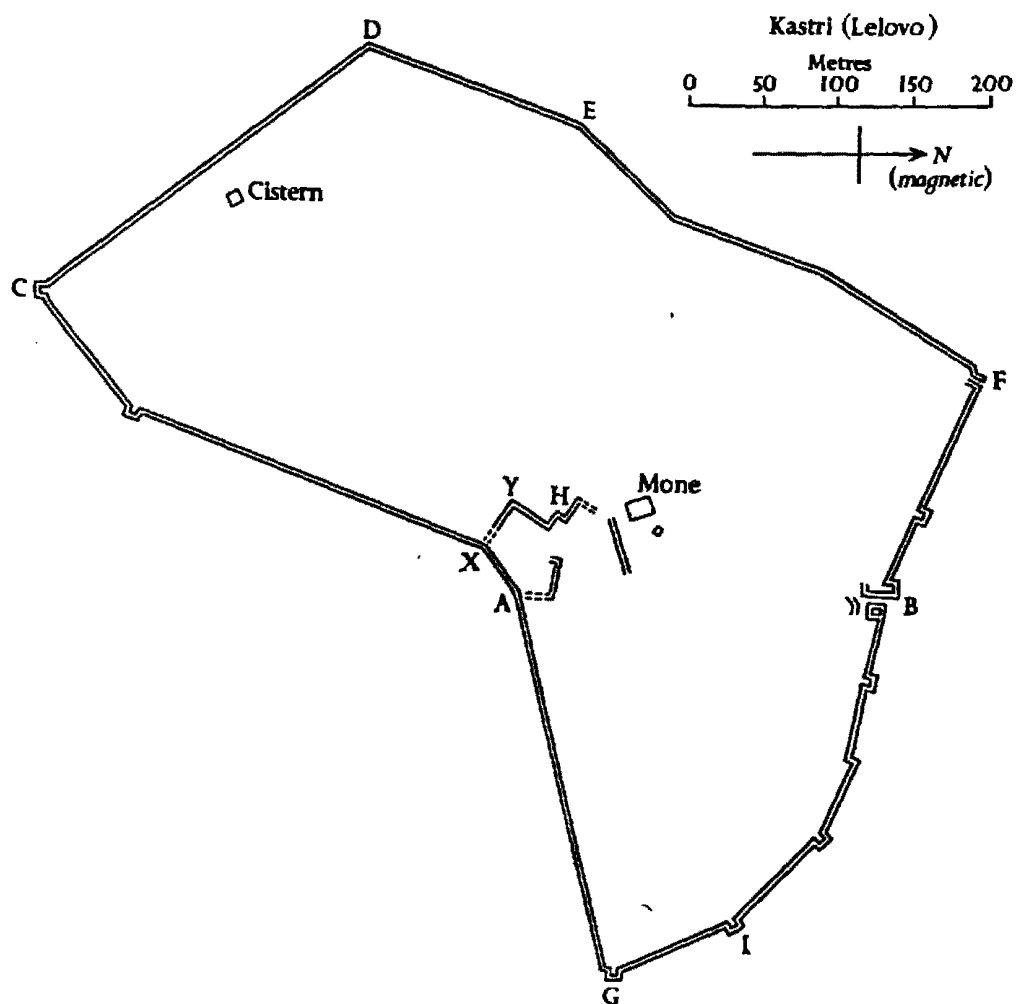
Specimen of polygonal



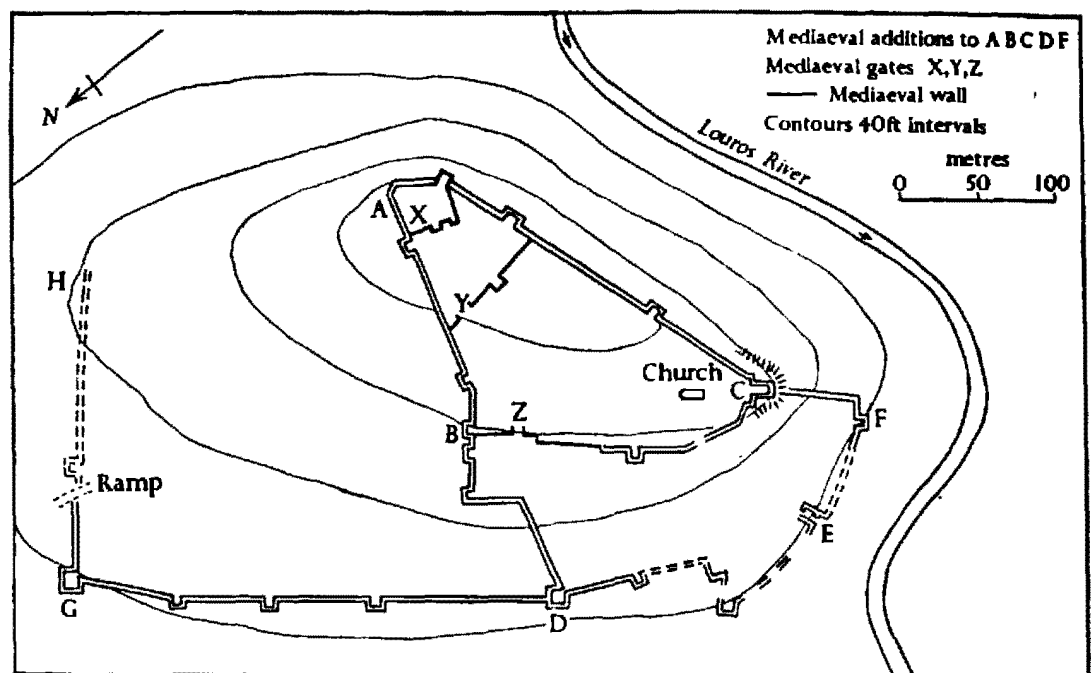
PLAN 1. Palioroforon (Elatia). See p. 52.



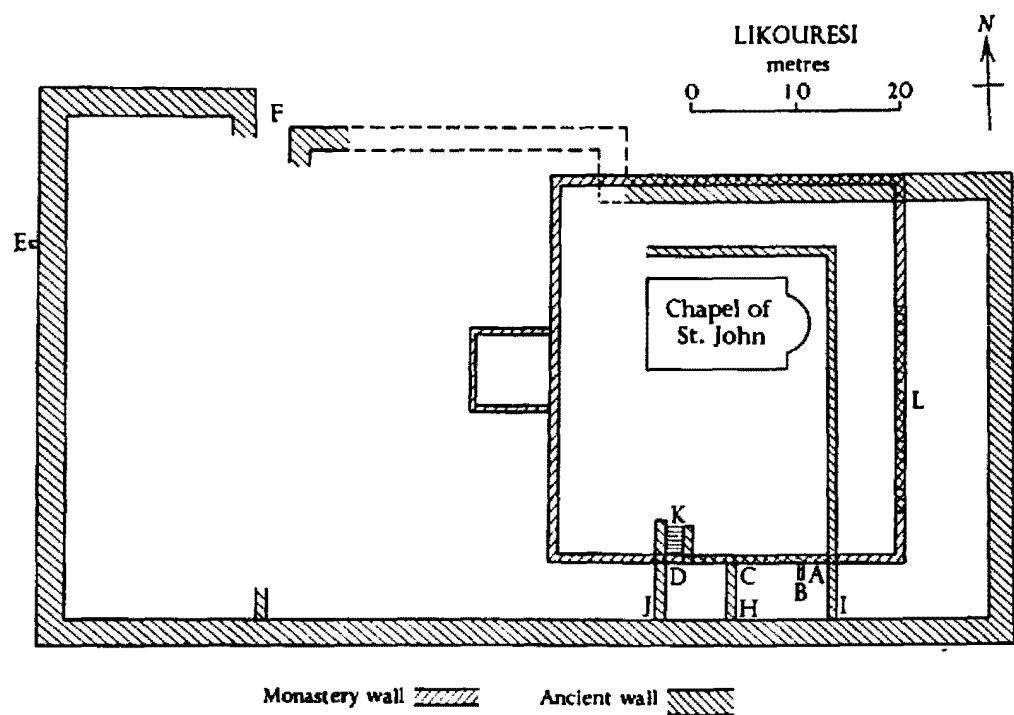
PLAN 2. Kamarina (Cassope). See p. 53.



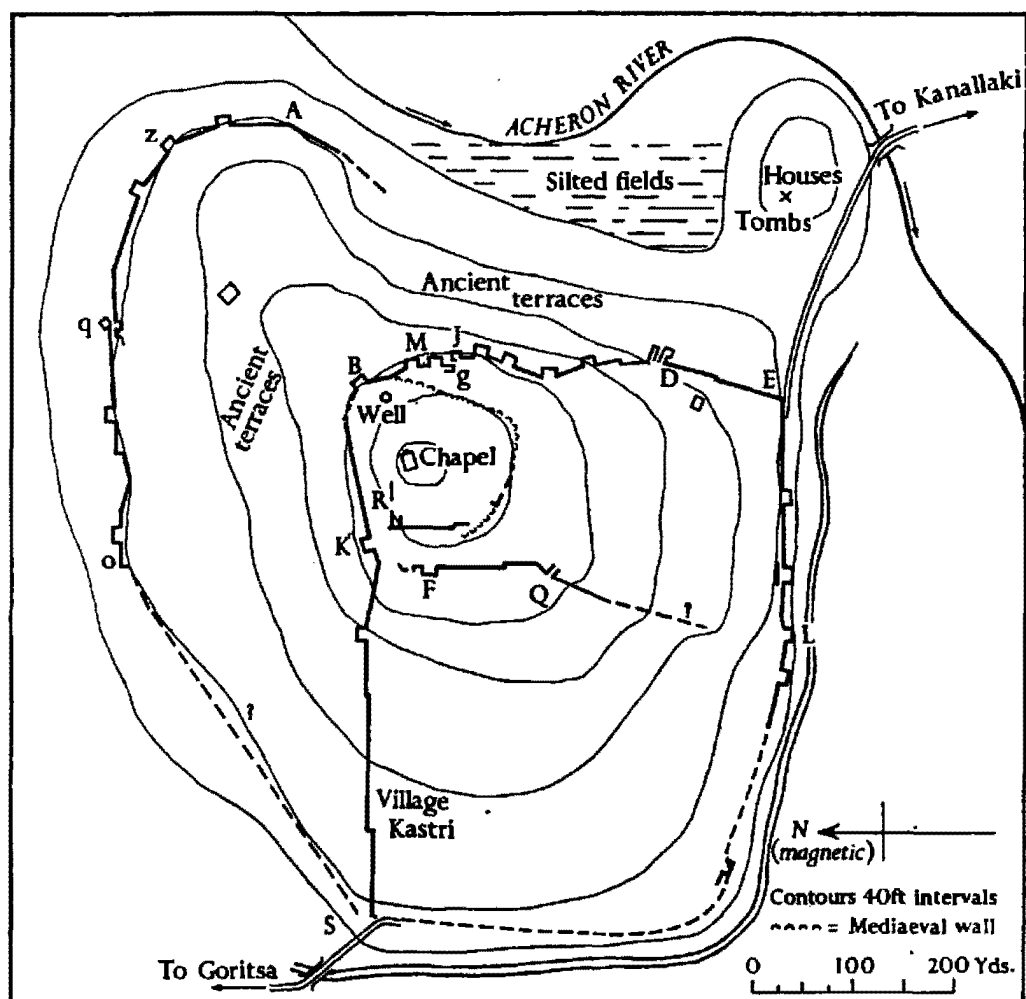
PLAN 3. Lelovo (Batiae). See p. 55.



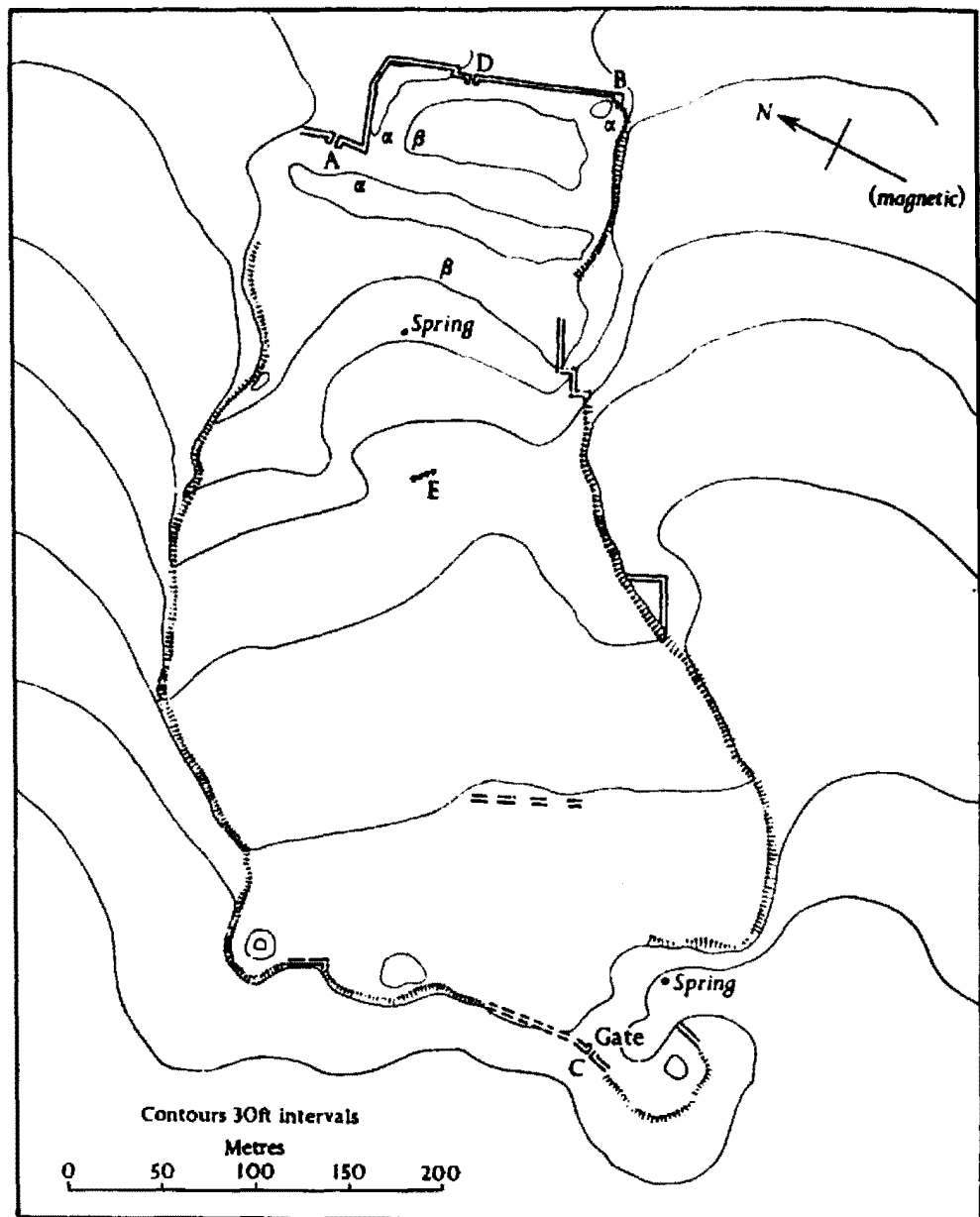
PLAN 4. Rogous (Buchetium). See p. 57.



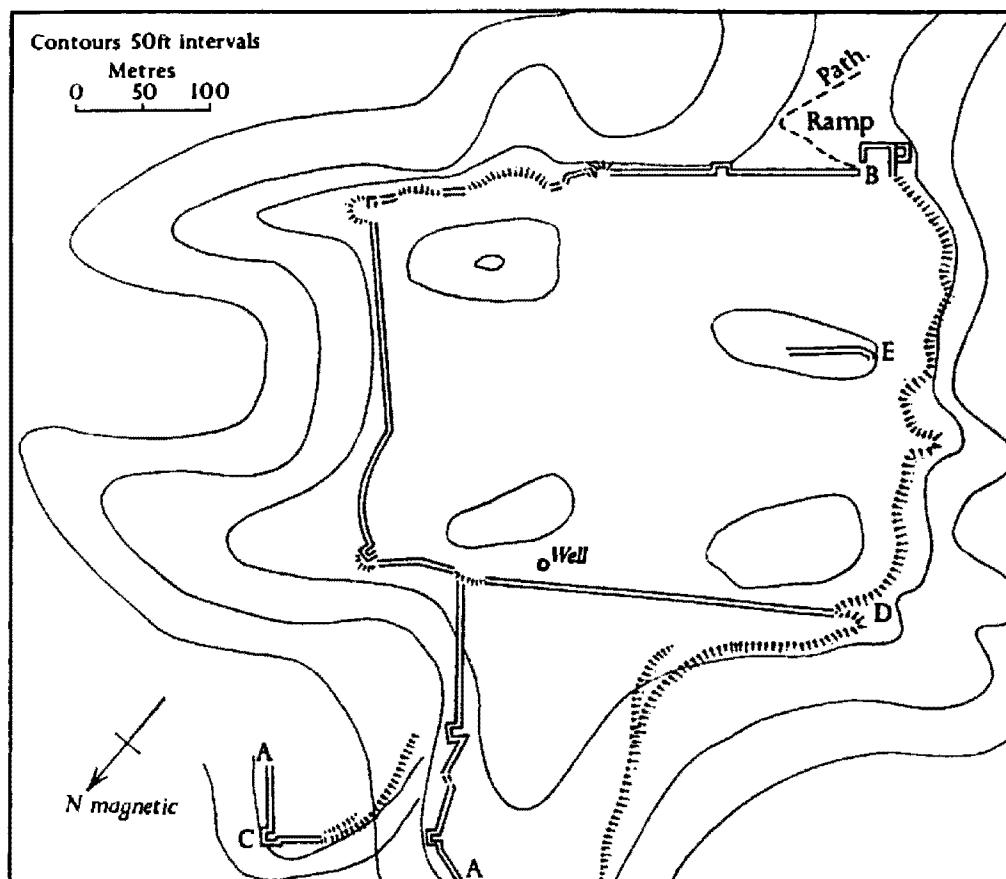
PLAN 5. The Nekomanteion at Likouresi. See p. 64.



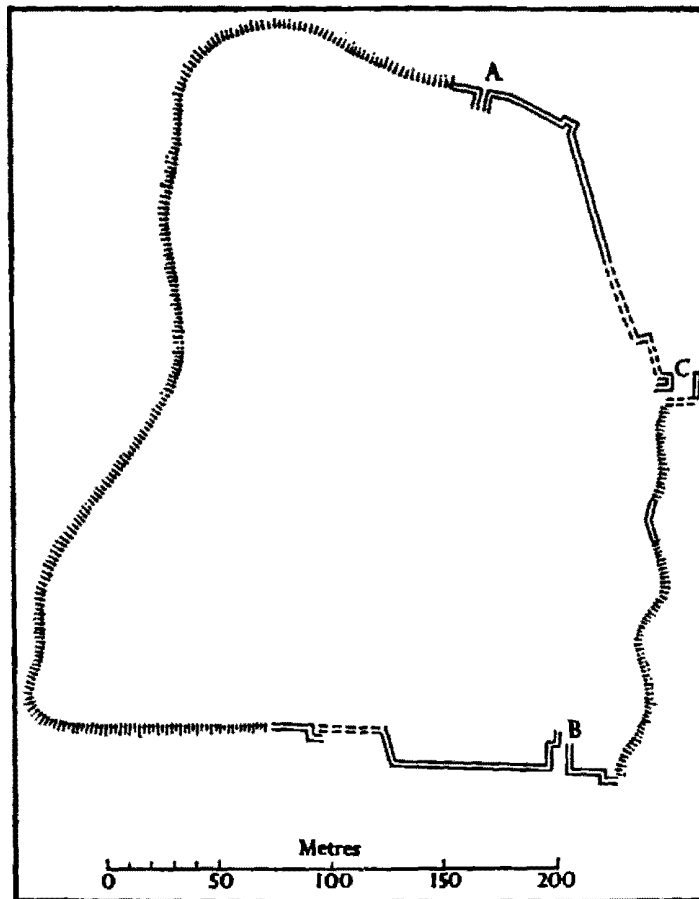
PLAN 6. Kastri (Argos Ippatum). See p. 67.



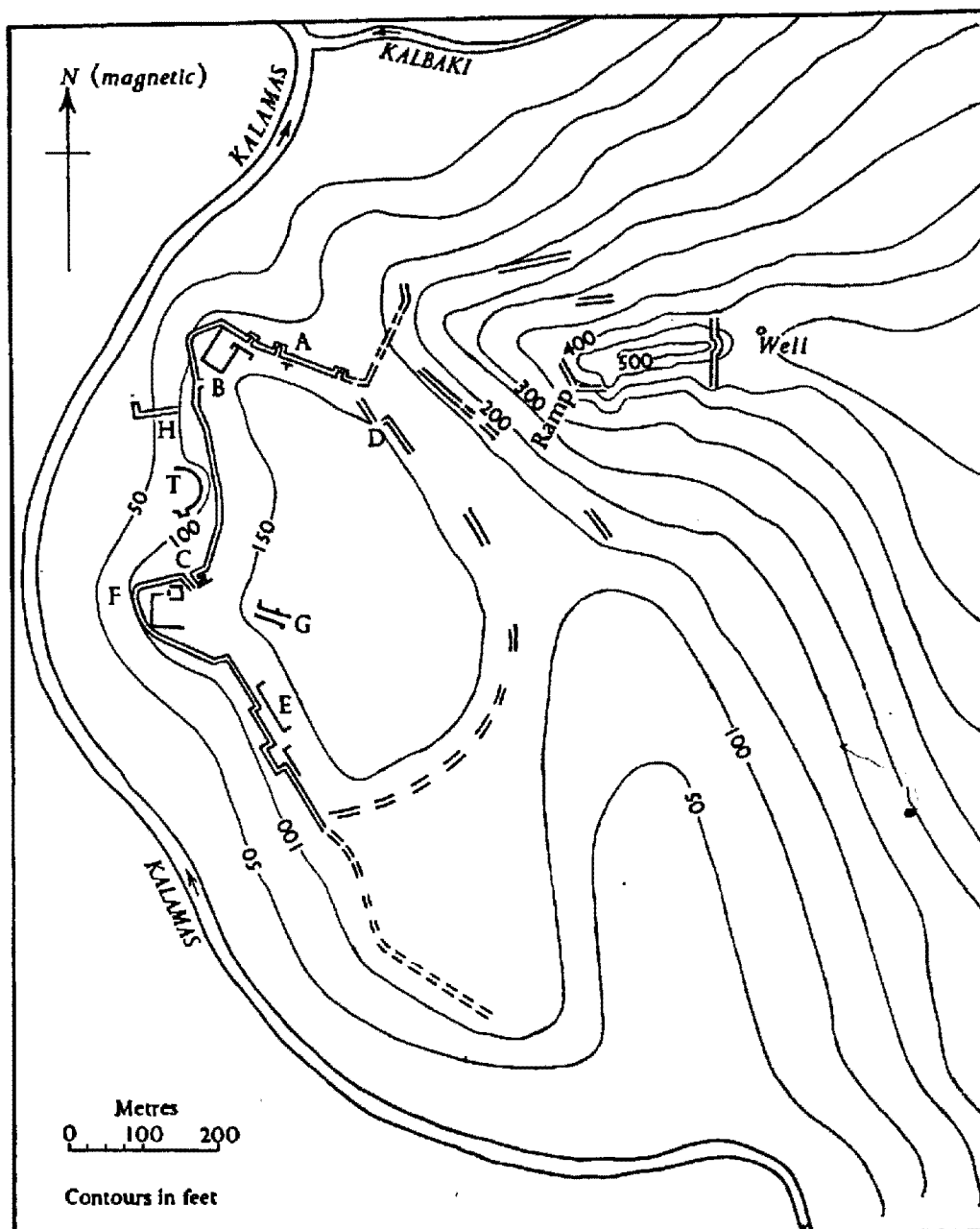
PLAN 7. Veliani. See p. 71.



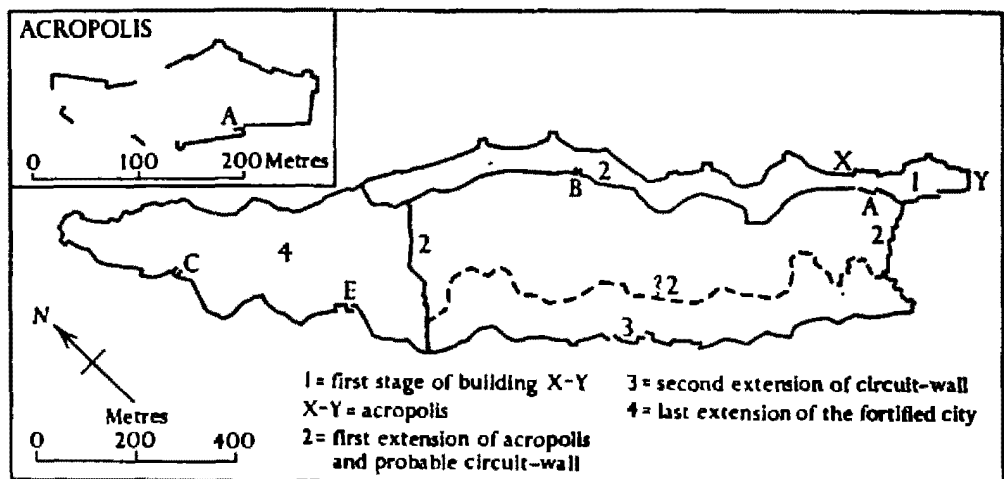
PLAN 8. Elimokastron (Elina). See p. 78.



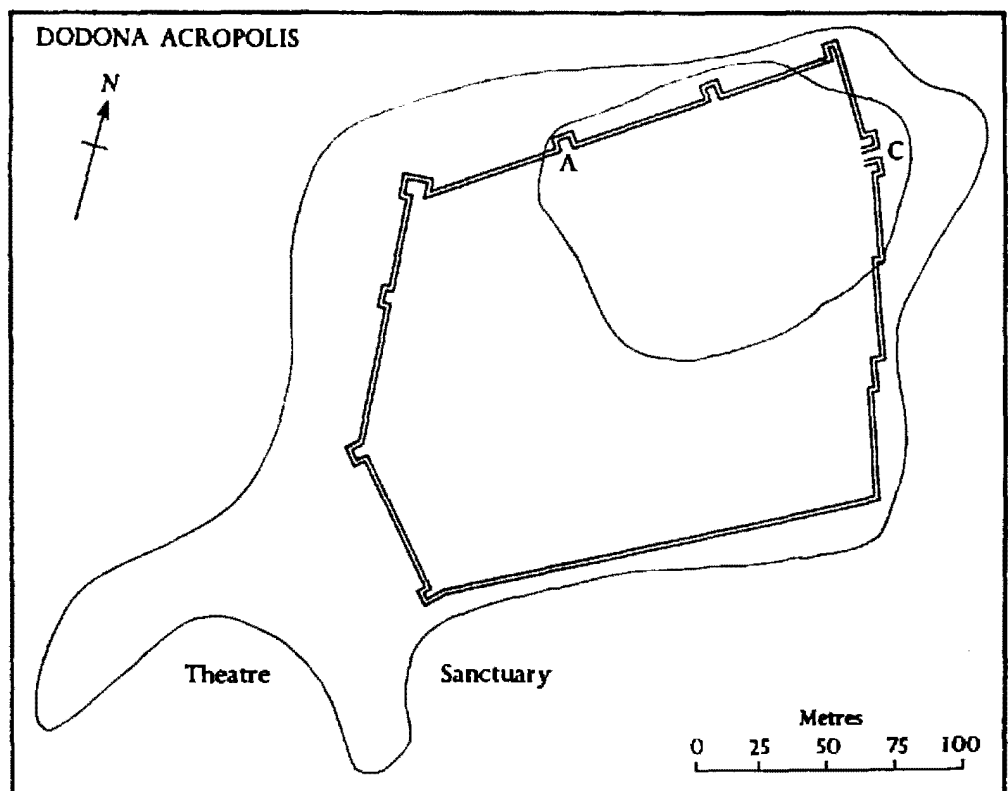
PLAN 9. Koutsi. See p. 79.



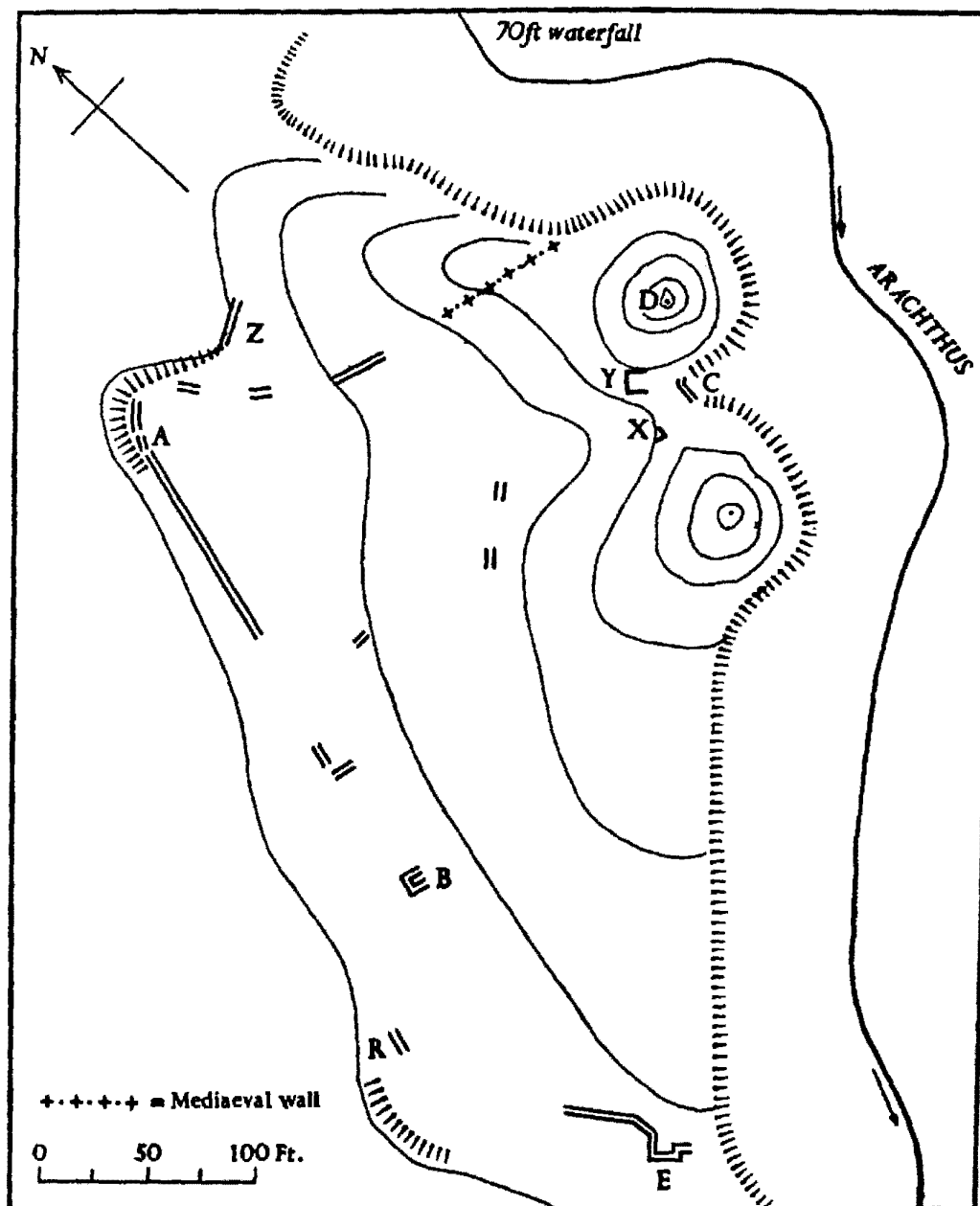
PLAN 10. Goumani (Gitana). See p. 83 and Pl. XXVb.



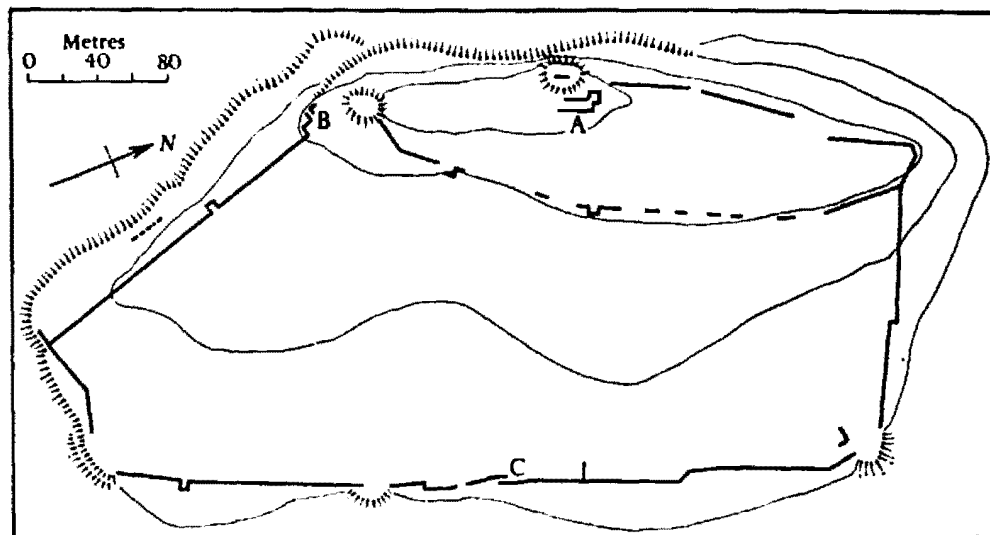
PLAN 11. Finik (Phoenice). See p. 112.



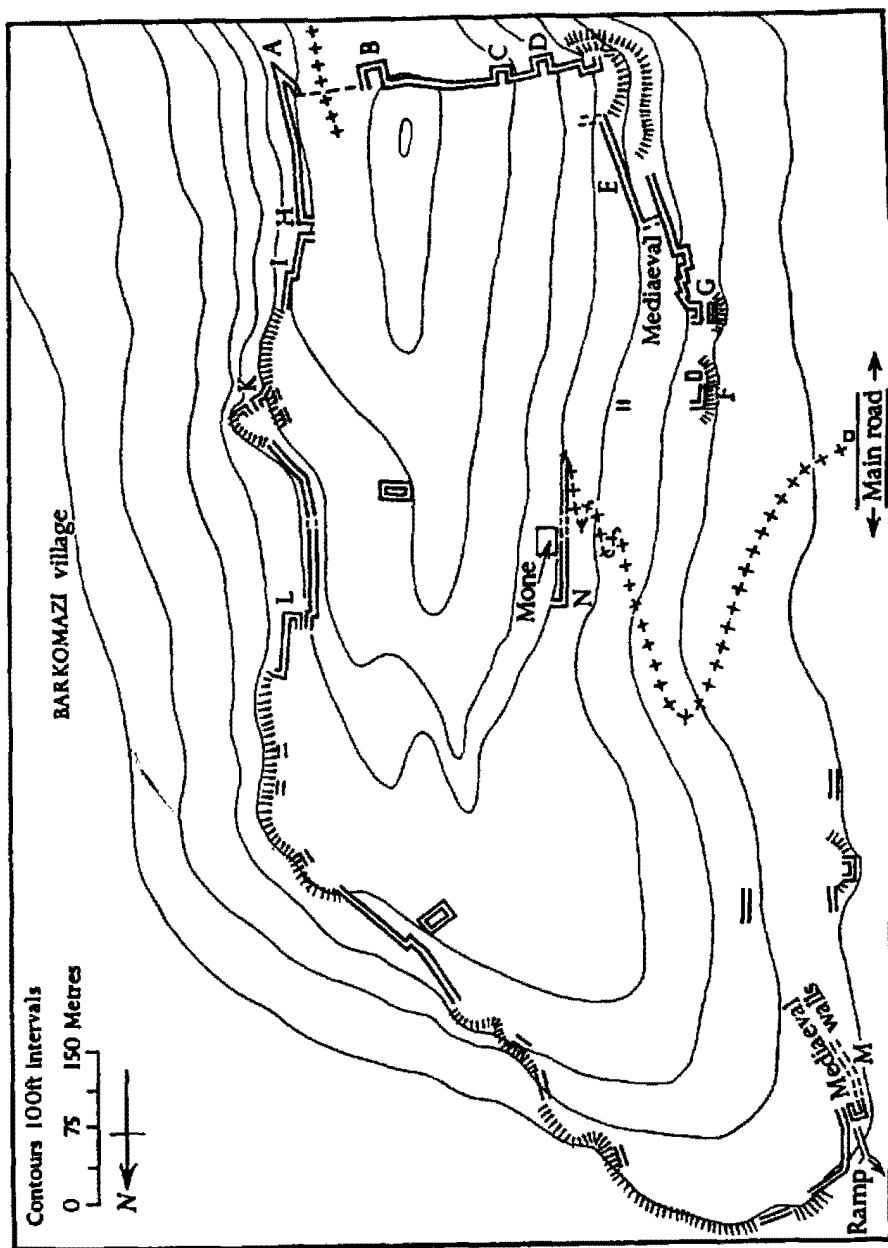
PLAN 12. Dodona Acropolis. See p. 169.



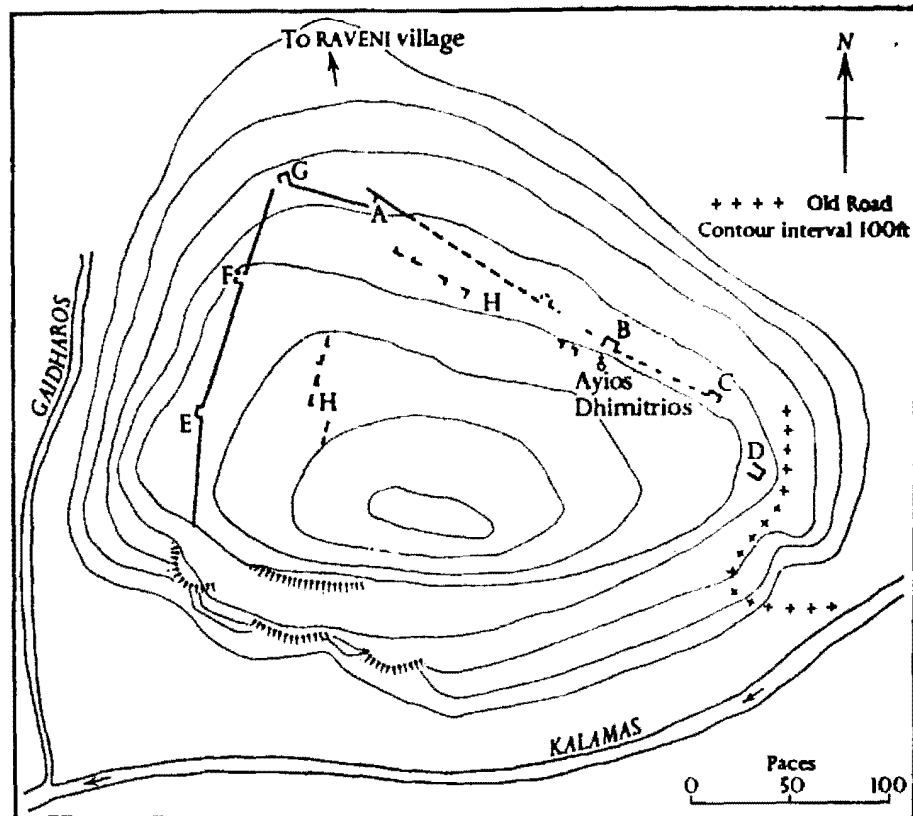
PLAN 13. Kalenji. See p. 176.



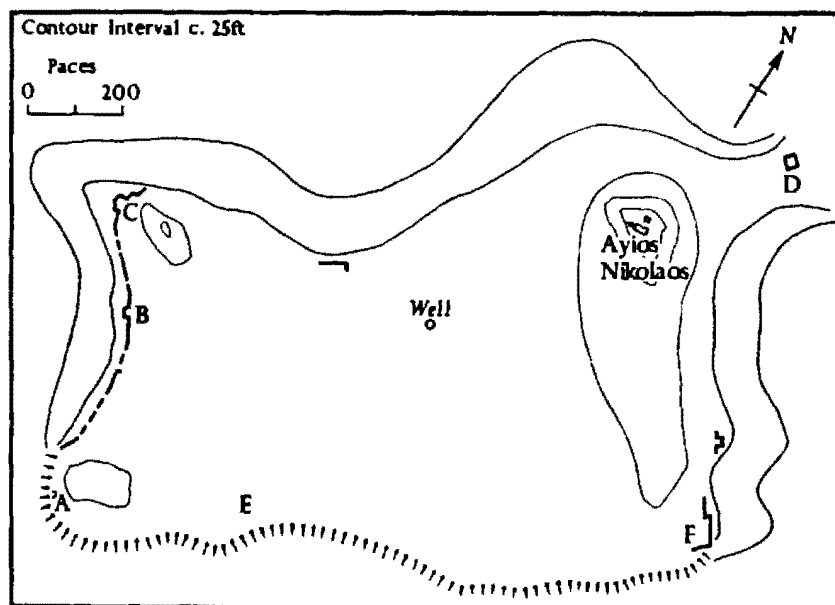
PLAN 14. Kaloyeritsa. See p. 158.



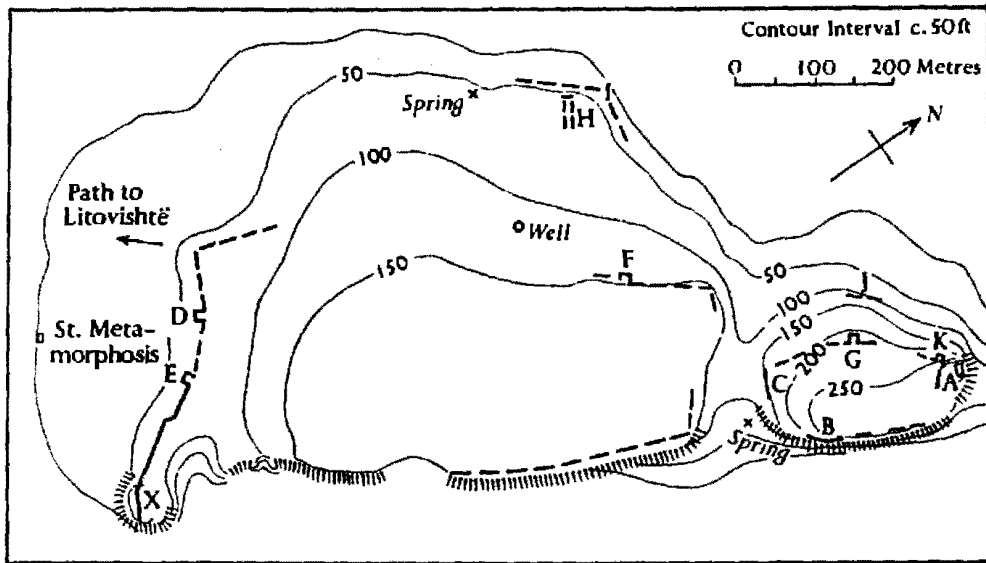
PLAN 15. Kastritsa (Eurymenae). See p. 173.



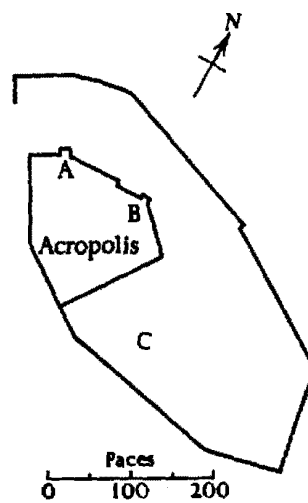
PLAN 16. Raveni (Phanote). See p. 186.



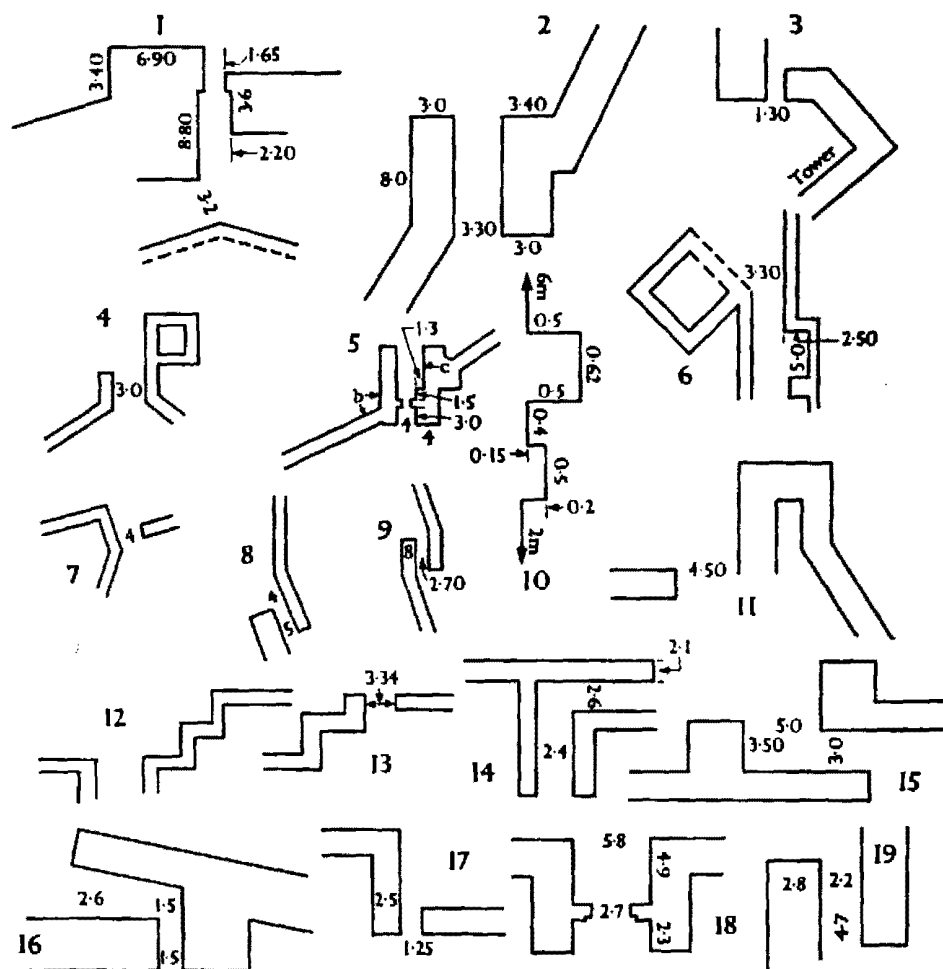
PLAN 17. Ktismata. See p. 200.



PLAN 18. Saraginishtë (Hecatompedum). See p. 209.



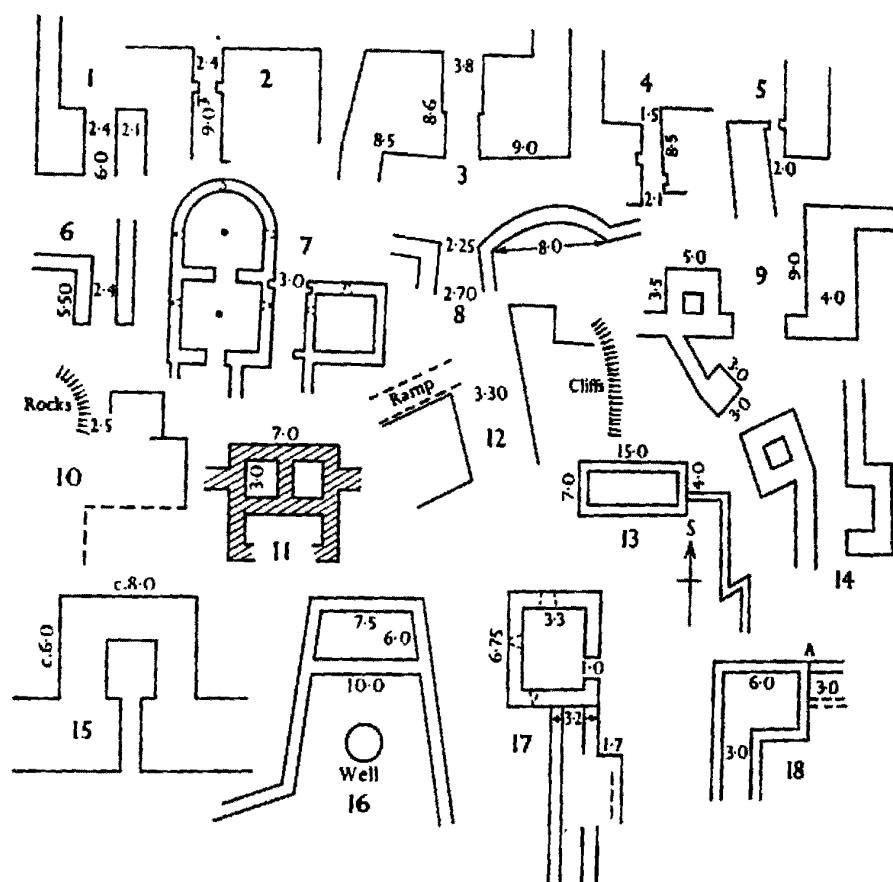
PLAN 19. Liapokhori. See p. 242.



Dimensions in Metres

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1-3 Lelovo (Bariae) | 13 Kaloyeritsa |
| 4-6 Kastrion (Argos Ippaton) | 14 Pramanda |
| 7-8 Kastritsa (Eurymenae) | 15 Kastrion (Argos Ippaton) |
| 9 Kaloyeritsa | 16 Raveni (Phanote) |
| 10 Dodona | 17 Sinou |
| 11 Gardhiki (Passaron) | 18 Dholiani |
| 12 Plogë | 19 Vereniki |

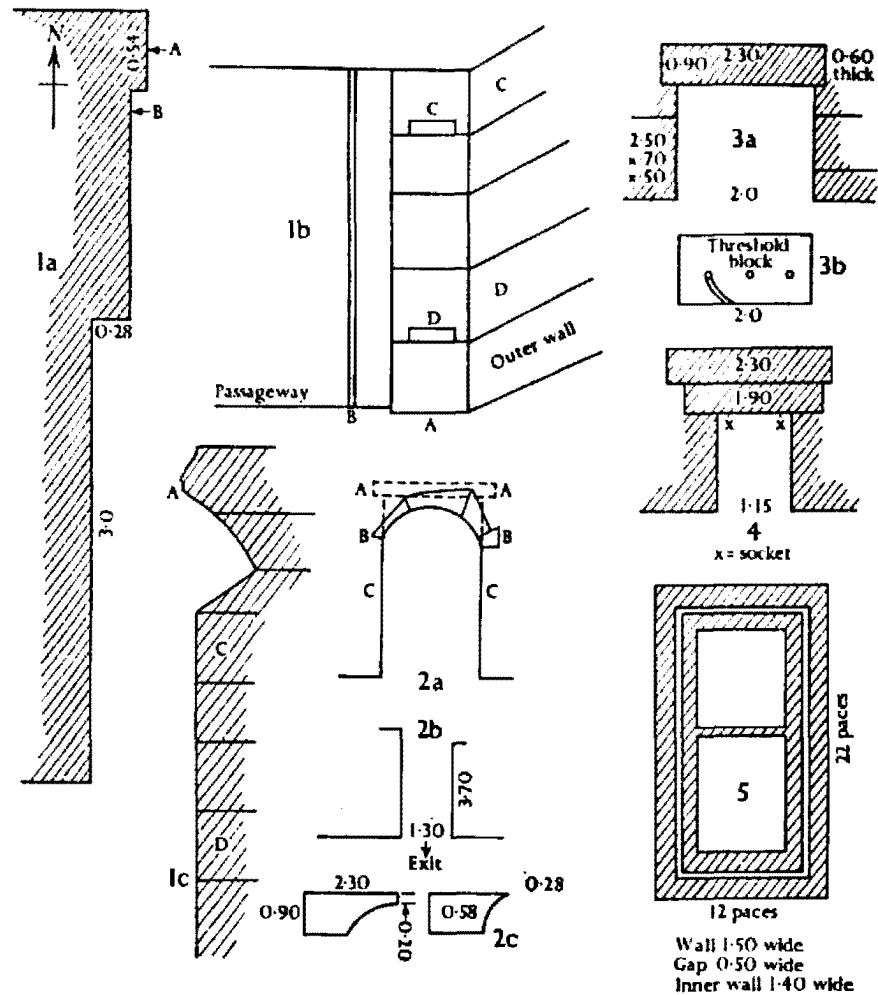
PLAN 20. Gateways (the exit is always to the top of the page).



Dimensions in Metres

1-3 Finik (Phoenixe)	13 Psina
4-7 Butrinto (Buthrotum)	14 Kastriion (Argos Ippaton)
8 Labovë (Omphallion)	15 Sistrourion
9 Lla	16 Labovë (Omphallion)
10-11 Klimatia	17 Vagalat
12 Zalongon	18 Selo

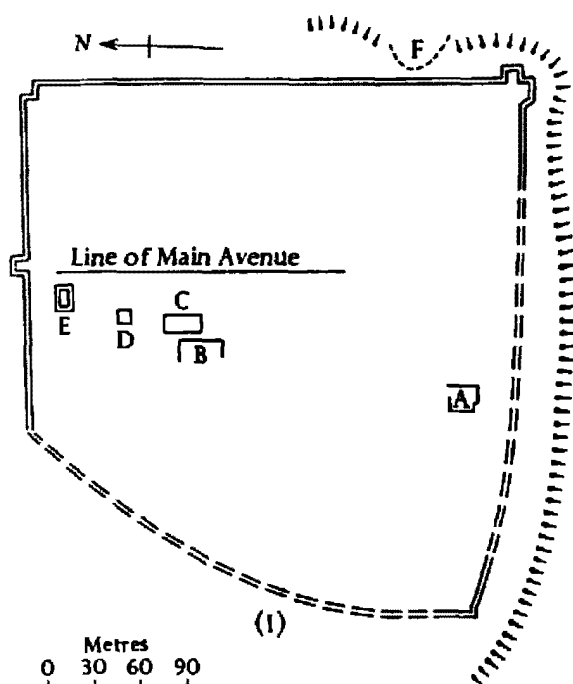
PLAN 21. Gateways and Towers (the exit and an outside face of the tower are always to the top of the page).



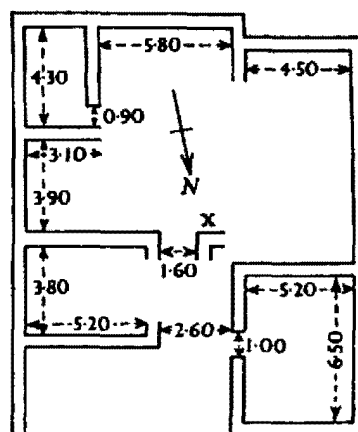
Dimensions in Metres

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1 Gateway facing north at Ploče | 3 Gateway at Veliani |
| 2a and 2b Gateway in the Nekyomanteion | 4 Gateway at Rogous (Buchetium) |
| 2c Blocks from Lelovn (Batiae) | 5 Temple at Kamarina (Cassope) |

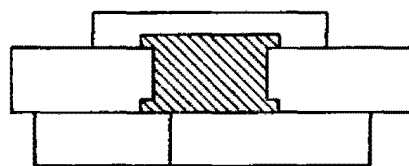
PLAN 22. Gateways and a Temple



(1) Site at Ammotopos



(2) Ground Plan of House A
(dimensions in Metres)



(3) House A. Elevation of window-
embasura in west Wall

PLAN 23. Ammotopos. See p. 155.

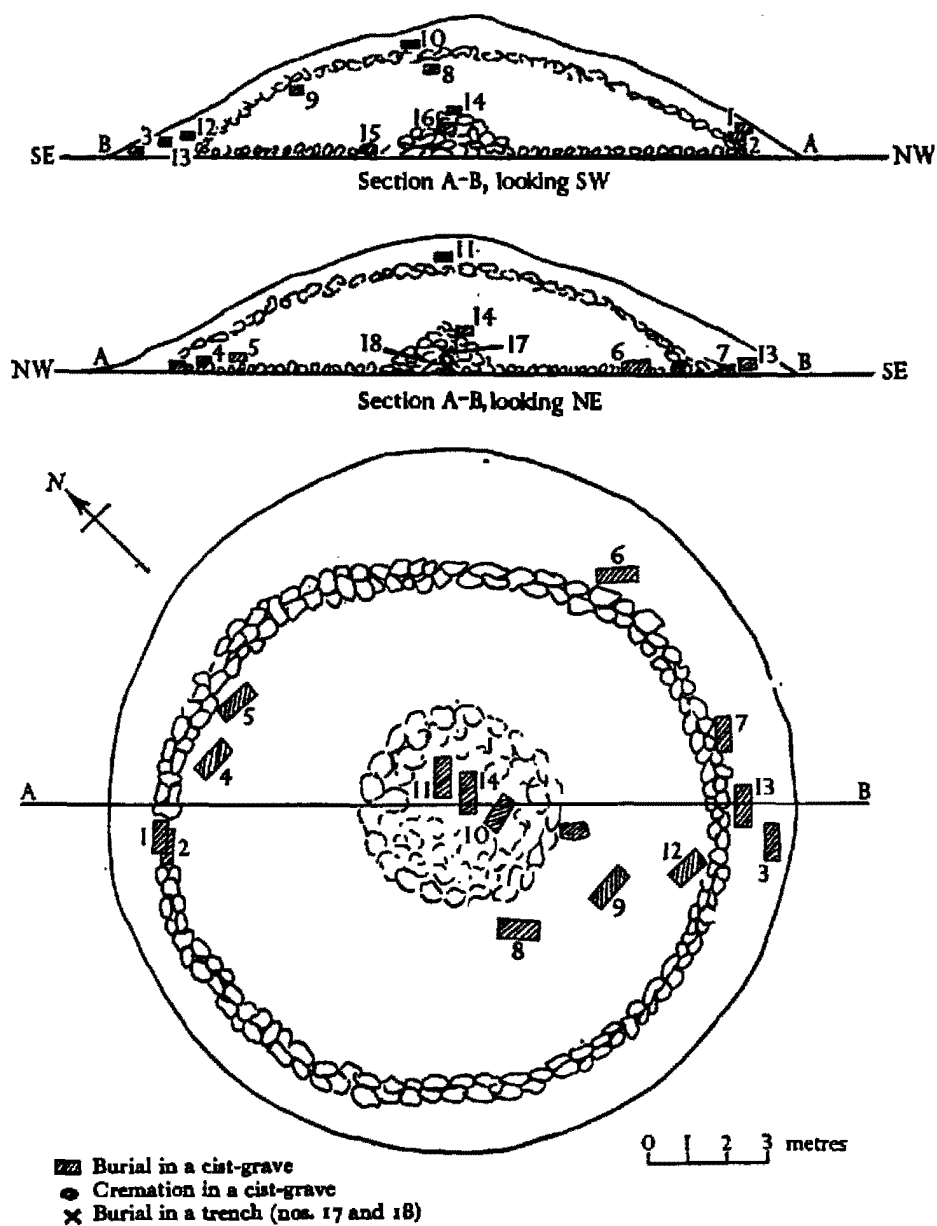


FIG. 1. Tumulus at Vodhině (*BUSS* 1956, I. 182 fig. 1). See p. 202.

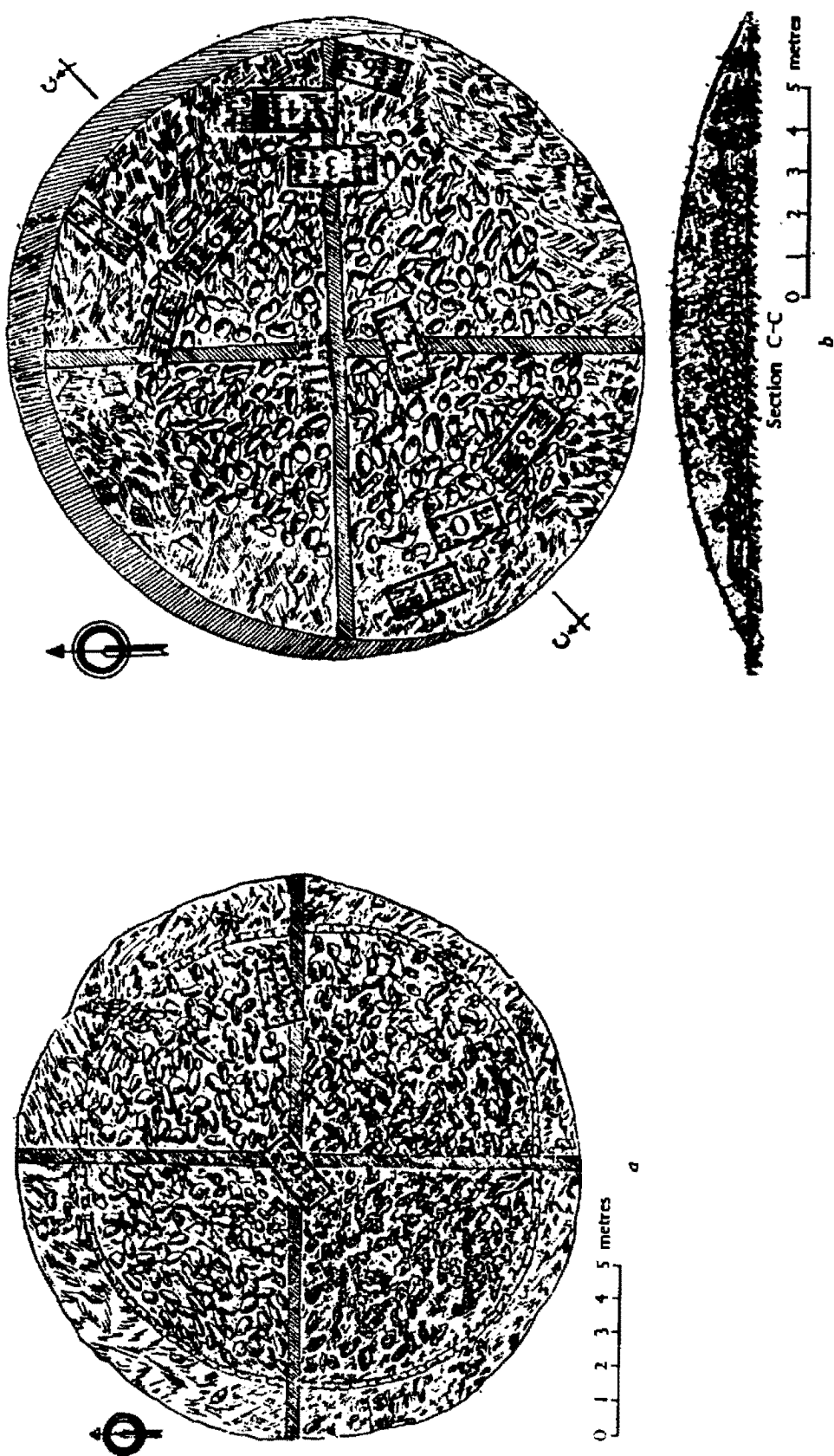
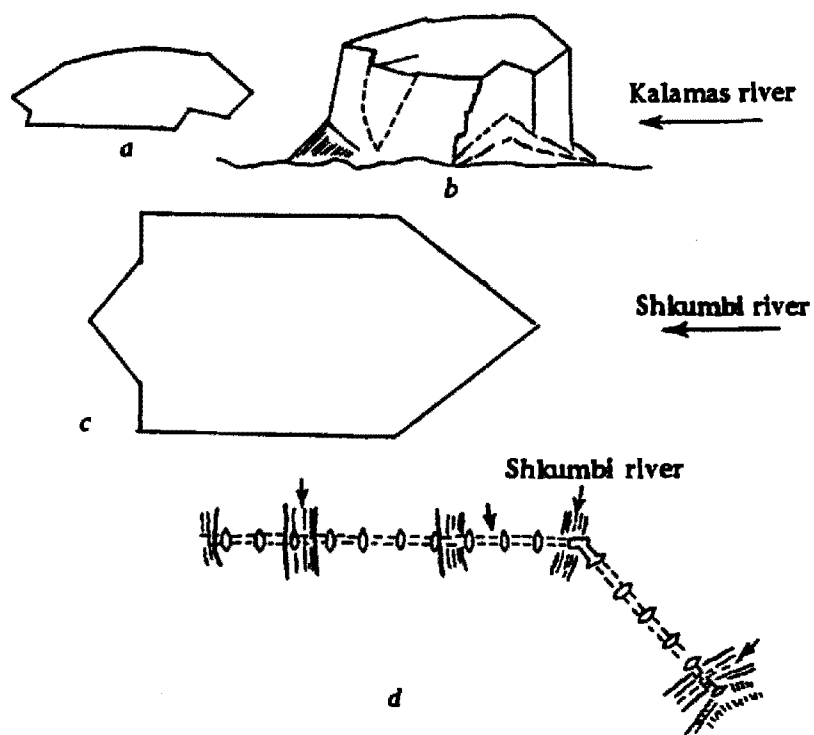


FIG. 2. Tumuli at (a) Kakavi and (b) Bodrishtë (*BUST* 1959, 2. 193 fig. 3 and 199 fig. 10). See p. 204.



- a Ground plan of pier at Uzdina
- b View of the same pier from above on south side
- c Ground plan of pier in the Shkumbi river
- d Plan of bridge-piers in the Shkumbi river

FIG. 3. Bridge-piers. See p. 235.

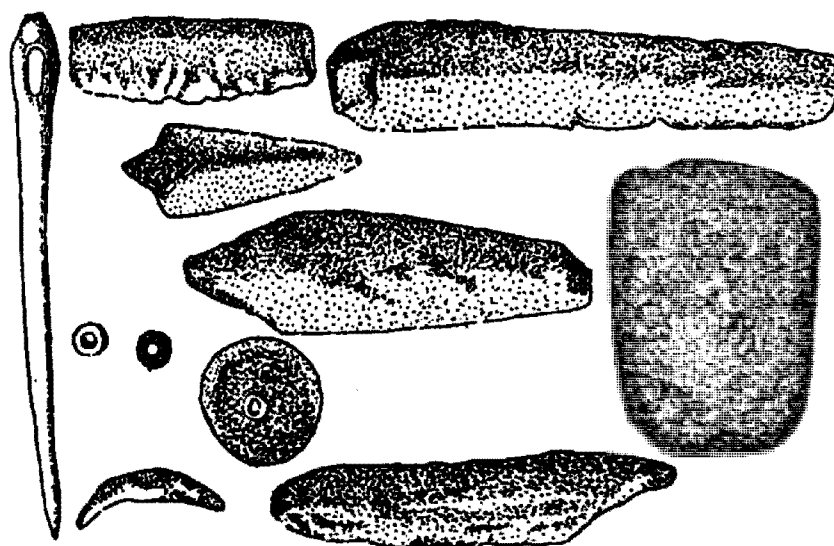


FIG. 4. Tools and weapons of stone and flint from Velcë (*Rend. Acc. d'It. Sc. Mor.* 19, 1941, 681 fig. 3). See p. 290.



FIG. 6. Neolithic pottery from Velcě (ibid. fig. 5)
See p. 291.

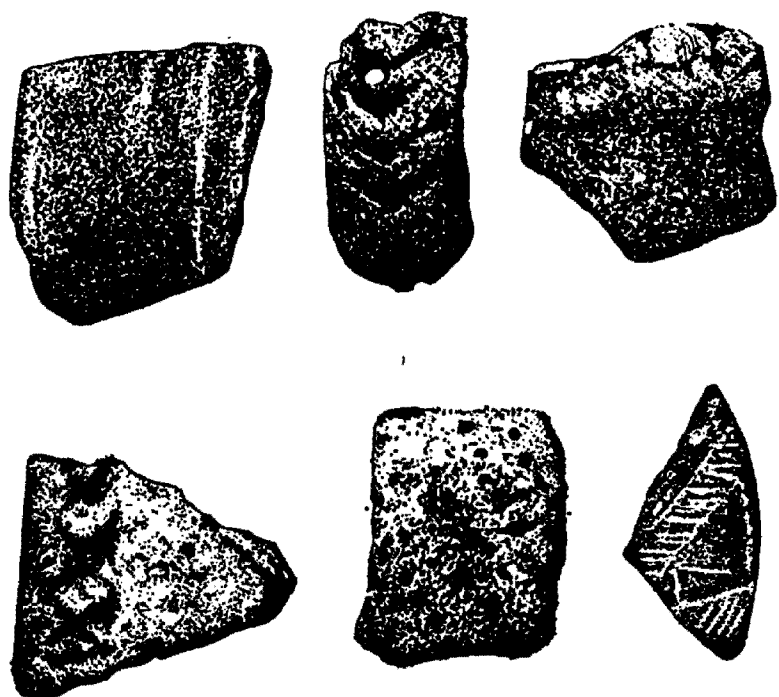


FIG. 5. Incised and impressed ware from Velcě ((*Rend. Acc. d'It. Sc. Mor.* 19, 1941, 681 fig. 4) See p. 290.

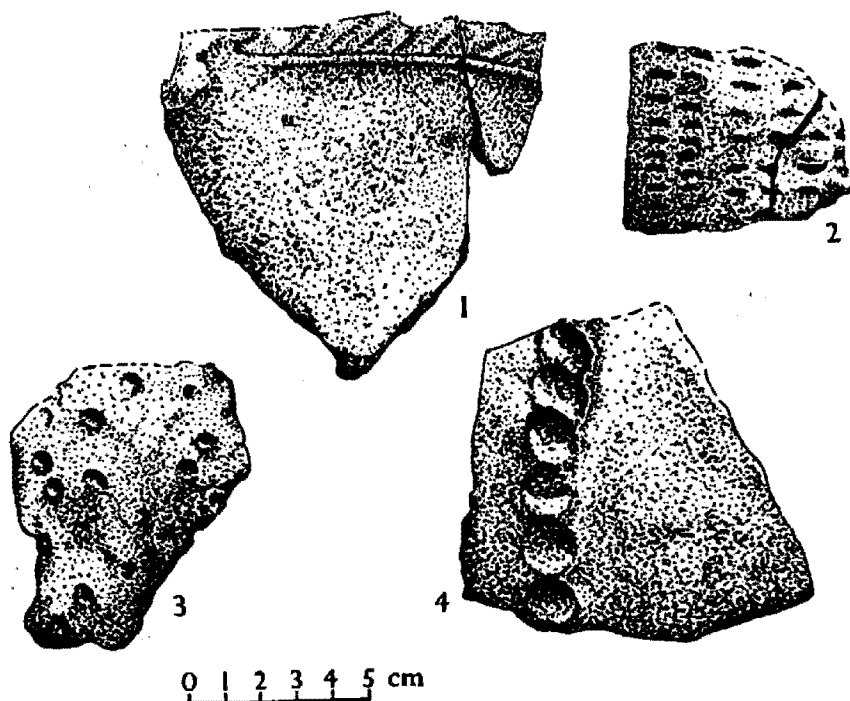


FIG. 7. Incised and impressed ware from Kastritsa (*PAE* 1951, 177 fig. 2).
See p. 292.

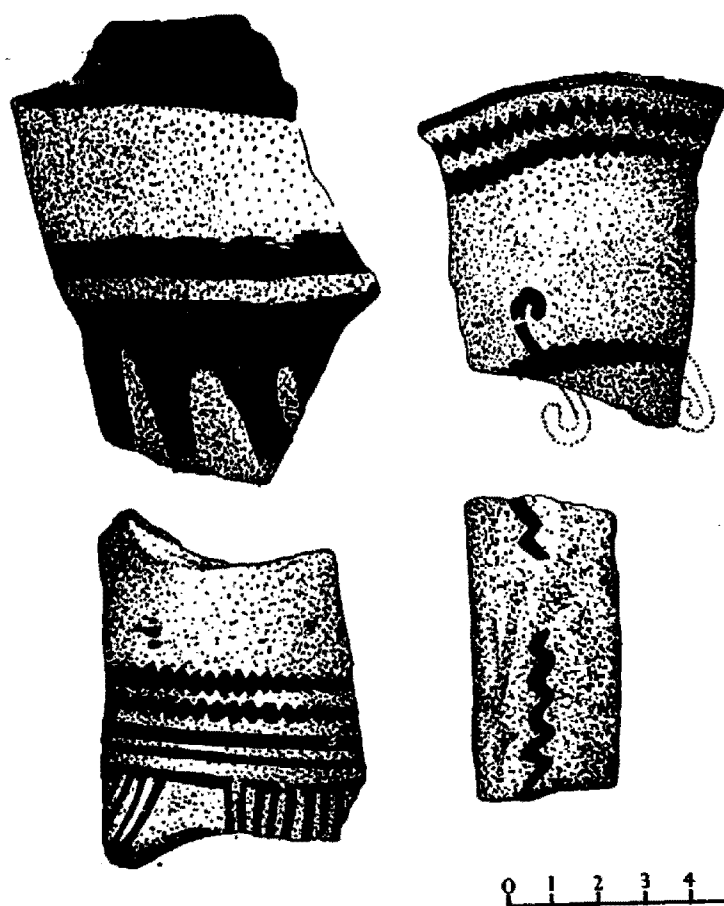


FIG. 8. Matt-painted ware from Kastritsa (*PAE* 1951, 181 fig. 6). See p. 292.

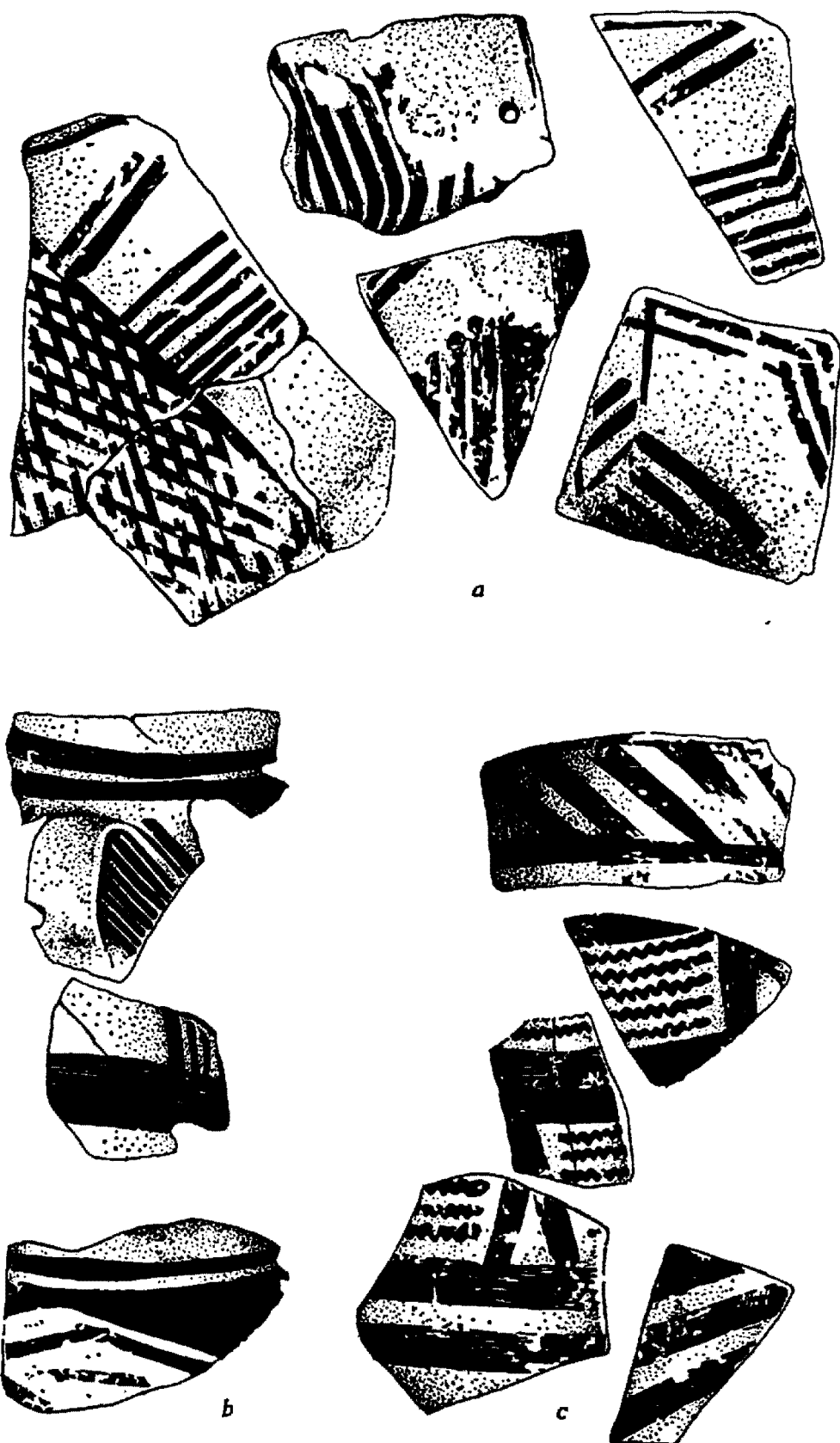


FIG. 9. Neolithic pottery from H. Nikolaos near Astakos (*BSA* 1942, pls. 24, 26, and 27). See p. 293.

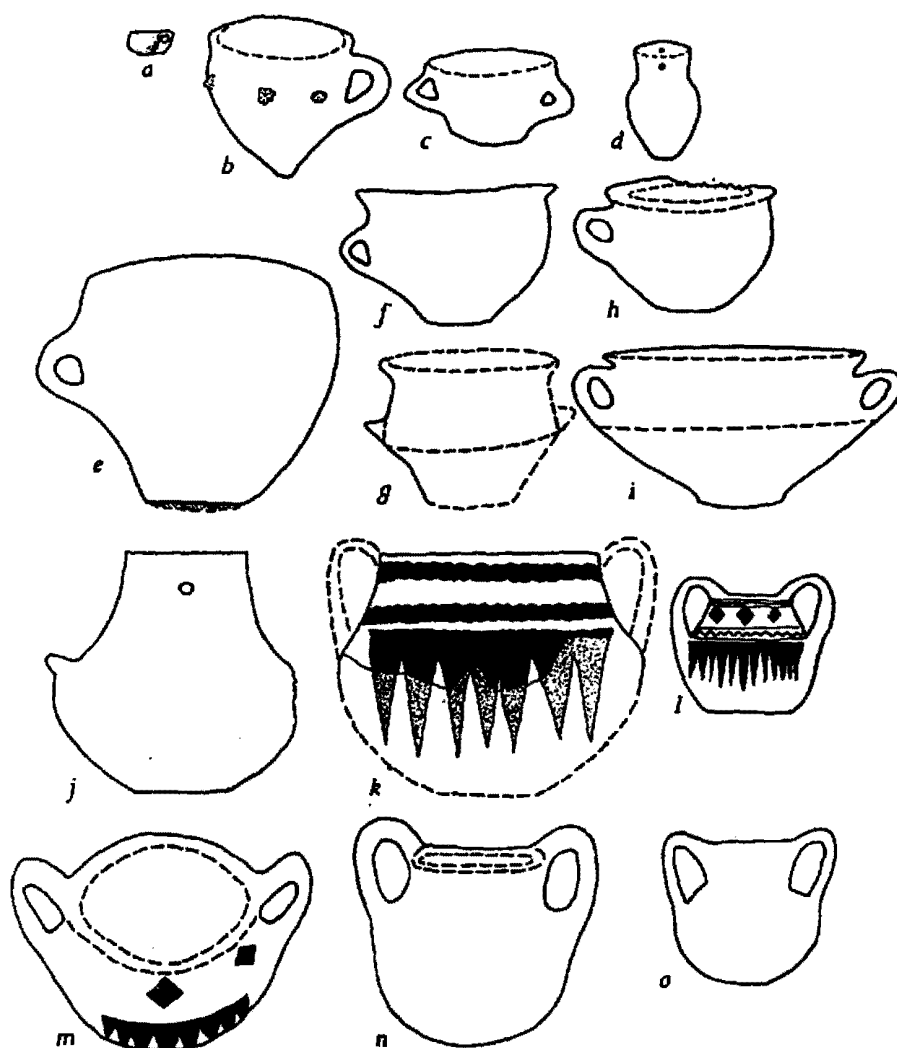


FIG. 10. Pottery from Epirus, Leucas, and Macedonia. See pp. 306 f.

a miniature cup from Dodona.

b, *c* and *d* from Dodona.

e, *f* and *g* from Kastritsa.

h and *i* from Leucas.

j from Dhistraton.

k from Kastritsa.

l from Boubousti (Macedonia).

m and *n* from Vodhinë.

o from Vajžë.

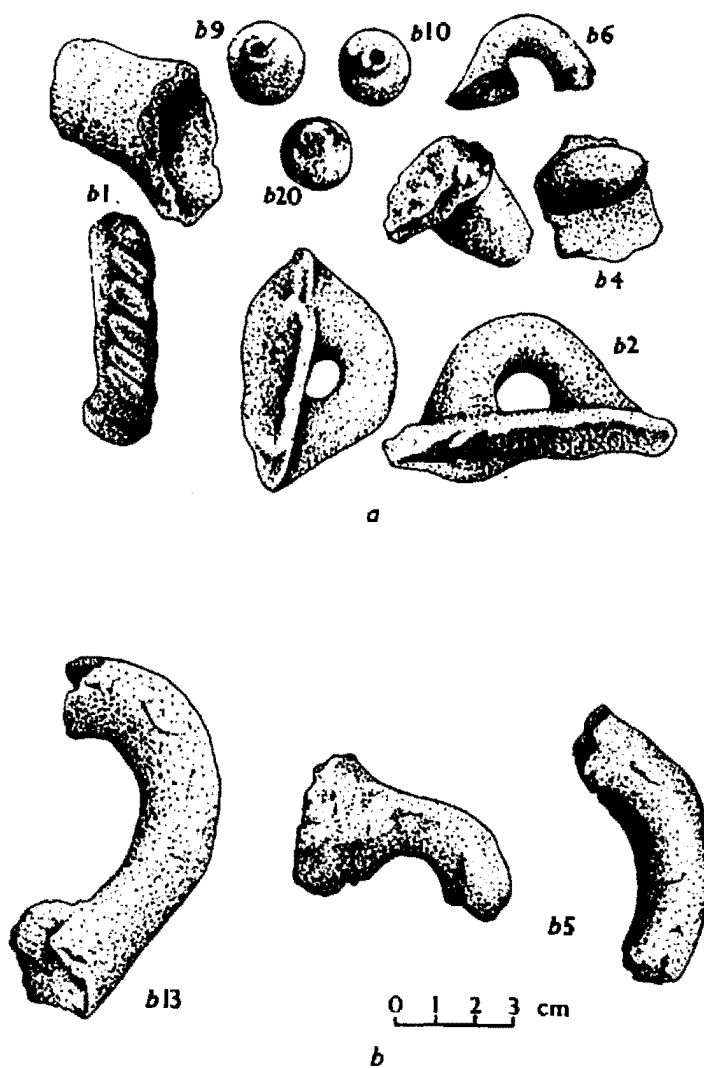


FIG. 11. Pottery from Terovo. See p. 302.

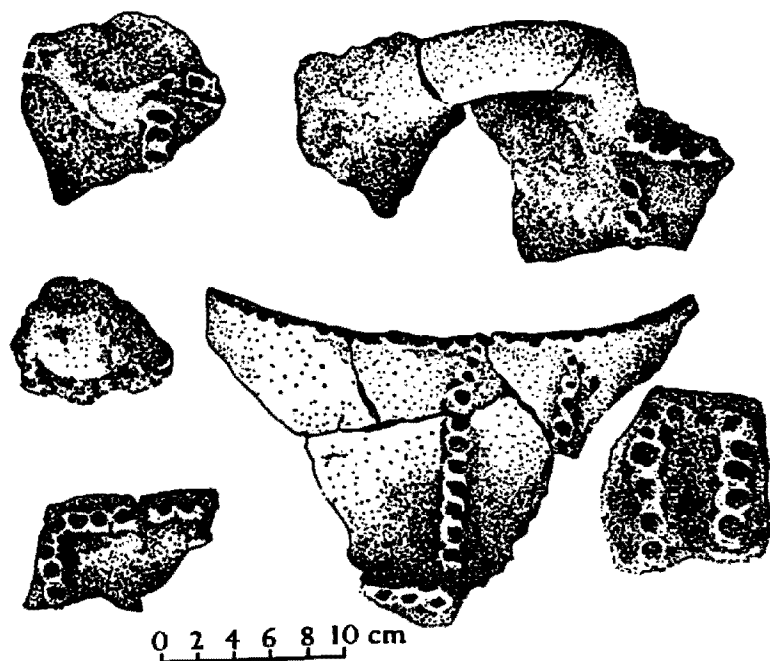


FIG. 12. Impressed ware from Dodona. See p. 300.

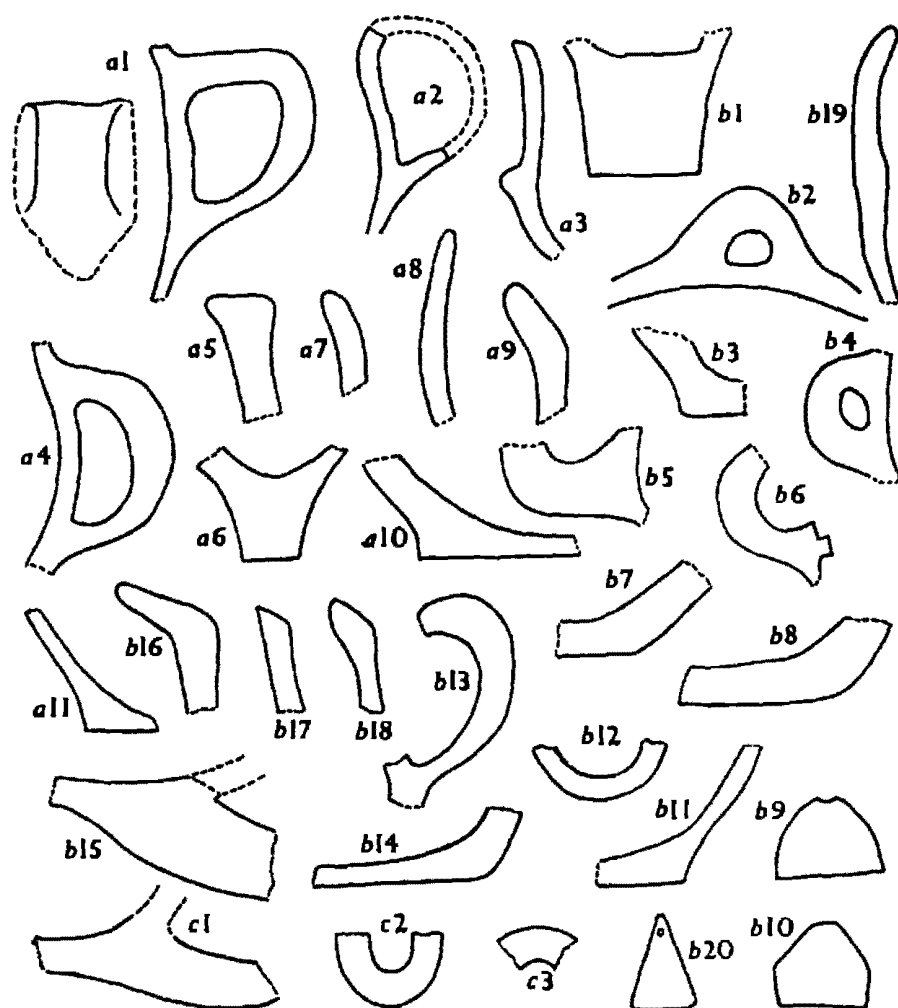


FIG. 13. Profiles of K 2 ware. See pp. 301 f.

a 1-a 11: Koutsoulio.

b 1-b 20: Terovo.

c 1-c 3: Visani.

(Vertical handles: a 1 from two angles, a 2, a 4, b 4, b 5, b 6, b 13.

Horizontal handles: b 2, b 12, b 15, c 1, c 2, and c 3.

Rims: a 3, a 5-9, and b 16-19, having the inside of the pot on the right.)

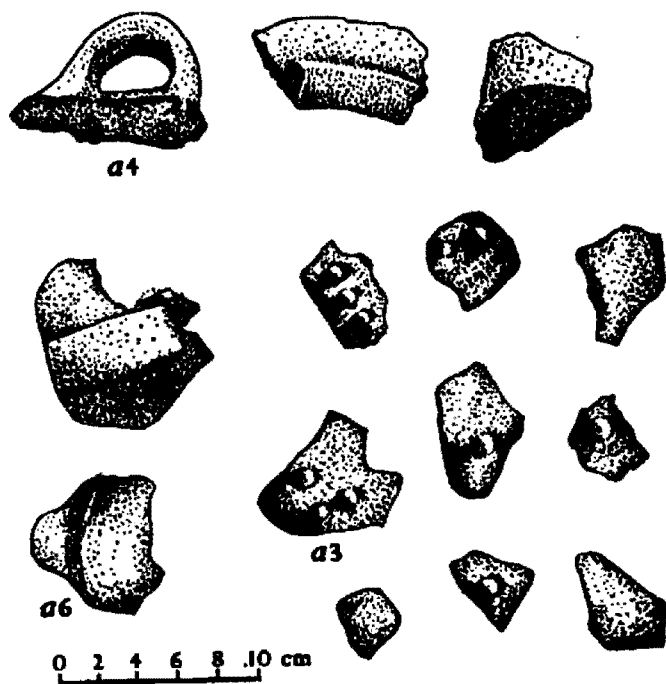


FIG. 14. K 2 and K 3 ware from Koutsoulio. See p. 301.

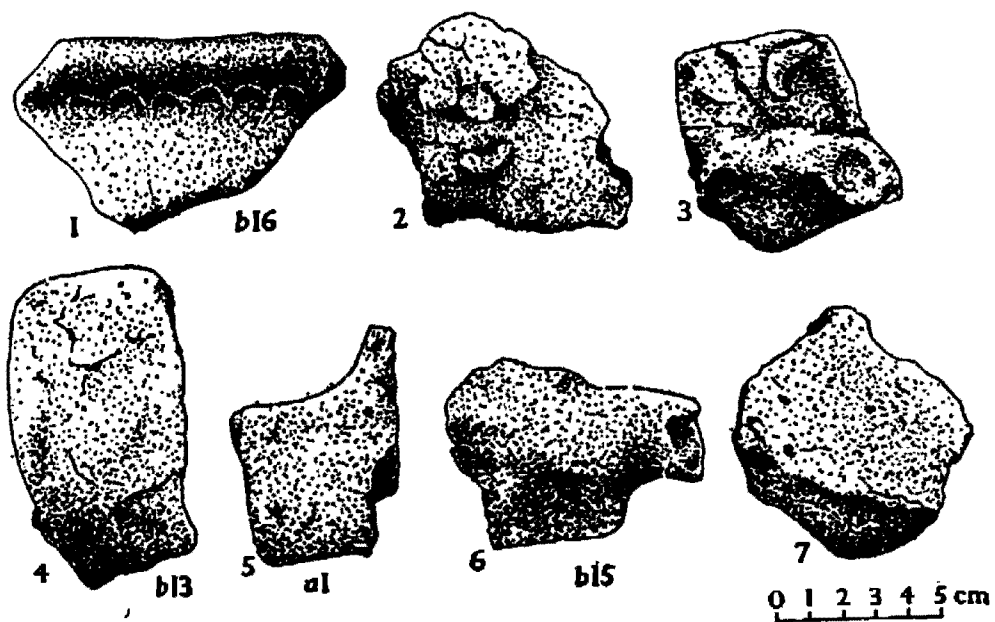


FIG. 15. K 2 and K 3 ware from Terovo and Koutsoulio. See pp. 301 f.

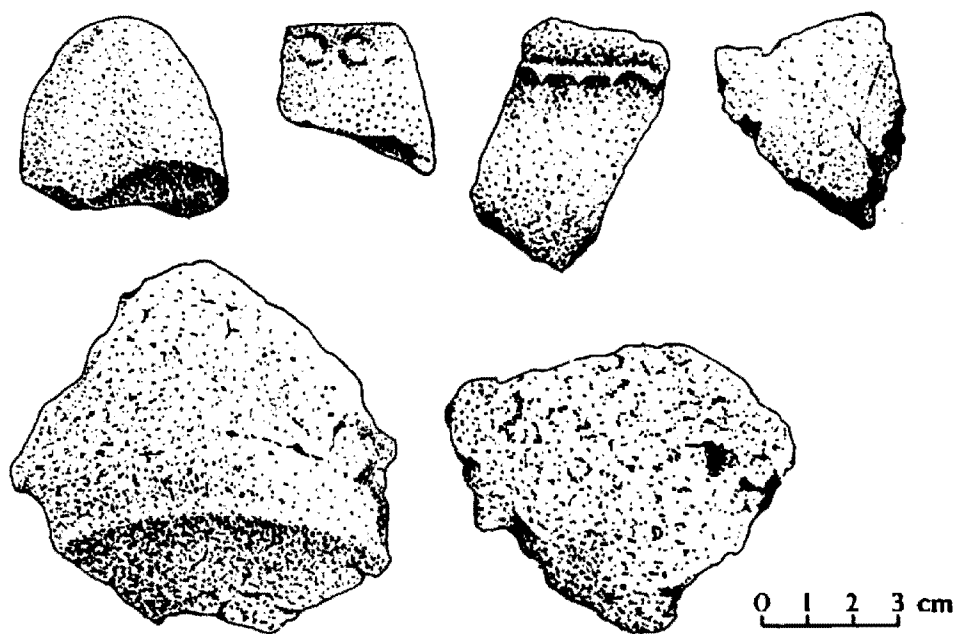


FIG. 16. K 2 ware from Terovo. See p. 302.

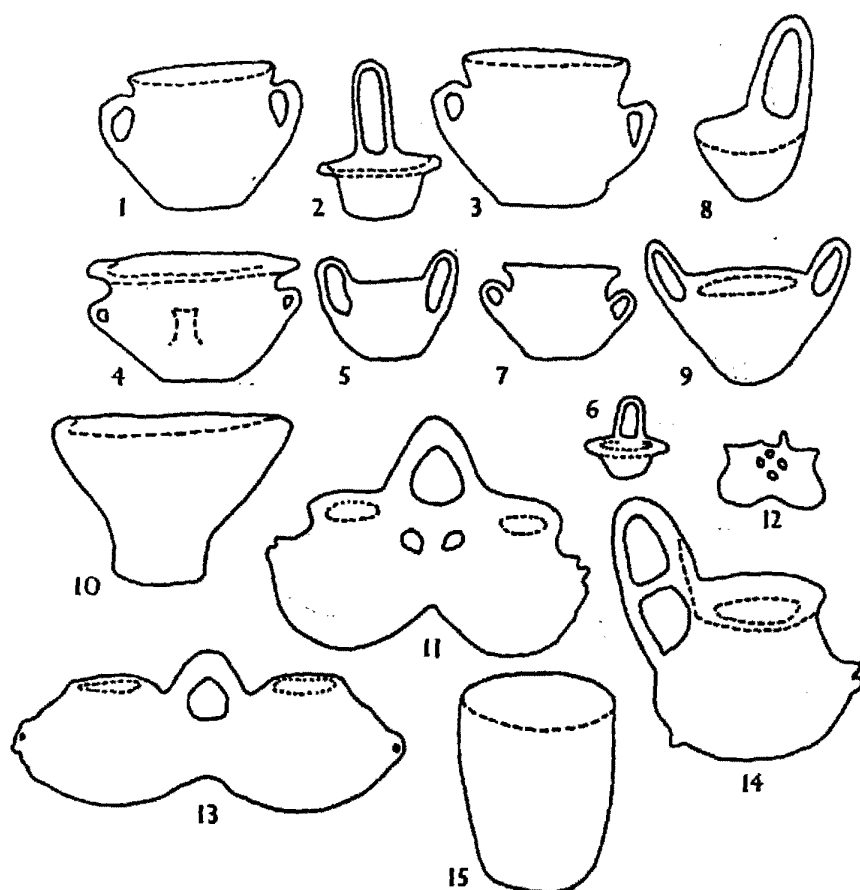
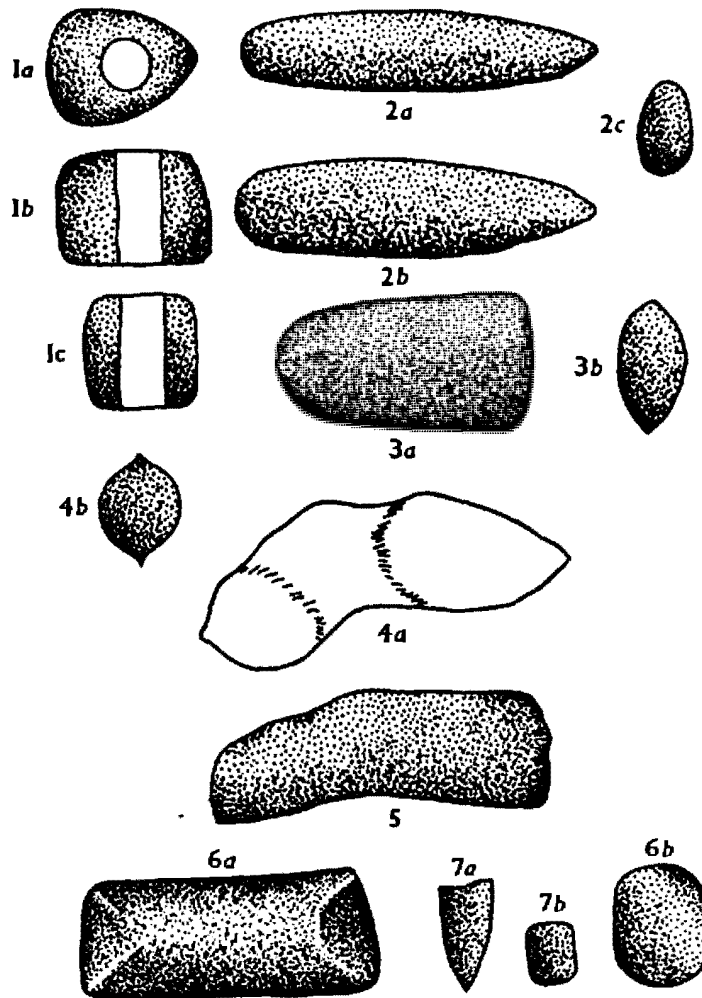


FIG. 17. Pottery from Northern Epirus, Leucas, Macedonia, and Thessaly.
See p. 311.
1-3 and 4-7 from Vodhinë; 8 from Tsangli (Thessaly); 9-11 from Vajzë;
12 from Pateli (Macedonia); 13 from Leucas; 14 and 15 from Vajzë.



Scale 1:4 (with the exception of 6 and 7 which are not to scale)

FIG. 18. Celts. See pp. 314 f.

- 1 from Konitsa: *a*, horizontal section; *b*, vertical section; *c*, cross-section.
 2 from Greveniti: *a*, horizontal section; *b*, vertical section; *c*, cross-section.
 3 from Derviziana: *a*, vertical section; *b*, cross-section.
 4 from Arta: *a*, vertical section, the waist between the shadings being concave.
 5 from Artsista: vertical section.
 6 and 7 from Pramanda: 6*a*, vertical section; 6*b*, cross-section; 7*a*, horizontal section; 7*b*, cross-section.

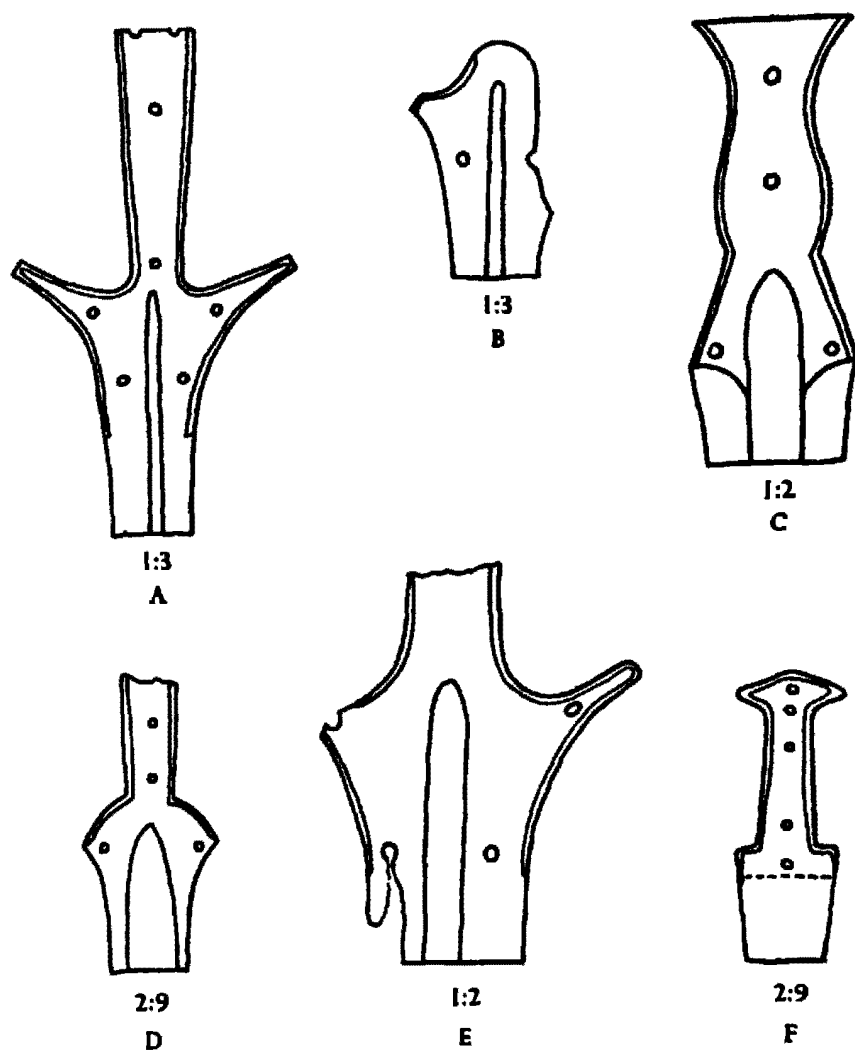


FIG. 19. Bronze swords (1). See. pp. 318 f.
 A and B from Mesoyefira (see Plate XXIa); C from Tseravina (see Plate XXIc); D from Scutari in Illyria; E and F from Dodona.

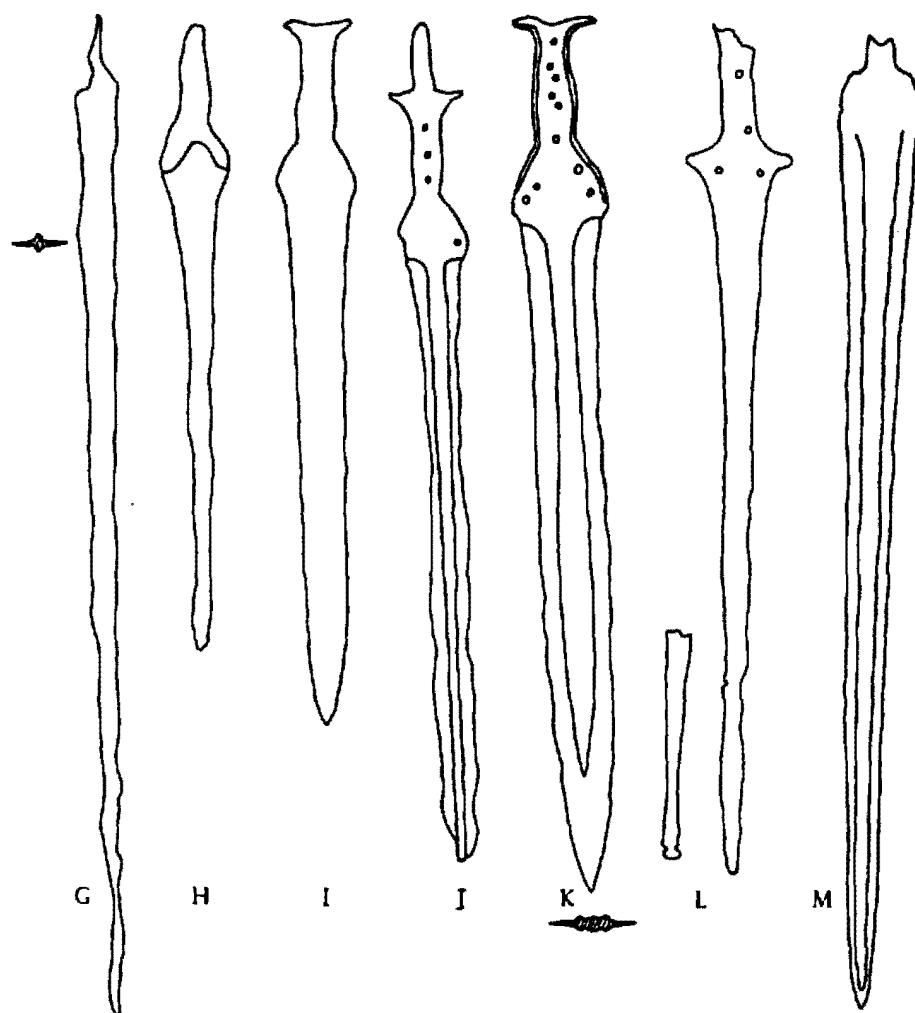


FIG. 20. Bronze swords (2). See pp. 320 f.
 G and H from Vajžë; I from Vodhinë; J from Vajžë; K from Kakavi; L from
 the Mati valley in Illyria; M from Corfu (in the British Museum).

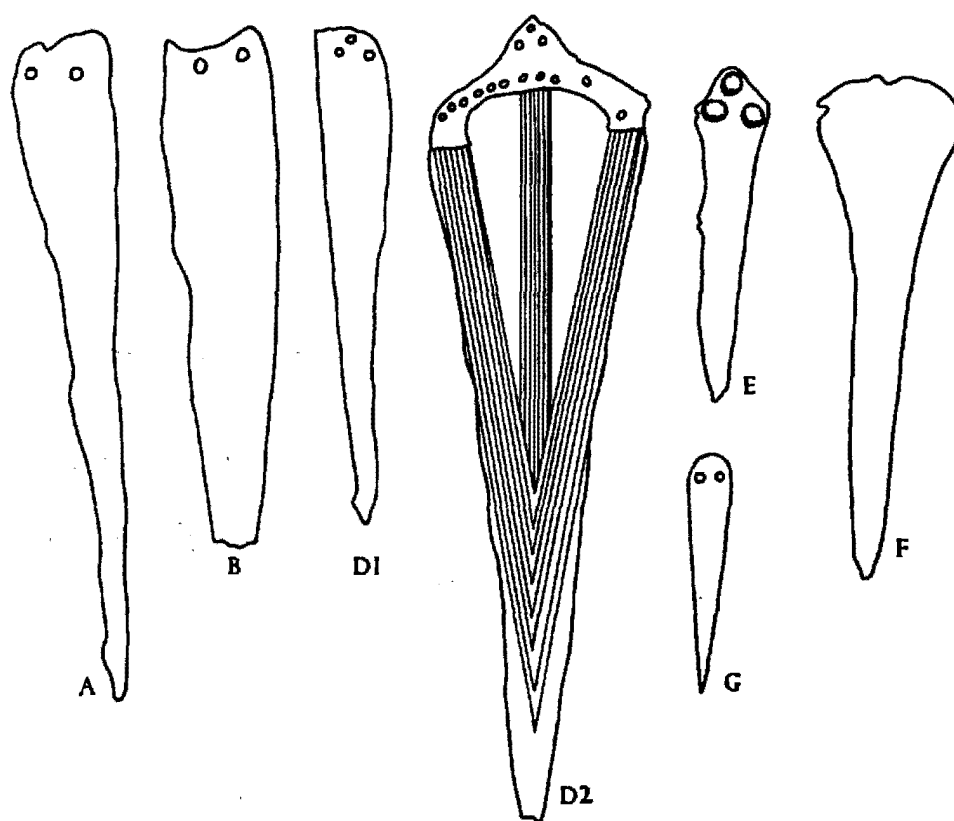


FIG. 21. Bronze knives and daggers. See pp. 328 f.
A and B from Vajžë; D1 from Dodona; D2 and E from Vajžë; F from
Vodhinë; G from the Mati valley in Illyria.

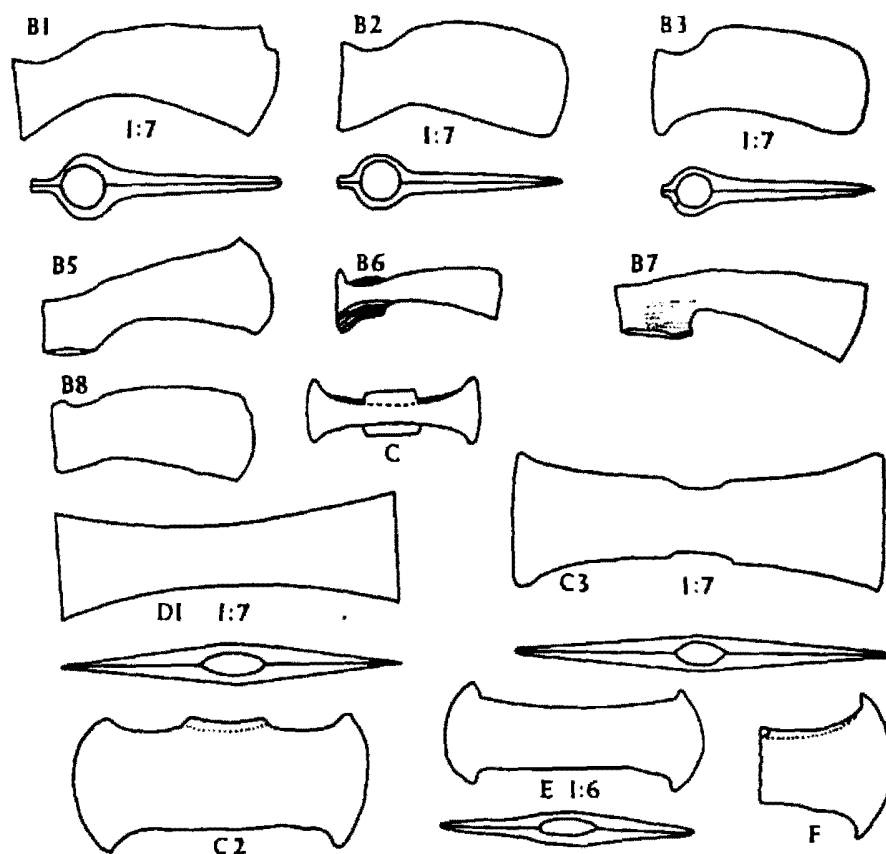


FIG. 22. Bronze battle-axes (not to the same scale). See pp. 332 f.
 B1 from Tseryianni (see Plate XXIb 2); B2 from Siroupolis B3 from Loutro; B5 the Laibach type (Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory* fig. 113 no. 4); B6 the Hungarian type (ibid. fig. 147 no. 8); B7 from Scutari (Vulpe, *Präh. Zeitschr.* 23. 193 fig. 1); B8 the Dalmatian type (*Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 55 Pl. 4 no. 3); C from Kilindir (Casson, *Macedonia* fig. 45); C2 from Dodona; C3 from Pramanda; D1 from Teroovo; E from Epirus; F half of a votive axe from Dodona, of the archaic period.

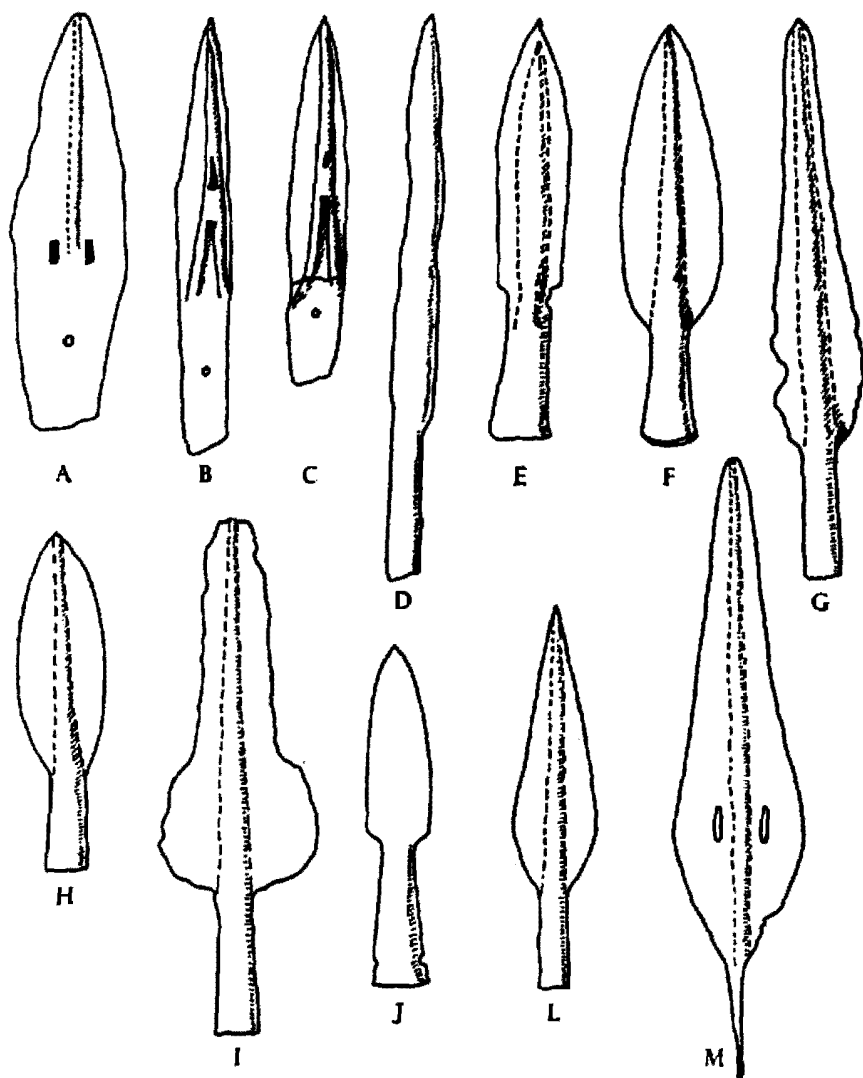


FIG. 23. Bronze spear-heads. See pp. 337 f.
A-F from Vajžë; G from Kalbaki; H from Lakhanokastron; I from Gribiani;
J from Koukousos; L from Ioannina Museum; M from Corfu (in the
British Museum).

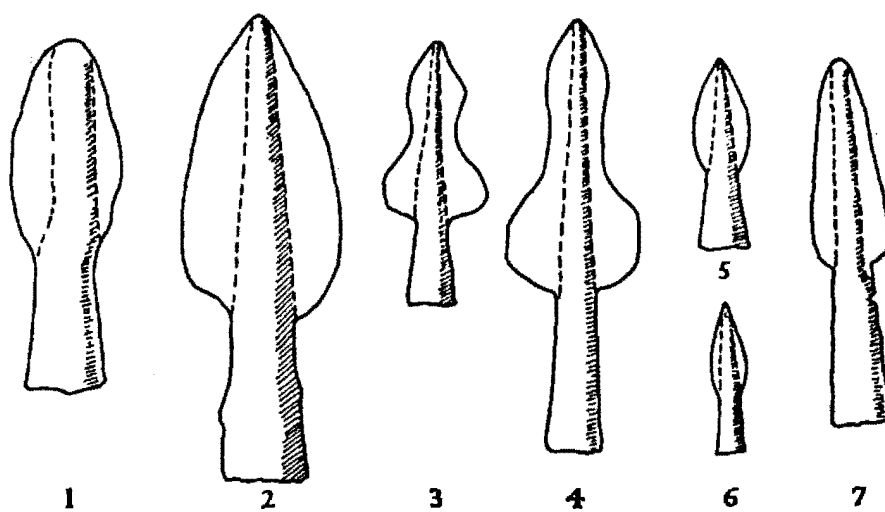


FIG. 24. Bronze javelin-heads See pp. 338 f.
 1 and 2 from Vajzë; 3 from Vodhinë; 4 from near Thebes; 5 from North Albania; 6 from the Mati valley in Illyria; 7 from Corfu (in the British Museum).

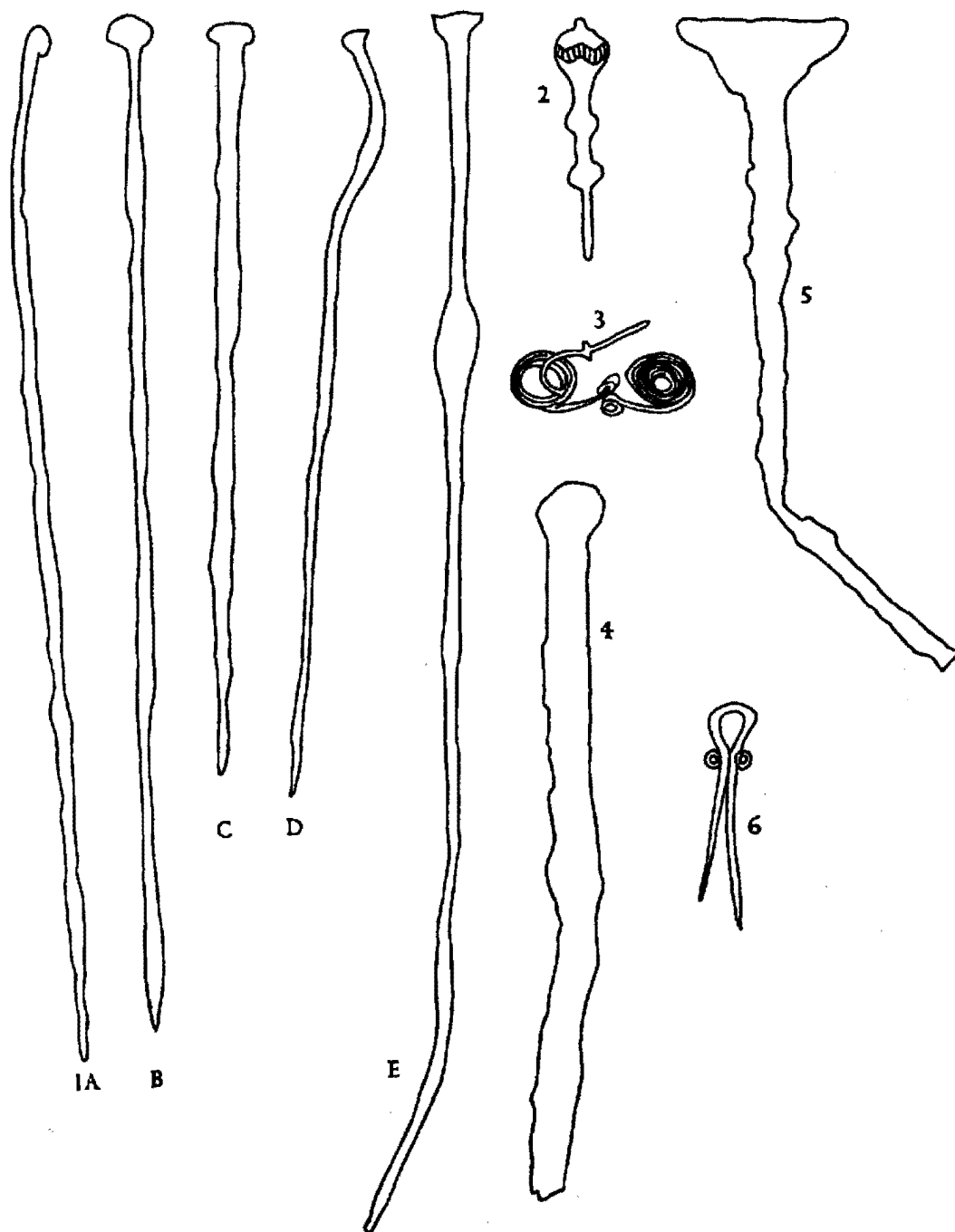


FIG. 25. Pins and spectacle-fibula. See pp. 346 f.
 1 A-E bronze pins from Vajžë; 2 bronze pin from Pramanda (broken off at the top); 3 bronze spectacle-fibula from Vodhinë; 4 and 5 iron pins from Vajžë.
 6 silver pin from the Mati valley in Illyria.

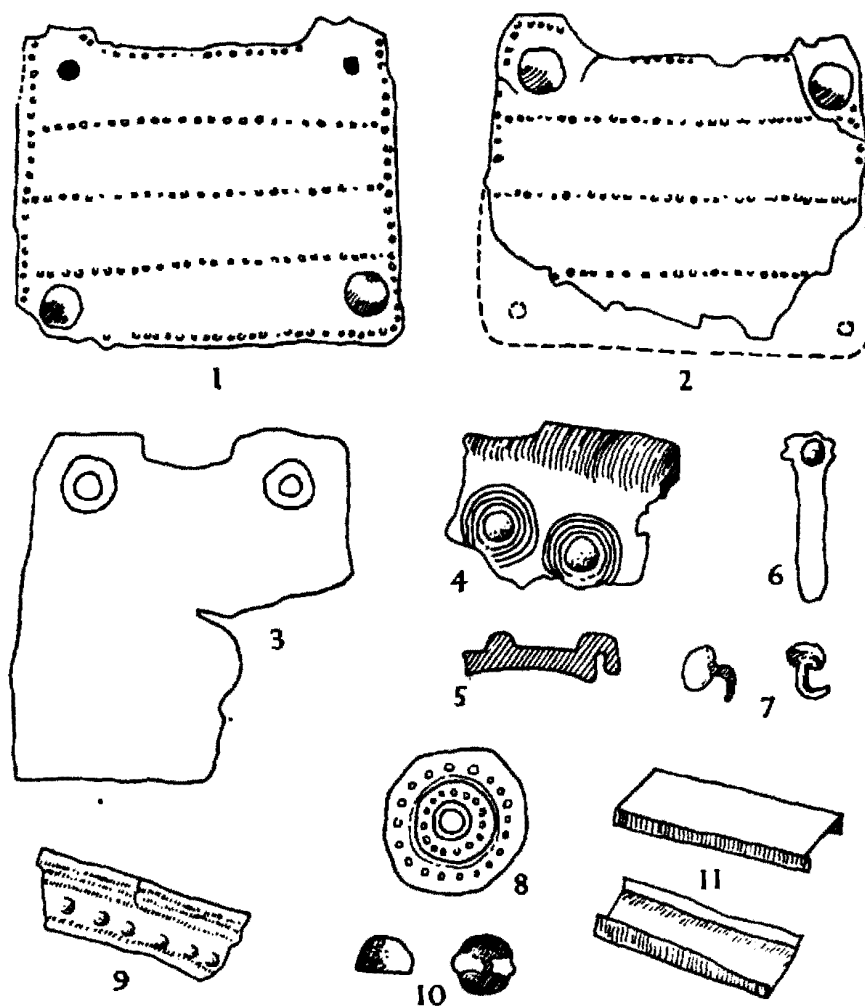


FIG. 26. Belt-ornaments, rivets, beads, plaque, and edging strip.
See pp. 347 f.

1 and 2 bronze belt-ornaments from Kakavi; 3 bone belt-ornament from Vajzë; 4 and 5 bone belt-ornaments from Kakavi; 6 hammer-pin of bone with a bronze rivet from Kakavi; 7 bronze rivets with curved tails from Kakavi; 8 gold plaque from Vajzë; 9 bronze strip from Bodrishtë; 10 bronze bead from Bodrishtë; 11 bronze edging strip from Bodrishtë.

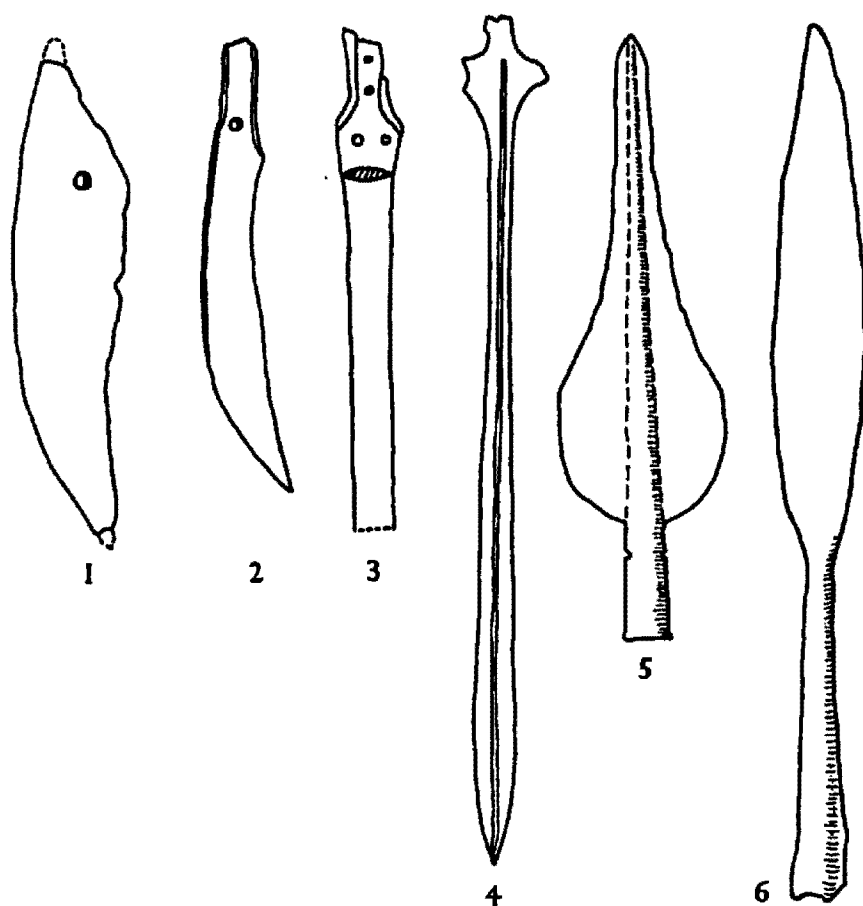


FIG. 27. Iron weapons of Bronze Age ancestry. See pp. 352 f.
 1 knife with bronze rivet from Kakavi; 2 knife from Dodona; 3 sword from Vajzë; 4 sword from Dodona; 5 spear-head from Ayios Ioseph; 6 spear-head from Vajzë.

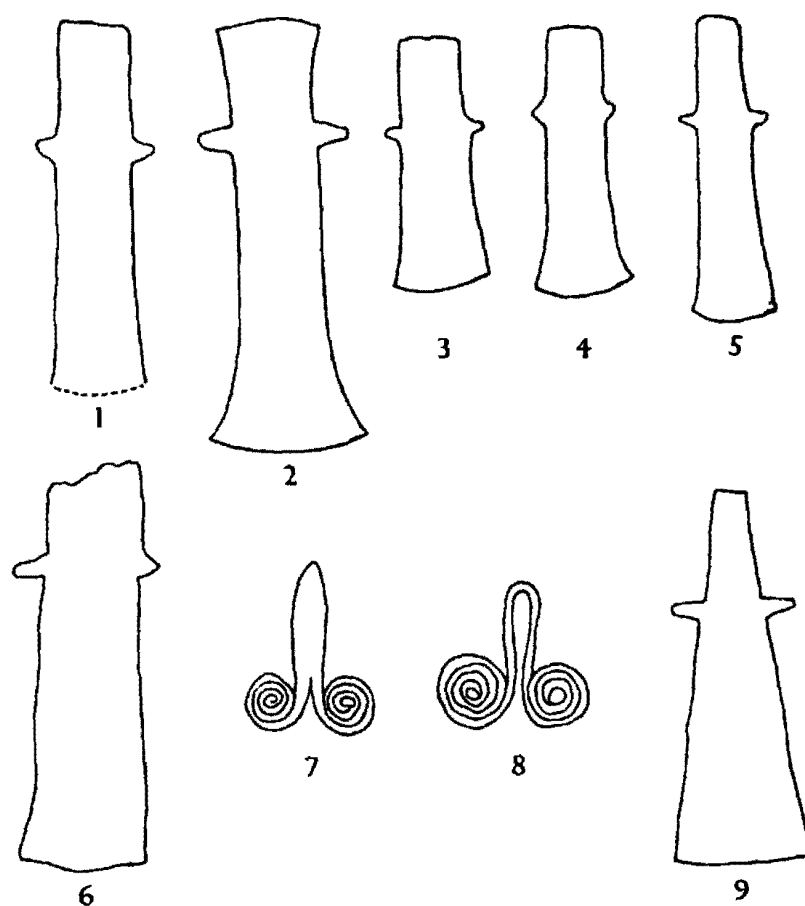


FIG. 28. Flat axes with lateral projections, and double-spiral ornaments. See pp. 407 f.
 1 from the mould at Troy; 2 from Dodona; 3 from Pozzuoli; 4 from Civita Vecchia; 5 from Monte Rovello in Latium; 6 in iron from North Albania; 7 from Dodona; 8 from Tepe Hissar; 9 in bronze sheet from Dodona.

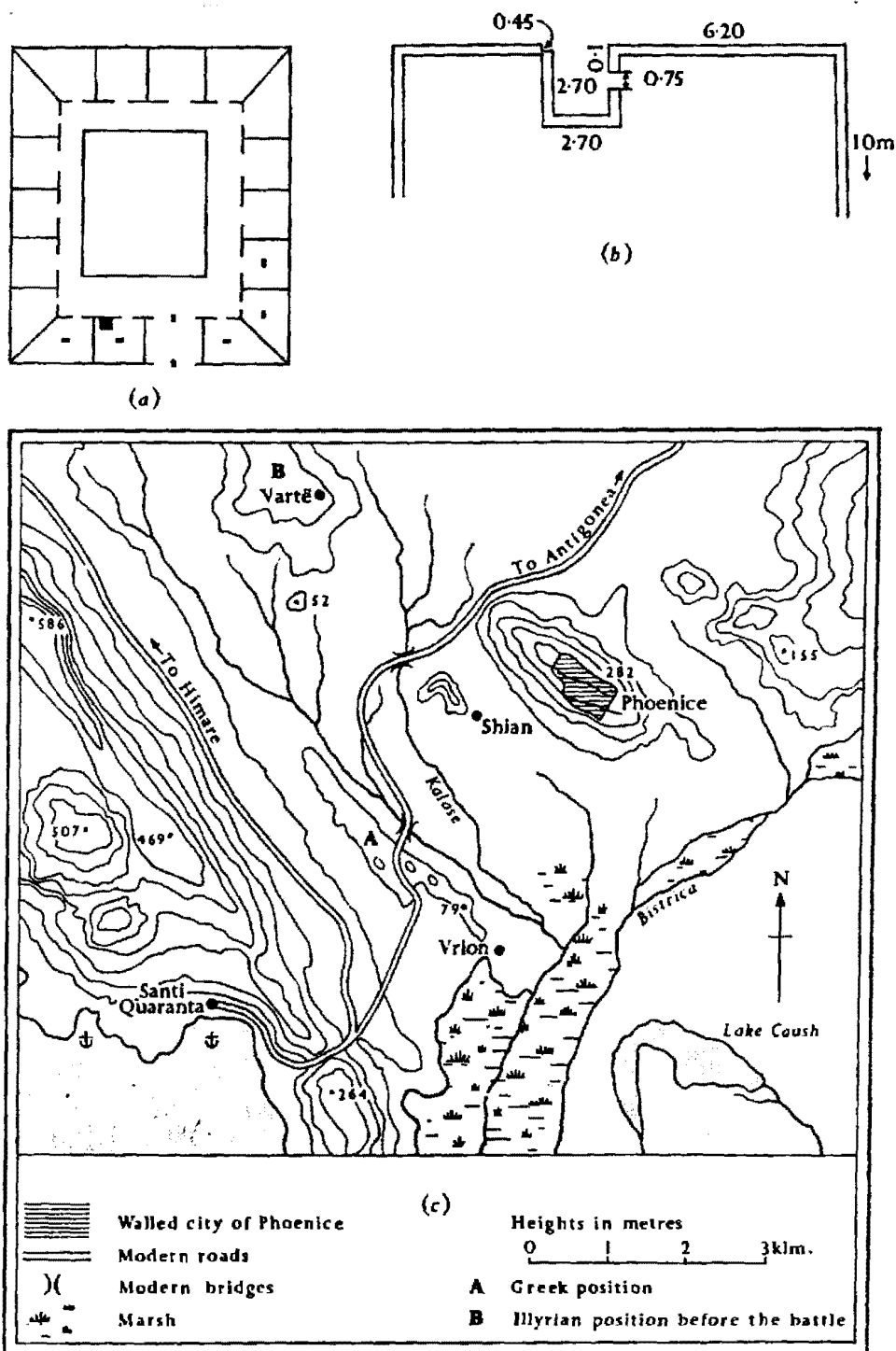


FIG. 29. (a) the *katagion* at Cassope (see p. 664); (b) a house at Riziani (see p. 88); (c) the plain below Phoenixe (see p. 117).

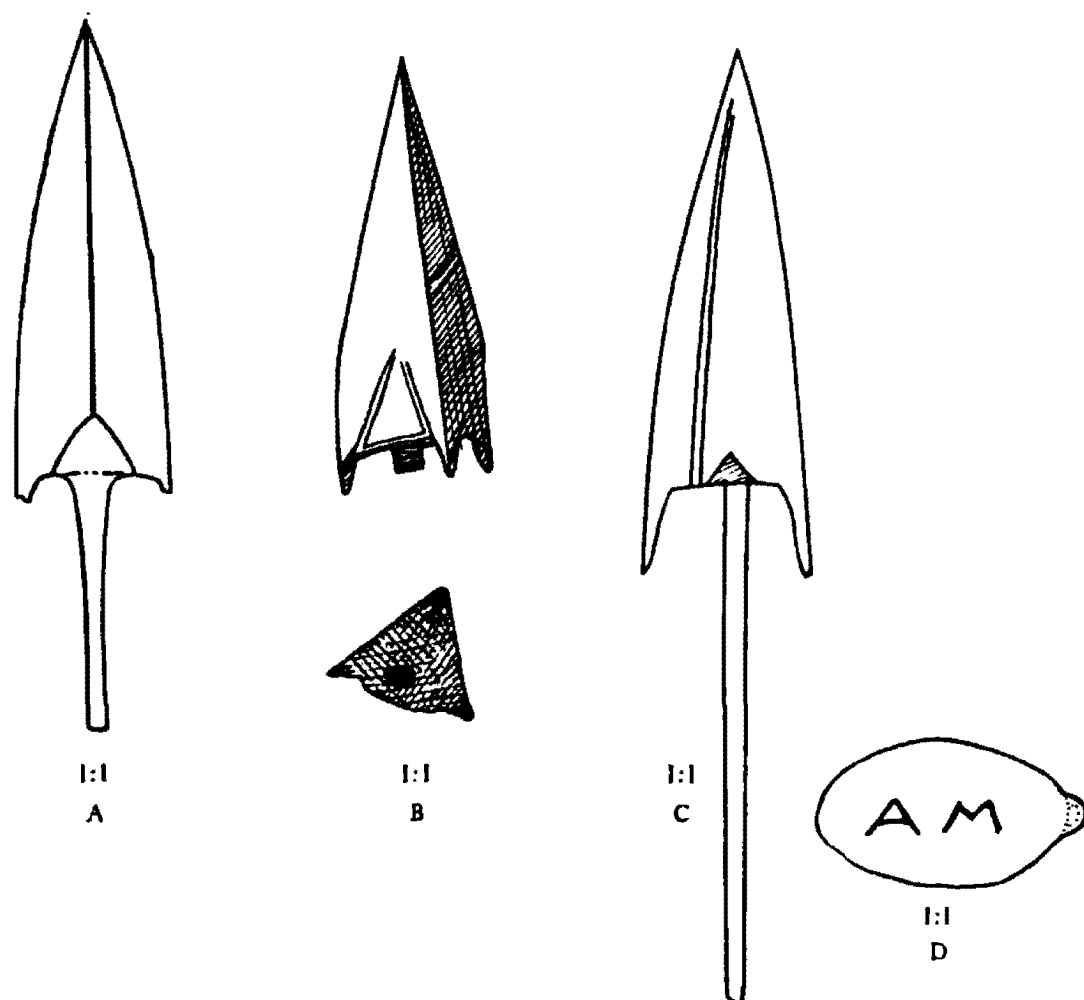


FIG. 30. Arrow-heads and sling pellet
 A and B from Trikastron (p. 732); C from Vaxia (p. 732); D from
 Kastriotissa (p. 733).

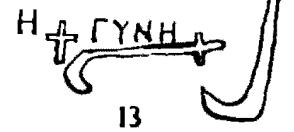


FIG. 31. Inscriptions (1)

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ
 ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΜΕΤΙΛΙΑΔΗ
 ΚΑΛΛΩΝΝΙΚΟΣ ΘΕΝΕΟΣ
 ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣ ΠΑΥΣΩΝΟΣ
 ΘΡΑΣΩΝ ΚΛΕΟΜΙΔΕΩΣ
 ΝΙΚΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣΙΟΥ
 ΛΥΚΟΣ ΜΑΝΤΙΣ

47d*

ΤΑ ΚΑΙΘΤΕΡΕ
 ΝΤΙΑΣ·ΠΑΥΛΑ
 ΥΙΟΣΘ ΝΙΚΙΝ-
 ΛΟΥΠΟΥΑΠΕΛΕ
 ΟΥΘΕΡΑΕΠΟΙΕ



13

ΚΛΑΥ Θ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΣ Θ ΕΤΩΝ ΘΞ Γ

16

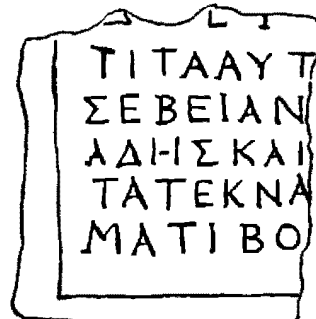
ΙΑΣΟΝΟΥ

ΑΜΙΥΙ Ι ΚΤΡΟ

14

ΛΑΜΙΣΚΑ
 ΦΙΝΤΙΑΣ

22



25

ΦΙΛΙΑ
 ΣΙΜΙΑ

26

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΙΜΟΣ
 ΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΥ

27

FIG. 32. Inscriptions (2)



FIG. 33. Inscriptions (3)

ΨΚΟΠΩΚΤΩΙΣ Τ Ρ
 ΛΤΙΣΤΟΥΔΟ

42

ΑΛΑ ΑΤΑΞ

ΝΕΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ

43a

ΔΗΜ
 ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗ
 ΣΑΜΕΝΗΣ ΝΙΜ
 ΤΗΣ ΕΙΕΡΗΑΣ
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙΙΒΕΡΙΑΤΟΒΑΣΙ
 ΛΕΟΝΝΗΡΕΥΣ ΔΩΡΟΝ

45

ΣΩΤΩΝ ΣΩΤΩΝΟΣ

ΕΣΤΙΑΙΑ

ΕΥΜΗΔΗΣ ΠΟΥΑΝ

ΦΙΛΟΜΗΔΟΣ ΛΥΣΙ

47c

Χ
 ΚΕΣΕΝΕΙΚΑΝ

ΤΕΥΜΑΤ Δ

ΕΙ Ι C

ΧΕΙ Κ

Ι C Σ

43b

◊ Β V ◊ ΑΛ

47f

Α S
 RYBRI
 ΤΕΙΑΝ
 IO

ANN XXXI MARIT
 .T. I. MARDS FECIT

33

FIG. 34. Inscriptions (4)

INDEX I

ONOMASTIKON EPEIROTIKON

IN the course of my work I compiled the following list of names and words which are known to be native to Epirus. It does not include names from the inscriptions found in the excavations at Nicopolis, because its population was only in part Epirotic, or names of the inquirers of Dodona unless they are demonstrably Epirotes, but it is otherwise as complete as is possible at the present time when some inscriptions from Buthrotum, Dodona, and Arta still await publication. The list is of considerable interest. There are 115 tribal or town ethnics, a total which illustrates the great number of small tribal units in Epirus. The personal names are mainly Greek in character; an Illyrian name such as 'Plator' is a rarity. It seems that senior magistrates of the Epirote League and of Ambracia rather than mint officials were sometimes named on coins, e.g. 'Derdas' and 'Lamios'. There is now more evidence of distinctions in dialect than was available to Salonius *De dialectis Epirotarum*, and the use of an additional sigma was evidently characteristic of many parts of Epirus. I have mentioned the gods and goddesses whose worship in Epirus is attested by the literary and epigraphical evidence, the names of months, and the local words reported by the lexicographers.

The list gives the name; the comment, if any; the source of information; and the date if it is significant. Where several sources give the same name, I have mentioned the earliest or the most significant source only. When the evidence is in an inscription, the place of its discovery is given in brackets, except in the case of the inscriptions in *SGDI* which all come from Dodona. Where a number is given in italics, it refers to the page of this book. The abbreviations are those used elsewhere in the book except for the following:

- AME* = Franke, P.R., *Die antiken Münzen von Epirus*. Wiesbaden, 1961.
- BMC* = *British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Thessaly, etc.* 1883.
- Cyriacus = Moroni, C., *Epigrammata reperta per Illyricum a Cyriaco Anconitano apud Liburniam*. Rome, c. 1660.
- De Franciscis = De Franciscis, A., 'Iscrizioni di Butrinto' in *Rendiconti d. R. Accad. d. Archaeologia, etc.*, Napoli, 21 (1941) 275 ff.
- Dodwell = Dodwell, E., *Travels in Greece*. 1819.
- Duchesne and Bayet = Duchesne et Bayet, *Archives de miss. scient.* Paris, 1876.
- Flacelière = Flacelière, R., *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*. 1937.
- Fraser and Rönne = P. M. Fraser and T. Rönne, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones*. Lund, 1957.
- Le Bas = Le Bas, P., *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*. Paris, 1853.
- Peranthes = *M. Παράνθης, Ἀρβρακία*. Athens, 1954.
- W.-F. = Wescher-Foucart, *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*. Paris, 1863.

- Ἀβαντες, tribe. A.R. 4. 1211, and *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 6. 701.
 Ἀβαντία. *BCH* 1921, iv. 56. 220-189 B.C. 657.
 Ἀβαντιεύς, ethnic. St. Byz. s. *Amantia*.
 Ἀβαντίς, district. Paus. 5. 22. 3. v B.C. 494.
 Ἀγαθίδας. Leake 4. no. 170 (Arta). i B.C. [Ἀγα]πητός, Chaonian Peucestan. *IG* ix. 1². 2. 243 (Thyrraeum). iii B.C. 653.
 Ἀγασίδαμος. Cyriacus no. 38 (Arta).
 Ἀγγελος, Molossian. Plu. *Pyrrh.* 2. Late iv B.C.
 Ἀγέας. *SGDI* 1356. Late iii-early ii B.C. 654.
 Ἀγέλαος. Colpaeon. *SGDI* 1350. Early ii B.C.
 Ἀγέλαος, Triphylian. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370-368 B.C. 525 f.
 — Colpaeon. *SGDI* 1350. Early ii B.C.
 — Amymnan. *SGDI* 1352.
 — perhaps Tripolisian. *SGDI* 1360.
 — no ethnic. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 47 (Voutonosi). Early iii B.C.
 Ἀγέμαχος. Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta).
 Ἀγεμόν[α], epithet of Artemis. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 239 (Radotovi). ii B.C. 651 n. 2.
 Ἀγήν. *AME* 156 Ep. League. 232-168 B.C.
 Ἀγησίας. Hic 743 (Arta museum).
 Ἀγιά[δας] or Ἀγία. *AME* 109 Pandosia. 168-148 B.C. 643.
 Ἀγίας. *BMC* 109 Pandosia. 168-148 B.C.
 Ἀγίλαιος, Dodonaean. *SGDI* 1351.
 Ἀγριάνιος, month. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late iii B.C. 593.
 Ἀδα[μ]άτας. Hic 742 (Voutonosi).
 Ἀδανή, ancient name for Molossia. Hsch. s.v. 394 and 412.
 Ἀδματος. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 239 (Radotovi). ii B.C.
 — of Phoenice. *BCH* 1921, iv. 53. 220-189 B.C. 657.
 Ἀδμητος, Molossian king. Th. 1. 136. 3. v B.C. 492.
 — probably a Thesprotian. *IG* iv². 95. ii. 23 f. c. 360-355 B.C. 518.
 Ἀέροπος, friend of Pyrrhus. Plu. *Pyrrh.* 8. Early iii B.C.
 — ?, restored for Ἀρροπος q.v.
 — Ambraciote. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 127 (Aetolia). Late iii B.C.
 — general of Ep. League in 205 B.C. Livy 29. 12. 11. 612.
 Ἀθαμᾶνες, tribe and Ἀθαμάν, ethnic. Flacelière i. 41.
 — *IG* ix. 2. 613 [τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀ]θαμάνων. c. 88-87 B.C.
 Ἀθάνα, goddess. Restored on Corinthian sherd found at Buthrotum. Mustilli, *Rendic. Accad. d'Italia, Class. Sci. Mor. e Storiche*, 2 (1941-2) 688. vii-vi B.C.
 — — *Eph. Arch.* 1953-4, 1. 100, temple of Ἀθάνα Πολιάς at Phoenice (Dodona) c. 350-325 B.C.
 — — Temple at Ambracia; Dion. Call. 24.
 Ἀθήριον, place. *SGDI* 1365.
 Ἀθηναγόρας. *AA* 3. 223 (Buthrotum). A.D. II. Athenaeum, castellum in Athamania. Livy 38. i. 9.
 Αἰακίδαι, family. *Syll.*³ 369. 570.
 Αἰακίδης, name in Molossian royal family; son of Neoptolemus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 2.
 Αἰγεσταῖοι, οἱ Θεσπρωτοί. St. Byz. s.v. 702.
 Αἰγέστης, mythical ancestor of the Aegestaei. St. Byz. *ibid.* 702.
 Αἰγίλε[ίνα]. *CIG* 1814 (Nicopolis). R.E.
 Αἰγίνιον, town and Αἰγινεύς, ethnic. *IG* ix. 2. 329. 681.
 Αἰθίκες, tribe. *Iliad* 2. 744.
 Aethopia, town in Athamania near Argitheia. Livy 38. 2. 4.
 Αἰλιανός. Patsch 199 (Ploçë). c. A.D. 200.
 Αἰνέτος. *Eph. Arch.* 1897, 164 (Arta). vi B.C.
 Αἰζώνιος, ethnic. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). iii-ii B.C. 655.
 Αἶροπος. Hic 530. 370-368 B.C.
 — ? restored for Ἀρροπος q.v.
 Αἶσα, ancient name of Epirus. *EM* 39. 19. 394.
 Αἰσίοι, ancient name of Epirotes. *EM* 39. 19. 394.
 Αἰσχρών. *IG* v. 1. 1231. 427/6 B.C. 506.
 Αἰσχωρων. On coin of Ambracia, 238-168 B.C. 729.
 Ἀκανθος, town in Athamania. St. Byz. s.v. ἀκεᾶνες ἰχθύες, ὑπὸ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν. Hsch. s.v. 135.
 Ἀκραλέστων, ethnic. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261 (Radotovi). Late iii B.C.
 Ἀκριπος, place. *IG* iv². 95. ii. 23 f. c. 360-355 B.C. 518.
 Ἀκροκεράνεια, Mts.
 ἀλαξ· πῆχυς, Ἀθαμάνων. Hsch. s.v.
 Ἀλβίδιος. *CIG* 1812 (Nicopolis). R.E.
 — *CIG* 1813 (Nicopolis). R.E.
 Ἀλέξανδρος, Molossian royal name, e.g. *SGDI* 1337. 536.
 — *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 245. Late iv B.C. 564.
 — Tiacan. *SGDI* 1351.
 — Coelopan. *SGDI* 1354.
 — Heuzey no. 62 (in the valley of the Inachus, perhaps from Embesos).

- Ἀλέξανδρος. Patsch 46 (Ploçë).
— *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 49 (Voutonosi). Mid-III B.C.
— *AA* i. 191 (Phoenice). II B.C.
— Hipparch of the Ep. League. *Livy* 32. 10. 618.
Ἀλεξάνωρ. *SGDI* 1356.
Ἀλεξικράτης, Molossian. *Plu. Pyrrh.* 5. c. 300 B.C.
Ἀλεξίμαχος. *SGDI* 1351.
Ἀλεξίππα. *Hermes* 26. 148 (Arta).
Ἀλικέα. On a bronze statuette in a woman's tomb at Palioroforon. ? V B.C. 53.
Ἀλιотρόπιος, month. See Ἀποτρόπιος below.
Ἀλκαῖος. *AA* 3. 210 (Buthrotum). R.E.
[Ἀλ]κέμαχος. *IG* ii. 2. 967, l. 8 (Athens). Soon after 191 B.C. 654.
Ἀλέκτας, Molossian king. *X. HG.* 6. 1. 7. 524.
Ἀλκι . . . , Omphalan Chimolian. *SGDI* 1347. c. 330–310 B.C.
Ἀλκίας. *Hermes* 26. 148 (Arta).
Ἀλκιμος, Thesprotian. *Delphes* 3. 2. 96 no. 83. 215 B.C. 653.
Ἀλκινόα. *Hic* 734 (Navaricë).
Ἀλκων, suitor of Agariste. *Hdt.* 6. 127. 4. VI B.C. 465.
— *Hic* 530. 370–368 B.C.
Ἄλων. *BMC* 95 (Ambracia) 238–168 B.C.
Ἀλμῆνη or Ἀλμίνη, district. *Ptolemy* 3. 14. 699.
Ἄλυπος, Ambraciote. *Plb.* 21. 25. 11. 624.
Ἄλυπώ. *AA* 3. 121 (Buthrotum).
Ἄμα—. *SGDI* 1353.
Ἄμαντες, tribe. *St. Byz.* s.v. 521.
Ἄμαντία, town. *Ps-Scylax* 26. 512.
— district. *Ibid.*
Ἀμαντιεύς, ethnic. *Ibid.* and *Ps-Scylax* 27. 513.
Ἀμάντινος, adjective. *Callimachus* fr. 12, ed. Pfeiffer.
Ἄμαντοι, tribe. *Hsch.* s.v. Variant of Amantes. 521.
Ἀμβρακία, town. *BCH* 1921, iv. 50. 220–189 B.C. 656.
—, name. Daughter of Melaneus. 425.
Ἀμβράκιος, ethnic. *Plb.* 4. 61 and *St. Byz.* s. *Ambrakos*. 138.
Ἀμβρακιωτῶν, δῆμος. *CIG* 1801, in Venice, A.D. II and Ἀμβρακιῶται *AA* 2. 152 (Phoenice).
Ἀμβρακος, πολίχνιον. *St. Byz.* s.v. 138.
Ἀμβραξ, son of Thesprotus, son of Lycaon. *St. Byz.* s. *Ambrakia*. 425.
— *GGM* 2. 309, Eustathius.
— son of Dexamenus, son of Heracles. *D.H.* 1. 50.
Ἀμίτιος. Cyriacus no. 38 (Arta).
Ammia. *AA* 3. 214 (Buthrotum). A.D. I.
Ἀμύλας. *BUST* 1960 (Oricum). III or II B.C.
Ἀμυμνοί, tribe. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370–368 B.C. 525 f.
— *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 33; also as Ἀμυμναῖοι. 702.
Ἀμυμνος, mythical ancestor of Amymini. *St. Byz.* s. *Ἀλγεσταιοί*. 702.
[Ἀμυ]μνος, ethnic. *SGDI* 1352.
Ἀμύμονες, tribe. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 6. 701.
Ἀμύνανδρος, king of the Athamanes, fl. 200 B.C. *BCH* 1921, iii. 34.
— Peialan. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370–368 B.C. 525 f.
— Dodonaean. *SGDI* 1351.
— *SGDI* 1348. 240–232 B.C. 593.
— *SGDI* 1357 bis.
Ἀμύνας, king of the Athamanes. *Plb.* 4. 16. 9.
Ἀμύνται, Thresprotian tribe. *St. Byz.* s.v. and *Arist. Pol. Ep.* *ibid.* 537 and 702.
Ἀμύντας, Aterargan. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261. 536.
Ἀμυραῖοι, variant of Ἀμυροί. *St. Byz.* s. Ἀμυρος.
Ἀμυροί, πλησιόχωροι τῆς Μολοττίας but Thessalian. *Eupolis* ap. *St. Byz.* s. Ἀμυρος.
Ἀμυρον ὄρος. *FGrH* I (Hecataeus) F 103. 451.
Ἀμυρος, town of Thessaly near Molossia. *St. Byz.* s.v.
Ἀμυρος, river of Thessaly. *Schol. A.R.* 1. 595; *FGrH* 3 (Pherecydes) F 3a.
Ἀμφικόριος, Arctanian. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. c. 370–368 B.C. 525 f.
Ἀμφίλοχοι, tribe and Ἀμφίλοχος, ethnic.
Ἀμφίλοχος Ἀργεῖος. *Flacelière* ii. 9a.
Ἀνάξανδρος, Pergamian. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261 (Radotovi). Late III B.C.
— *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 245 (Dodona). Late IV B.C. 564.
— *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C.
— Enchestan. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 134 (Aetolia). Late III B.C. 653.
— Aterargan. Restored in *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261. 536.
Ἀνδροκάδας, Arctanian of Eurymenae. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370–368 B.C. 525 f.
Ἀνδρόκκας, Dodonaean. *SGDI* 1351.
Ἀνδροκλείδης, Molossian. *Plu. Pyrrh.* 2. c. 300 B.C.
Ἀνδροκλείων, Molossian. *Plu. Pyrrh.* 2. c. 300 B.C.

- Ἀνδροκος, Talaeian. *SGDI* 1349. Late III-early II B.C.
 Ἀνδρομάχα, name in Molossian royal family. *IG* iv. 1². 122. 60 (Epidauros).
 — name in Molossian royal family. *SIG²* 803. 60. 563.
 [Ἀν]δρομάχος. *SGDI* 1370.
 Ἀνδρομένης. *PAE* 1952, 357 (Kamarina). c. 200–150 B.C. 655.
 — *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 238 (Kamarina). II B.C.
 Ἀνδ[ρομένη]ς, Coelopan. *SGDI* 1354.
 Ἀνδρόνικος, Pergamian. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261 (Radotovi). Late III B.C.
 — Enchestan. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 134 (Aetolia). End of III B.C. 653.
 — Hynchestan. *SGDI* 1349. Late III-early II B.C.
 — Cyriacus no. 29 (Arta).
 — Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta) *bis*.
 Ἀνδρωκ—, on coin. *Hic* 725 (Ambracia). 238–168 B.C.
 Ἀνδρων. *BCH* 1893, 633 (Arta).
 — *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 237 (near Delvinë). III B.C.
 — *Ibid.* 238 (Suhë). R.E.
 Ἀνερείας, *Hic* 530. 370–368 B.C.
 Ἀνερήας. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 48 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
 [Ἀ]νεροίτας. *Hic* 530. 370–368 B.C.
 — Molossian. *IG* ix. 1². 29 l. 23 (Aetolia). 210–209 B.C. 653.
 — Talaeian. *SGDI* 1349.
 Ἀνίκατος. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 239 (Kamarina); published again by Fraser and Rönne 115. III-II B.C.
 — Colpaeon. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C.
 — *SGDI* 1358.
 Ἀνουβις, god. *Leake* 4. no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
 Ἀντανδρος. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 236 (Phoenice). III B.C.
 Ἀντάνορ. *Flacelière* ii. 95 a. c. 250 B.C. 593.
 Ἀντάνωρ. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 129 (Aetolia). End of III B.C. 653.
 Ἀνταρχος. *IG* ix. 1². 17. 42 (Aetolia). c. 262 B.C.
 Ἀντίβολος. *Doesstan.* *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C.
 Ἀντιγόνη, πόλις Χαονίας. *St. Byz.* s.v. 578.
 Ἀντιγονεύς, ethnic. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 239 (Radotovi). Early II B.C.
 Ἀν[τι]γονος. *REG* 1949, 28, l. 13 (Buthrotum). Late III or early II B.C.
 Ἀντίμαχος. *AA* 3. 126 (Buthrotum).
 Ἀντίνοος, Clathiatan. *SGDI* 1338. Late III B.C. 649.
 — — *SGDI* 1339, grandson of above; fl. c. 175 B.C. 649.
 — *Plb.* 27. 15, same man as last. 627.
 Ἀντίνοος, Ὀρεστιάς Μολοσσός. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). 164 B.C.
 Ἀντίοχος, king of the Orcestae. *Th.* 2. 80. 5. 500.
 — Talaeian. *SGDI* 1349. Late III-II B.C.
 — 'Talaonan'. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 127 (Aetolia). Late III B.C.; probably the same man as last. 653.
 [Ἀν]τίοχος, Colpaeon. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C.
 Ἀντίπατρος, general of the Prasacbi. *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, Paris, 1952, 57. ? II-I B.C.
 — *Leake* 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
 Ἀντίρκας. *Hic* 530. 370–368 B.C.
 Ἀν[τι]φας. *SGDI* 1359.
 Ἀξίοχος on coin. *Arch. Delt.* 1926, 72 (Arta) III-II B.C.
 — — *Hic* 725 (Ambracia). 238–168 B.C.
 Ἀορνον, in Thesprotis. *Paus.* 9. 30. 4. Ἀορνός in *S.* fr. 678. 707.
 Ἀπειρος. *IG* iv². 95. II, l. 23 c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
 Ἀπειρώται and Ἀπιδῶται in *SGDI* 1338 fl. 649.
 Ἀπέλλα[?]. *AME* 75 coin of the Cassopaei c. 342–330/325 B.C.
 Ἀπελλαῖος, month. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona) in 164 B.C.
 Ἀπολλόδωρος. *Hermes* 26. 148 (Arta).
 — On a tile at Dodona, *AME* 312.
 Ἀπολλοφάνης. *Leake* 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
 Ἀπόλλων Μολοσσός, god. *Tz. ad Lyc. Alex.* 426.
 Ἀπολλώνιος. *Cyriacus* no. 38 (Arta) *bis*.
 — *CIG* 1828. R.E.
 Ἀπολλῶος. *BUST* 1958, 2. 106 f. (Plozë) before 200 B.C.
 Ἀπολλόδωρος. *BCH* 1893, 632 (Arta).
 — *Ser. Byz.* 362 (Arta Museum).
 Ἀπολώνιος. *BCH* 1893, 632 (Arta).
 — *Hic* 743 (Arta).
 Ἀ[ποτρ]όπιος, month. *SGDI* 1338. Late III B.C. Evangelides, *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 suggests Ἀ[λιοτρ]όπιος. 649.
 Ἀπποίτας. *REG* 1949, 28, l. 12 (Buthrotum). Late III or early II B.C.
 — *BCH* 1949, 28, Pl. II, thearodokos for Delphi at Buthrotum.
 Ἀραθθος, river god. *BMC Corinth* 107 on coins of Ambracia.
 Ἀραυθος, river. *Callimachus* fr. 646, ed. Pfeiffer.

- Ἀραούας, river. Probably early name of Aous R. *Plu. GQ* 13. 680.
- Ἀραχθος, usual form of the river by Ambracia.
- ἀραξίς for ἄρτοι in Athamania. *Athen.* 3. 114 b.
- Ἀρβαῖος, ethnic. *AA* 2. 148 (Phoenice).
- Ἀργεάδης. *AME* 39 f. on coins of Dodona 168–148 B.C.
- Ἀργεθία, town in Athamania. *BCH* 7. 191.
- Ἀρ[γε]θίης, ethnic. *SGDI* 1341. 654.
- Ἀργεῖοι οἱ Ἀμφίλοχοι. *Inscr. Magn.* 186. 16. 206/5 B.C.
- Ἀργεῖος, ethnic probably of Argos Ippatum. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). iv B.C. 540.
- Ἀργεῖος Ἀμφίλοχος. *Flacelière.* ii. 9a. 593.
- Argithea, town in Athamania. *Livy* 38. 1 = Argethia.
- Ἄργος, in Amphilochia. *IG* iv². 95. ii. 23 f. c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
- *BCH* 1921, iv. 43. 220–189 B.C. 656.
- Argos Ippatum, town. *Ampelius Lib. Mem.* 8. 540.
- probably τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ λεγόμενον, *Appian Syr.* 63. 540.
- Ἄργος, son of Neoptolemus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 2.
- Argyas, flumen. *Patsch* 109 = *CIL* 3. 600 (Gradishtë). 699.
- Ἀργυρίνοι, tribe. *St. Byz. s.v.* and *Lyc. Alex.* 1017.
- [Ἀρ]ετὰφιλος. *SGDI* 1361.
- Ἀρίσταρχος. *PAE* 1952, 357 (Kamarina) c. 200–150 B.C. 655.
- Cyriacus no. 35 (Arta).
- Ambraciote. *IG* ix. 1². Fl. 41 (Aetolian hieronymemon) c. 213 B.C.
- Aristides. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 241 (Dhragomi). R.E.
- Ἀριστίων. Cyriacus no. 26 (Arta).
- *Ibid.* no. 33 (Arta).
- Ἀριστοβούλα. *SGDI* 1353.
- Ἀριστόδαμος. *IG* iv². 95. ii. 23 f., bis (Cassope) c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
- Ἀριστοκράτης, of Cassope. *IG* ix. 1. 489 (Thyreum). ii B.C.
- Ἀριστόλας. Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta).
- Ἀριστόμαχος, Omphalan. *SGDI* 1334 (Dodona). 342–326 B.C. 535.
- Aexonian. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). iii–ii B.C. 655.
- Ἀριστομένης. *PAE* 1952, 357 (Kamarina). c. 200–150 B.C. 655.
- Ἀριστονίκα. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). iii–ii B.C.
- Ἀριστος. Cyriacus no. 35 (Arta).
- Ἀριστότιμος. *Hic* 739 (Kamarina).
- Ἀρίστων. On vase in tomb at Ambracia. *PAE* 1957, 87.
- Ἀρκισα. In Arta Museum, ed. Peranthes 152; *hic* 743. iii B.C.
- Ἀρκτᾶνες, tribe and ethnic Ἀρκτάν. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. c. 370–368 B.C. 525 f.
- *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 13. 701.
- Ἄρμενος, Coelopan. *SGDI* 1354.
- Ἀρμόδιος. *Hic* 739 (Kamarina).
- Ἀρμονία. *Hermes* 26. 148 (Arta); cf. Fraser and Rönne 113 and 165.
- Ἀροθος, variant of Arachthus river. *Str.* 7. 7. 6. 447.
- Ἀροχράτης, god. Peranthes 152; *hic* 743 (Arta Museum). iii B.C.
- — Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). i B.C.
- Ἄρροπος. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 49 (Voutonosi). Early iii B.C.; perhaps Ἀέροπος or Αἰροπος.
- [Ἄρρ]αμίτιος. Cyriacus no. 38 (Arta).
- Ἀρτεμᾶς. *AA* 2. 156 (Phoenice). Late R.E.
- Ἀρτεμίδωρος. *AA* 2. 156 (Phoenice). Late R.E.
- Ἀρτεμις, goddess and Ἀρτέμιτι dative. De Franciscis 280 (Buthrotum).
- Ἀρτεμις Ἀγεμόνα. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 238 no. 20 (Radotovi). 651 n. 2.
- — Polyæn. 8. 52 c. 232 B.C. 592.
- Ἀρτεμις Ἰβερία. *Hic* 742 (Leshnicë).
- Ἀρτεμις Πασικράτα. *Eph. Arch.* 1910, 397 (Arta). ii–i B.C. 743.
- Ἀρτιχία, place. *IG* iv². 95. ii. 23 f. c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
- Ἀρύββας, name in Molossian royal family. *Tod, GHI* 173 (Athens). 517. *Ergon* 1958, 94 (Dodona).
- name in Molossian royal family. *IG* iv. 1². 122. 63 (Epidaurus).
- Ἀρυπταῖος, variant form of Arybbas. D.S. 18. 11. 1. 561.
- Ἀρχάδας, eponymous magistrate. *Arch. Dell.* 1926, 70 (Arta). iii–ii B.C.
- Ἀρχείας. *Ser. Byz.* 362 (Arta). 743.
- Ἀρχέλαος. *Hic* 734 (Poliçan).
- Ἀρχιάδας. On a coin of Ambracia. *Schlosser, Beschr. d. altgr. Münzen.* 1. 76. 238–168 B.C.
- Ἀρχίας. *Hic* 737 (Khosepsi).
- Prasaeban, father of Antipatros q.v. (Buthrotum). ? ii–i B.C.
- Ἀρχιννος. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 48 (Voutonosi). Early iii B.C.
- Ἀσανδρος. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 48 (Voutonosi). Early iii B.C.
- Asimus. *BCH* 16. 175 (Liboni). R.E.
- Ἀσκλάπιος, god. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late iii B.C. 593.

- Aesculapeum at Ambracia. Livy 38. 5. 2 in 189 B.C. 145.
 [Ἀσ]κλαπίων. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
 Ἀσκληπίων. *Arch. Delt.* 1926, 70 (Arta). III-II B.C.
 Asnaum, Mt. by Aoi Stena. Livy 32. 5. 394.
 ἀσπάλους· τοὺς ἰχθύας, Ἀθαμᾶνες. Hsch.
 Ἀσπετος, name of Achilles in Epirus. Plu. *Pyrrh.* 1 and Hsch. s.v. 394.
 Ἀσπιβοῦσεχος, feminine, *AA* 1. 195 (Vajžë). II B.C.
 Ἀσπίμυας, Patsch 119 (Klos).
 Ἀσσός, πόλις ἐν Ἡπείρῳ μικρά. St. Byz. s.v. 708.
 Astaciae, district. Patsch 109 (Gradishtë) = *CIL* 3. 600. 699.
 Ἀτέρργοι, tribe. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261. Late III B.C. 536.
 Atianus, on a tile at Buthrotum. *AA* 3. 232.
 Ἀτινᾶνες, tribe and Ἀτινᾶν, ethnic. *SGDI* 1336. 317-297 B.C. 556.
 [Ἀ]τινᾶνες. *PAE* 1929, 126 (Dodona). IV B.C.
 Ἀτίοχος, Colpaeon. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C.
 Ἀτταλος. Dodwell 2. 505 (Ambracia). *Γαττίδας*. *SGDI* 1356.
 Αὐλών, πόλις, ἐπίνειον. Ptol. 3. 13. 5. 689.
 Αὐταριάται, ἔθνος Θεσπρωτικόν. St. Byz. s.v.
 Aphas, river in Molossis. Pliny *HN* 4. 4. 707.
 Ἀφείδαντες, μοῖρα Μολοσσῶν. St. Byz. s.v.
 Ἀφροδείτα, goddess. Cyriacus no. 38 (Arta).
 Ἀφροδισία. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
 Ἀφροδίσιον, temple. *AA* 1. 196 (Vajžë). R.E.
 Ἀφροδίσιος. De Franciscis 280 (Buthrotum).
 Ἀφροδίτα, goddess. *AA* 2. 153 (Phoenice). III B.C.
 — — *PAE* 1952, 357 (Kamarina) c. 200-150 B.C. 655.
 — — *SGDI* 1372 (Dodona).
 — — Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta).
 Ἀφροδίτα Πάνδαμος, goddess. *AA* 1. 195 (Vajžë) II B.C.
 Ἀφροδίτη, goddess. *AA* 3. 223 (Buthrotum) A.D. II.
 Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνέας, temple of, at Ambracia. D.H. 1. 50. 413.
 Ἀχέλως, river. *Iliad* 21. 194 and 24. 616, only in speeches of Achilles.
 Ἀχέρων, river. *Odyssey* 10. 513.
 Ἀχιλλεύς, ? Molossian. Plu. *Pyrrh.* 2. 6. Late III B.C.
 Ἀῶς, river. For variants with references 699.
 Βάχχ[ιος?], Molossian. *SGDI* 1337. c. 349-331 B.C. 536.
 βαθάρα· πυρλός, Ἀθαμᾶνες. Hsch.
 Βάλακρος, friend of Pyrrhus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 9.
 βαρδῆν, to rape a woman. Ambraciot word. Hsch. s.v.
 Βαριανός. *AA* 1. 197 (Ploçë) c. A.D. 200.
 Βατῶν. *SGDI* 1359.
 Βατίαι, town in Cassopaea. Str. C 324. 446. — *SGDI* 1337. 272-260 B.C. 536.
 Βερενικεύς, ethnic. St. Byz. s. *Berenike*.
 Βερενίκη, town. St. Byz. s.v. 578.
 [Βε]ρενίκη, Ἡπειρώτις. *Hesperia* 1954, 270. 592 n. 4.
 Beroa, of Molossian royal family, wife of Glaucias, king of the Taulantii. Justin 17. 3.
 Βερονίκη. Cyriacus p. 124, quoted in *Ep. Chron.* 1926, 116 (Panayia monastery near Phidhokastro). R.E.
 Βίος, Ambraciot. Cyriacus no. 38 (Arta).
 Βλαστός. Leake 4 no. 161 (Nicopolis). R.E.
 Βοιάκος, probably erroneous for Βοῖσκος. Dodwell 2. 504 (Dodona).
 Βόιον, Mt. See Ποῖον, Str. 7 fr. 6. 459.
 Βοῖσκος. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 247 (Dodona). IV B.C.
 — Messanean. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C. 599.
 — *AA* 3. 120 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
 — Talacanian. *SGDI* 1349. Late III-early II B.C.
 — Opouan. Ibid.
 — *SGDI* 1359.
 — mercenary soldier. *IG* ii. 2. 963. 58. c. 300 B.C. 563.
 Βόλουρος, πόλις Θεσπρωτίας. St. Byz. s.v.
 Βουθρώτιοι, restored in *AA* 3. 209 (Buthrotum) c. A.D. 200.
 Βουθρωτός πόλις. *FGrH* 1 (Hecataeus) F 106. Late VI B.C. 452.
 Βούνιμαι, place. *SGDI* 1339. Early II B.C. 649.
 — founded by Odysseus. St. Byz. s. Βούνειμα and s. Τραμπύα where the reading is Βουνίμων. 708.
 βοὺς ὁ Μολοσσῶν. Suidas s.v. referring to the cutting up of an ox in solemnization of a pact.
 Βούχερα, town. D. 7. 32 and Harp. s.v.
 Βουχέτιον, variant of above. Str. C 324. 446.

- Βουχέτιος*, ethnic. *Arch. Delt.* 4. 121 = *IG* ix. 1². 121 (Kekhopoula in Acarnania). III B.C.
 — *IG* ix. 1². 512 (Palaerus). III B.C. 653.
Βουχέτιος, Arvanitopoulos, *Thess. Mnem.* 320.
 — Callimachus fr. 509, ed. Pfeiffer.
Βούχετος, mythical founder of Buchetium. *FGrH* 135 (Mnaseas) F 19.
Βρυάνιον, πόλις *Θεσπρωτίας*. St. Byz. s.v.
Βρυάνιος, ethnic. Ibid.
Βυλλιακή, restored in Str. 7. 5. 8 fin. and *FGrH* 1 (Hecataeus) F 104. 471.
Βυλλιδεύς, ethnic of town by the sea. St. Byz. s. *Byllis*.
Βυλλίονες, tribe. *IG* v. 1. 28.
Βυλλίς, town. *BCH* 1921, iv. 37. 220–189 B.C. 656.
Βυλλίων, ethnic of tribe. *Eph. Arch.* 1925–6, 26.
Byllid[enses]. Patsch 109 (Gradishtë) = *CIL* 3. 600.
Caecilius. *AA* 3. 221 (Buthrotum). R.E.
Caecilius Epirota. Suet. *Gram.* 16.
Castra Pyrrhi, in Triphyllia. Livy 32. 13. 2.
Cattedius. *BUST* 1961, 1. 107 (Byllis).
Clodius. *AA* 3. 223 (Buthrotum). A.D. II.
Cocceius, C. *BMC* 97 (Buthrotum).
Γάλαιθος. *SGDI* 1351.
Γάλλιος, Cassopaean. Hic p. 653 (Demetrius). c. 300 B.C.
Γαμίλιος, month. *SGDI* 1339. Early II B.C. 649.
Γάργαρα, πόλις *Ἡπείρου*. St. Byz. s.v.
Γείτων. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 49 (Voutonosi) c. 250 B.C.
Γέλων, *SGDI* 1346, c. 343–331 B.C. 536.
 — *Ep. Chron.* 1935. 261 (Radotovi). Late III B.C.
 — *SGDI* 1357.
 — Plu. *Pyrrh.* 5. Late III B.C.
Γεννάδας. Hic 530. 370–368 B.C.
Γενοαῖοι or *Γενταῖοι*, tribe. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370–368 B.C. 525f.
 — Molossian tribe. *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 14. 702.
Γενόας, mythical ancestor of the Genoaci. *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 14. 702.
Γενναῖος, ethnic. *SGDI* 1367.
Γένιος, son of Neoptolemus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 2, emended from genitive form of name. *Arch. Delt.* 1963, 2. 153 (Gitana). Early III B.C.
 — Cassopaean. *IG* iv². 95. II. 23 f. c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
Γίθανα. *BCH* 1893. 633 (Arta).
Gitana or *Gitanae*, town. Livy 42. 38. 1. 626.
Γλανκέτας. *IG* ii. 3. 2898 (Athens).
Γλανκίας. *AA* 3. 120 (Buthrotum) III–II B.C.
 — Hic 734 (Navaricë).
Γλαῦκον, woman's name. *IG* ii. 3. 2897 (Athens).
 ?*Γλαῦκος*. *AME* 142 c. 232–168 B.C.
Γλυκερά. *CIG* 1811b (Nicopolis). R.E.
Γλυκὺς Λιμήν. Str. C 324. 446.
Gnome. *AA* 3. 217 (Buthrotum). R.E.
Γοργίας, Cyriacus no. 29 (Arta).
 — Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta).
 — perhaps of Epirus. *BCH* 1921, iv. 34. 220–189 B.C. 656.
Graecinus *BMC* 97 (Buthrotum).
Γραικοί, tribe. Arist. *Meteor.* 1. 14. 252 A.
Γύρας, Argive. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). IV B.C. 540.
δαλιοχεῖν, τὸ παιδὶ συνεῖναι and *μοιχεύειν*, at Ambracia. Hsch. s.v.
Δάμας. *AA* 3. 118 (Buthrotum).
Δαμίοι (dative). *Hermes* 26. 149 (Arta); cf. Fraser and Rönne 113 and 164.
 — Ser. Byz. 362 (Arta Museum).
Δάμυς. *Hermes* 26. 149 (Arta).
 — Ser. Byz. 362 (Arta Museum).
 — On a coin of Ambracia. 725.
Δαμίων. *BMC* 96 (Ambracia). 238–168 B.C.
Δαμναγόρα. *SGDI* 1359.
Δαμοίτας, Amymnian. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3 (Dodona). 370–368 B.C. 525f.
 — Charadran. *SGDI* 1352.
Δαμόκριτος. *IG* ix. 1². Fl 39 (Aetolian *hieronymemon*) 215 B.C.
Δαμόνικος. Patsch 119 (Klos).
 [Δ]αμοξένα. *SGDI* 1356.
Δαμοσθένης. *SGDI* 1360.
Δαμόφιλος. *Hermes* 26. 149 (Arta); cf. Fraser and Rönne 113.
Δανάη, daughter of Neoptolemus in *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 2, emended by Schwartz to Χαῖνος, q.v.
Danae. *AA* 3. 217 (Buthrotum). R.E.
δάξα for *θάλασσα* in Epirus. Hsch. s.v.
Δάτνιος, month. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3 (Dodona). 370–368 B.C. 525f.
Δαυλία, place. *BCH* 1921, iv. 31. 220–189 B.C. 656.
Δεινα — *BCH* 1921, iv. 51 (Cassope). 220–189 B.C. 656.
Δείωρχος, friend of Pyrrhus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 9.
Δείνων, Ethnestan. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3 (Dodona). 370–368 B.C. 525f.

- Δείων*, Thesprotian. *SGDI* 1351.
 — ? European. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 133 (Aetolia).
 End of III B.C. 653.
Δειπάτυρος, god of the Tymphaei. *Hsch.*
 s.v. 681.
Δεξάμεναι, part of Ambracia. *St. Byz.* s.v.
Δεξαμεναῖοι, ethnic. *Arist.*, *Pol. Ambr.*
Δεξάμενος, mythical ancestor of the above.
Δέξανδρος. *SGDI* 1338. Late III B.C. 649.
 — Colpaean. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C.
 — *IG* ii. 3. 2898 (Athens).
 — *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 48 (Voutonosi). Early
 III B.C.
 — *AME* 156 on Ep. League coins c. 232–
 168 B.C.
Δέξαιοι, Chaonian tribe, next to the En-
 cheleae. *FGrH* 1 (Hecataeus) F 103. 451.
Δεξιίλαος. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona).
 164 B.C.
 — *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). c. 200 B.C.
Derdas, general of the Ep. League in
 205 B.C. *Livy* 29. 12. 11. 612.
Δέρδα[s]. *AME* 156 on Ep. League coins
 c. 232–168 B.C.
Δέρκας, proposed by Evangelides. *Hic* 529.
 370–368 B.C.
 — *SGDI* 1336. 317–297 B.C. 560.
 — Talaeanian. *SGDI* 1349. Late III–early
 II B.C.
Δηιδάμεια, of the Molossian royal family.
 594.
Δημήτριος, of Ilium? in Epirus. *CIG* 182
 (Grammata).
Δημόφιλος. *Ser. Byz.* 362 (Arta Museum).
Δίαῖτοι, tribe? in Epirus. *PAE* 1932, 52
 no. 1 (Dodona). v B.C.
Diana Tenacra. *CIL* III Suppl. 2. 12298.
 693.
Diana, goddess. *BCH* 16. 174 (Liboni). 74.
Δίκαιος. *Arch. Delt.* 1926, 70 (Arta). III–
 II B.C.
Δι[καρ]ά[της], Ambraciote. *IG* ix. 1². 11. 19
 (Aetolia). c. 272–245 B.C.
Διόδωρος. *Leake* 4 no. 170 (Arta). 1 B.C.
Διόλοτος Eleutheron Bema 14. 12. 61 and
Arch. Delt. 17 (1961–2). 2. 223 (Mikhal-
 itsi). IV B.C.
Διοκλῆς. *Hic* 735 (Byllis).
Διονύσιος. *Leake* 4 no. 170 (Arta).
 — *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 237 (Delvinë). III B.C.
Διόνυσος, god. *Patsch* 116 (Byllis).
Διδαστοτος, of Pandosia. *IG* iv². 95. ii. 23 f.
 c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
Διόσκοροι, gods. *Cyriacus* no. 140 (Gram-
 mata), and *Le Bas* 1098 f.
[Δ]ιώνη, on a tile near Goumani. *Eph. Arch.*
 1952, 13. R.E. 667.
- Διώνη*, goddess. *Iliad* 5. 370, mother of
 Aphrodite.
 — *SGDI* 1351 et saepe.
 — *PAE* 1952, 304 no. 15 (Dodona) et saepe.
Διώνω (sic in dative), god. *Patsch* 116
 (Byllis).
Δοεσσός, ethnic. *SGDI* 1350.
Δόκιμος, Omphalan. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 245.
 Late IV B.C. 564.
 — *Ὀρειστός Μολοσσός*. *Ep. Chron.* 1935,
 248. c. 200 B.C.
 — Larisaean Thesprotian. *SGDI* 1351.
 — *Ταλάωνος*, Talaonian. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 127
 (Aetolia). Late III B.C. 653.
 — Torydacan. *SGDI* 1339. Early II B.C.
 649.
 — *SGDI* 1349. Late III–early II B.C.
Δόρυφος, Chaonian. *IG* iv². 95. ii. 23 f.
 360–355 B.C. 518.
Δράϊπος, Dodonaean. *SGDI* 1351.
δράμικες for *άρτοι* in Athamania. *Athen.*
 3. 114 b.
Δριμάκου. *AA* 1. 196 (Vajžë). R.E.
Δροάτας, Celaethan. *Hic* 530. 370–368 B.C.
Δρόνις, early name of area round Am-
 bracia. *Dion. Calliph.* 56.
Δρύς, town. *FGrH* 115 (Theopompus)
 F 161. 454.
Δώδων, variant of Dodone. *S. Tr.* 172 and
 frs. 455, 460, and 461.
 — *BCH* 1921, iv. 31. 656.
Δώδων, ποταμός Ἡπείρου. *St. Byz.* s.
Dodone.
Δωδωναῖος, epithet of Zeus. *Iliad* 16. 233.
 — epithet of Zeus. *CIG* 1822 (? from
 Nicopolis) A.D. II.
 — ethnic. *Dodwell* 2. 504 (Dodona).
 — — *PAE* 1955, 171 (Dodona).
Δωδώνη, place. *Iliad* 2. 750.
Δωνεττίνοι, Molossian tribe. *FGrH* 265
 (Rhianus) F 15 and F 22. 522.
Δωριεύς, son of Neoptolemus. *FGrH* 703
 (Proxenus) F 2.
Δωπλάος. *PAE* 1955, 171 (Dodona). Early
 III B.C.
- Ἐγχηστός*, ethnic. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 134
 (Aetolia). End of III B.C. 653. The same
 as *Υγχεστός*, because the personal name
 is the same in this inscription and in
SGDI 1349 (see *Ἀνδρόνικος*).
Ἐθετών, see *Ζεὺς Ἐθετών*.
Ἐθνέοται, tribe. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3 (Do-
 dona). 370–368 B.C. 525 f.
 — *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 12 'tribe of
 Thessaly' but descended from Neo-
 ptolemus. 550.

- 'Εθνέστης, son of Neoptolemus. *Ibid.* 550.
— ethnic. *Hic* 530. 370–368 B.C.
Ειδύμας or *Ειδύμματος*. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3.
370–368 B.C. 525 f.
'Εκατόμπεδον, town. Ptolemy 3. 14. 687.
'Εκτωρ. *Hic* 530. 370–368 B.C.
— Omphalan Chimolian. *SGDI* 1347.
c. 330–310 B.C.
'Ελαίαις, district. Thuc. 1. 46. 4. 446.
'Ελαιούς, town. Ptolemy 3. 14. 687.
'Ελάτεια or 'Ελάτρια with ethnic 'Ελατριεύς
[D.] 7. 32; St. Byz. s. *Elateia*.
'Ελέα, town and harbour. *PAE* 1955, 171
no. 13 (Dodona). Early III B.C. 547 n. 4.
— — Restored for *ΕΛΕΔ* in Ps-Scylax 30.
513 and 548.
'Ελεαίος, ethnic in Thesprotia. *SGDI* 1351.
547.
'Ελενος, name in Molossian royal family,
son of Alcetas II.
'Ελίκρανον, town. *Plb.* 2. 6. 2. 596.
'Ελίνα, town. *SGDI* 1561 c (Dodona). 678.
'Ελινία, territory of the Elini. *FGrH* 265
(Rhianus) F 17.
'Ελινοί, Thesprotian tribe. *FGrH* 265
(Rhianus) F 17. 677.
'Ελλα . . . Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Δωδώνῃ. *Hsch.*
'Ελλάς, by Dodona. *Arist. Meteor.* 1. 14.
352a. 370 f.
'Ελλας. *Ser. Byz.* 362 (Arta Museum).
'Ελλοί, as the reading in *Iliad* 16. 234
according to Str. C 328. 372.
'Ελλοί, 'Ελληνες οἱ ἐν Δωδώνῃ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς.
Hsch. 372.
'Ελλοπίη, district. *Hesiod, Eoas* fr. 97.
'Ελπίς. *AA* 3. 123 (Buthrotum). R.E.
'Επανδρος. *Peranthes* 152; *hic* 743 (Arta
Museum). III B.C.
'Επαφρά. *CIG* 1820 (Nicopolis). R.E.
'Επαφρόδειτος. *CIG* 1811 (Nicopolis). R.E.
'Επιμένης. *Hermes* 26. 148 (Arta).
'Επίνικος. *IG* iv². 95, n. 23 f. c. 360–355 B.C.
of Zmaratha? in Epirus. 518.
'Επουία, early name of Ambracia. St. Byz.
s.v.
P. Herennius, P. F. *BUST* 15 (1961), 1.
133 f. (Kaljivuc). 697.
P. Herennius, P. M. *Le Bas* no. 1097
(Panormus = Oricum). 697.
'Ερίβοια, town of Parthyaci; see *Παρθαῖος*
below.
'Ερμαῖος, month at Aeginium. *IG* ix. 2. 324.
'Ερμῆς, god. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 234 (Sara-
ginishtë). III–II B.C. 741.
— — *Hic* 741 (Saraginishtë).
[*Ερμ*]ῶνα. *SGDI* 1360.
Hermogenes. *AA* 3. 219 (Buthrotum). R.E.
'Ερμοκράτης, of Ilium? in Epirus. *CIG* 182
(Grammata).
'Ερμων. *Peranthes* 152 and *hic* 743, *bis*
(Arta Museum). III B.C.
— *SGDI* 1360.
'Ερχέλαος, Dodonaean. *Ep. Chron.* 1935,
248 (Dodona). IV B.C. 540.
'Εστία, goddess. *Hic* 743 (Arta).
Heterica. *BUST* 1961, 1. 107 (Byllis).
Ευαλκος, Ambraciote. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 127
(Aetolia). Late III B.C.
Εύβοια, place. St. Byz. s.v.
Εύδαμος. *SGDI* 1357.
Ευδικος, Ambraciote. *IG* ix. 1². 17. 95
(Aetolia) c. 262 B.C.
Ευήγορος, friend of Pyrrhus. *FGrH* 703
(Proxenus) F 9.
Ευθυμίδας. *Flacelière*, II 95 a. c. 250 B.C.
593.
Ευίπη, queen of Thesprotia in the *Nastoi*
(OCT, p. 142).
Ευκλείδας. *AA* 1. 193 (Selenicë). II–I B.C.
— *SGDI* 1356.
Ευμήδης. *Hic* 743 (Arta).
Εύνοστιδας, Thesprotian. *IG* ix. 1². 32. 46
(Aetolia). c. 223/2 B.C. 653.
Εύνους. *Leake* 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
Εύπλε — *SGDI* 1367.
Euroea, town. *Procop. De Aed.* 4. 1 fin.
Ευρύλοχος, son of Neoptolemus. *FGrH* 703
(Proxenus) F 2. Name in *Eph. Arch.* 1951,
47 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
Ευρύμεναι, town and *Ευρυμεναῖος*, ethnic.
Eph. Arch. 1956, 3. c. 370–368 B.C. 525.
Ευρύμματος, 'Ορειστὸς Μολοσσός. *Ep. Chron.*
1935, 248 (Dodona). c. 200 B.C.
Ευρύνους, Talacanian, *SGDI* 1349. Late III–
early II B.C.
— *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona) c. 200
B.C.
Ευρώπιος ethnic. *SGDI* 1339. Early II B.C.
— — Restored for - - ρωπιος in *SGDI* 1346;
also in *IG* ix. 1². 31. 133 (Aetolia). End
of III B.C. 536 and 653.
Εύρωπος, place. Str. 7. 7. 9 C 327; shown
on Ptolemy's map.
Εύστρατος, Celacthan. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3.
370–368 B.C. 526.
Euterpe. *AA* 3. 223 (Buthrotum). A.D. II.
Ευτύχης. *CIG* 1815 (Nicopolis). R.E.
Ευτυχς. *Cyriacus* no. 39 (Nicopolis). R.E.
— *IG* ii. 3. 2899 (Athens).
Ευφράντα. *Patsch* 55 (Shkozë).
Ευφράνωρ. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 236 (Phoenice).
R.E.
— *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 237 (Phoenice) III–II
B.C.

- Εὐφράνωρ*. Prochthean. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
 — *AA* 1. 193 (Mesopotam). I B.C.
Εὐφράσνωρ, Prochthean. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
Εὐφροσύνα. *CIG* 1813 (Nicopolis). R.E.
Εὐχάρων, Thesprotian. *IG* ix. 1². 32. 46 (Aetolia). c. 223/2 B.C. 653.
Εὐχειρος. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 47 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
Εὐχων, perhaps Hoplaenan or Opouan. *SGDI* 1362.
Ἐφύρα. Th. 1. 46. 4. 446.
Ἐφύρη. St. Byz. s.v., in Thesprotia.
 — *Iliad* 2. 659.
Ἐφύριος, ethnic. St. Byz. *ibid.*
Ἐφυρος, mythical ancestor. St. Byz. *ibid.*
Ἐχέλαος, Paroran. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C.
Ἐχεμένης, ? of Epirus. *IG* iv. 1². 95. 36 (Thearodokos of Epidauros at Therminea). 360-355 B.C.
Ἐχενίκα. *SGDI* 1359.
 — Cassopaeian. *IG* ix. 1. 489 (Thyreum). II B.C.
Ἐχένικος. *Arch. Dell.* 1919, 125 (Zioli near Tirna). IV B.C.
ζάκλον, plant growing in the Achelous. Ps-Plu. *Fluv.* 22.
Ζεύς. Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta).
 — *JHS* 66 (1946) 112 (Gardhiki).
 — Hic 611 (Arta).
Zeus Acracus, temple of, in Athamania. Livy 38. 1.
Ζεύς Ἀρείος. Plu. *Pyrrh.* 5, at Passaron. 576.
Ζεύς Δωδωναῖος. *Iliad* 16. 233.
 — *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 8.
 — *CIG* 1822 (? from Nicopolis). A.D. II.
Ζεύς Ἐθετῶν on a coin of Argos. Hic 550.
Ζεύς Κάσσιος, De Franciscis 276 (Buthrotum). A.D. 1. 394.
Ζεύς Νάιος and *Νάος*. *Eph. Arch.* 1953-4, 1. 100 (Dodona). c. 350-325 B.C. et saepe. 171 and 667.
 (Zeus) Juppiter Nicaeus. Livy 43. 21. 7.
Ζεύς Πελασγικός. *Iliad* 16. 233.
Ζεύς Σωτήρ. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C. 655.
 — *PAE* 1953, 170 (Kamarina). After 167 B.C. 688.
 — probably; Cyriacus no. 38 (Arta).
Ζεύς Τμάριος, at Dodona. Hsch. s. *Tmarios*.
 (Zeus) Juppiter Hyphon, chthonian god at Argos Ippatum. Ampel. *Lib. mem.* 8.
Ζεύς Χαόνιος. Euphorion in St. Byz. s. *Chaonia*. 679.
Ζήνων. Cyriacus no. 29 (Arta).
Ζυμάρθα, place, ? in Epirus. *IG* iv². 95. π. 23 f. c. 360-355 B.C. 518.
Ζώϊλος. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261 (Radotovi). Late III B.C.
Ζώνυρος. *AA* 3. 120 (Buthrotum), bis. III-II B.C.
Ζωσίμη. Hic 735 (Byllis).
 Zosimus. *AA* 3. 223 (Buthrotum) A.D. II.
 — Hic 734 (Kastania).
 [Ἡ]δέωνος see [Ἰ]δέωνος.
Ἡδωνία. Ps-Scylax 26, variant reading. 513 n. 1.
Ἡδ[ω]νεσάτης, ethnic. Hic 737 (Nounesation).
Ἡιονεύς, member of Molossian royal family, son of Alceas 11.
Ἡπίας [sic]. Hic 743 (Arta Museum).
 Heraclea, town in Athamania. Livy 38. 1. 7.
Ἡρακλείας. Hic 725 (Ambracia). 238-168 B.C.
Ἡρα[κ]λείδας. *SGDI* 1352.
Ἡράκλειτος. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta), bis. I B.C.
Ἡρακλέων. *AA* 1. 197 (Ploçë). c. A.D. 200.
Ἡρακλῆς, hero. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 234 (Saraginishtë). ? III-II B.C.
 Heracles Musagogus, worshipped at Ambracia. Eum. Rest. Schol. 7.
Ἡρινή, woman of Epirus. *IG* ii. 3. 2900 (Athens).
Ἡρόδωρος. Peranthes 152, reading *Πρόδωρος*; hic 743 (Arta Museum). III B.C.
Ἡουχία, woman of Epirus. *IG* 11. 3. 2901 (Athens).
Θάριος, ethnic. *AA* 3. 177 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C. 655.
Θάρυψ, or *Θαρύπας*. Th. 2. 80. 2. v B.C. 500.
 — *IG* iv². 95. π. 23 f. c. 360-355 B.C. 517.
Θέας. *BCH* 1921, iv. 56 (Thearodokos at Abantia). 220-187 B.C. 656.
 Theium, town in Athamania. Livy 38. 1. 6.
Θεόδοτος. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 234 (Saraginishtë). ? III-II B.C.
 — *AA* 2. 155 (Phoenice).
 — *SGDI* 1351.
 — *μάντις* to Pyrrhus. Plu. *Pyrrh.* 6. c. 200 B.C.
 — Plb. 27. 16. Early II B.C. 628.
 — Livy 45. 26. 7. Early II B.C.
Θεόδωρος, king of the Athamanians, jointly with Amynander. *BCH* 45. 41 f.
 — Athamanian, *SGDI* 1341. 654.
 — Friend of Pyrrhus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 9.

- Θεόδωρος, Argive. *IG* ix. 1². Fl. 45 (Aetolia). 202 B.C.
 — *PAE* 1952, 357 (Kamarina). c. 200–150 B.C. 655.
 Θεόπομπος, Ambraciote. *IG* ix. 1². 17. 42 (Aetolia). Early III B.C.
 Θέπτινος, place. *SGDI* 1334 (Dodona). 342–326 B.C. 535.
 Θερμινέα, place? in Epirus. *IG* iv. 1². 95. 36 (Epidaurus). c. 360–355 B.C.
 Θεσπρωτία, πόλις καὶ χώρα. St. Byz. s.v.
 Θεσπρωτίς, adjective and district. Pl. *Fr.* 60; Th. 1. 30. 3.
 Θεσπρωτοί, tribe and Θεσπρωτός ethnic. Flacelière, ii. 75 a. 593.
 — *Odyssey* 14. 315.
 Θεῦ[δοτος]. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261 (Radotovi). Early III B.C.
 Θεῦδοτος, Charadran. *SGDI* 1352.
 — *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 49 (Voutonosi). Mid-III B.C.
 Theudora, town in Athamania. Livy 38. 1. 7.
 Θευφάν[ης]. Hic 743 (Arta Museum). V B.C.
 Θεωνίς. *CIG* 1816 (Nicopolis). R.E.
 Theonica. *CIL* iii Suppl. 2. 12301 and *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 241.
 Θοῖνος, Omphalan. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370–368 B.C.
 Θρασύμαχος. *BCH* 1921, iv. 52 (Thearodokos at Chimara). 220–189 B.C. 656.
 Θράσων. Hic 611 (Arta). II–I B.C.
 Θρόνιον, town. Paus. 5. 22. 3. V B.C. 494.
 Θύαμις, river: Th. 1. 46. 4; Cape: on Ptolemy's map. 706.
 Θύαμον, Mt. in Agrais. Th. 3. 106. 3.
 Θώραξ. *BCH* 1921, iv. 52 (Thearodokos at Chimara). 220–189 B.C. 656.
 'Ιάσων. Hic 736 (Embesos).
 'Ιβερία, see Ἀρεμύς 'Ιβερία.
 'Ιγνατία. Hic 735 (Byllis).
 ['Ι]δέωνος, ethnic. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 129 (Aetolia). End of III B.C. Or ['Η]δέωνος if 'Ηδωνία is the correct form in Ps-Scylax 26. 653.
 'Ιδόμεναι, two peaks. Th. 3. 113. 3.
 'Ιδομένη, Mt. with two peaks. Th. 3. 112. 1.
 'Ιδωνία. Ps-Scylax 26. Or 'Ηδωνία. 512.
 'Ιερὸν ὄρος, Mt. near Ambracia. Dion. Calliph. 24. 140.
 'Ιερος, Dodonaean. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). 164 B.C.
 'Ιερῶ. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C.
 'Ιέρων. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261 (Radotovi). Doubtful restoration. Late III B.C.
 'Ιερῶ[ν]. *AME* 80 on coin of Cassopaeans. c. 215–195 B.C.
 Ilium, town on the Peutinger Table. 695 and 697 n. 2.
 'Ιλιεύς, ethnic of Ilium, perhaps the Ilium in Epirus. Patsch 92 fig. 67 (Grammata).
 'Ιλος Μερμερίδης. King of Ephyra in *Odyssey* 1. 259.
 'Ιμφεες, tribe of the Peraebi. *FGrH* 1 (Hecataeus) F 137. 462.
 'Ιναχος, river in Amphilochoia. Str. 6. 2. 4; *GGM* 2. 656. 447.
 'Ιππαρχος. *BUST* 1958, 2. 106 f. (Ploče). Before 200 B.C.
 — *CIG* 1812 (Nicopolis). R.E.
 — *CIG* 1813 (Nicopolis). R.E.
 'Ιππίας, Molossian. Plu. *Pyrrh.* 2. Late IV B.C.
 — Molossian. *BCH* 64–65. 83. Early III B.C.
 'Ιπποκράτης. *AME* 156, Ep. League. 232–168 B.C.
 Hirtuleius. *AA* 3. 124 (Buthrotum). R.E.
 'Ισις, goddess. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
 — — Peranthes 152; hic 743 (Arta Museum). III B.C.
 'Ισχωρῶν. Hic 725 (Ambracia). 238–168 B.C.
 'Ιτώνη, πόλις ἐν 'Ηπείρῳ (may be in Asia Minor). St. Byz. s.v.
 Iulia. *AA* 3. 218 (Buthrotum). R.E.
 — Hic 736 (Mouspina).
 'Ιουνία. *AA* 3. 70 (Buthrotum). A.D. 100–150.
 Iunia. *AA* 3. 214 (Buthrotum). A.D. 1.
 — Cyriacus no. 143 (Valona).
 'Ιούνιος, Cyriacus no. 143 (Valona).
 Καδμεία, of the Molossian royal family, e.g., d. of Alexander II.
 Κάδμος, river in part of Thesprotia. St. Byz. s. *Kammanía*.
 Καθραῖος, ethnic. *AA* 3. 119 (Buthrotum). III–II B.C. 655.
 Καλλίας. Ser. Byz. 236 (Paliorosforon). 743.
 — *IG* ii. 3. 2908 (Athens).
 Καλλιδική, queen of Thesprotia in the *Telegony* (OCT, p. 109).
 Καλλίδρομος. *BCH* 1893, 633 (Arta).
 Καλλικλῆς. *AA* 3. 126 (Buthrotum).
 Καλλικράτης. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
 — Ambraciote. *IG* ix. 1². 17. 95 (Aetolia). c. 262 B.C.
 Καλλίστρατος. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
 Κάλλων. Hic 611 (Arta) II–I B.C.
 Καλύρατος, ethnic. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 239 (Radotovi).

- Κάμανδρος*. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 47 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
- Καμμανία*, *μοῖρα Θεσπρωτίας*, later called Kestrinia. St. Byz. s.v. 677.
- Καμμανός*, ethnic. Ibid.
- Κάνωπος*, priest. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
- Καρεία*, district or place. *Ergon* 1958, 93 (Dodona). 522.
- Kāres*, tribe. *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 22. 522.
- Καρία*, district. Ps-Scylax 26. 512.
- Καρίωπος*, ethnic. *SGDI* 1339. Early II B.C. 649.
- in form *Καρωπός*. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C. 649.
- Καρμόνη*. Duchesne and Bayet 3. 3. 331 (Arta).
- [*Καπρ*]*τός*, ethnic. *SGDI* 1346. c. 343–331 B.C.
- Καρτα[τός]*, ethnic. *SGDI* 1367.
- Κάρτομος*, Onopernan. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370–368 B.C. 525 f.
- Καρτωνός*, ethnic. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C. 593.
- Καρωπός*, see *Καρίωπος*.
- Κασιανός*. *AA* 3. 209 (Buthrotum). A.D. II.
- Κασσανδρεύς*, ethnic. *BCH* 1893, 633 (Arta).
- Κασσώπα*, town. *IG* iv². 95. n. 23 f. c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
- *BCH* 1921, iv. 51. 220–189 B.C. 656.
- *IG* ix. 1. 489 (Thyrraeum). II B.C. 653.
- Κασσωπαῖος*, ethnic. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 264. Early II B.C. 650.
- *IG* vii. 188 (Aegosthena). Perhaps in 192 B.C.
- Κασσωπίος*, ethnic. St. Byz. s. *Kassope* and Ps-Scylax 28. 513.
- Κασσωπός*, ethnic. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 6. 701.
- Καστελλανός*. Cyriacus no. 143 (Valona).
- Κάστις*, district. Ps-Scylax 26. Perhaps related to *κάστον*. 512.
- κάστον* for *ξύλον* in Athamania. Hsch.
- Κατόμαχος*. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 47 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
- Κατόνικος*. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 47 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
- Κέλαιθα*, place. W.–F. 91.
- Κέλαιθοι*, tribe and *Κέλαιθος*, ethnic. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370–368 B.C. 525 f.
- tribe and *Κέλαιθος*, ethnic. *SGDI* 1355 et saepe.
- Thesprotian tribe. *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 18; also as *Κελαιθείς*. 702.
- Κελκαῖον*, place. Hic 739.
- Κελυδνός*, river in northern Epirus. Ptol. 3. 13. 2 and 4. 520.
- Κεμάρα*, town. *BCH* 1921, iv. 52; see Chimera. 656.
- Κεραῖνες*, tribe. *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 15. 701.
- Κεραῖνια*, Mts. Str. 7. 5. 8. 449.
- Κεσενείκα*. Hic 742 (Voutonosi).
- Κεστρία*. St. Byz. s. *Τροία* . . . τῆς *Χαονίας*. 677.
- Κεστρίνη*, district. Th. 1. 46. 4. 446.
- Κεστρινικός*. Hsch. s. *Kestrinikoi boes*.
- Κεστρίνοι*, tribe. *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 17. 677.
- Κεστρίνος*, son of Helenus, mythical ancestor of the Cestrini. Paus. 1. 11. 1 and St. Byz. s. *Kammania*.
- Κεστρινός*, ethnic. *Ep. Chron.* 1935 (Dodona). 164 B.C.
- Κέστρις*, district, restored in Ps-Scylax 26. 512.
- Κεφαλεῖνος*. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 236 (Phoenice). III B.C.
- Κεφαλίνος*, Torydaean. *SGDI* 1339. Early II B.C. 649.
- Κέφαλος*. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 239 (Kamarina); republished by Fraser and Rönne 115. III–II B.C.
- *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C.
- Plb. 27. 15. Early II B.C. 621.
- Colpaeon. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C.
- *SGDI* 1351.
- Peialan. *SGDI* 1352.
- in monogram, *AME* 140. Ep. League c. 232–168 B.C.
- *SGDI* 1362.
- Κιραῖος κόλπος*, bay off Buthrotum. *FGrH* 1 (Hecataeus) F 105. 451.
- Citius, Mt. Livy 43.21. 394.
- Κίχυρος*, place. Th. 1. 46. 4. 446.
- Κλαθιατός*, ethnic. *SGDI* 1338. Late III B.C. 649.
- *SGDI* 1339. Early II B.C. 649.
- Κλαυδία*. *AA* 1. 196 (Valona collection). R.E.
- Cyriacus p. 124, quoted in *Ep. Chron.* 1926, 116 (Panayia monastery near Phidhokastro). R.E.
- abbreviated, hic 736 (Nicopolis).
- Κλαύδιος*. Leake 4 no. 161 (Nicopolis). R.E.
- Cyriacus no. 27 (Arta). 712.
- Κλέαρχος*, reported to Heuzey, *Excursion* 113 (near Khaliki).
- *IG* ix. 1². 31. 129 (Aetolia). End of III B.C. 653.
- Ambraciote. *BMC* 96. 238–168 B.C. 725.

- Κλεόβουλος. *BCH* 1921, iv 31 (Thearodokos at Daulia). 220–189 B.C. 656.
 — *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 47 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
 [Κλ]εόμαχος, read by Franke, *AME* 292 (Salar).
 Κλεόμαχ[ος], Ambraciote. *BMC* 96. 238–168 B.C.
 Κλεομίδης (sic). *Hic* 611 (Arta). II–I B.C.
 Κλεοπάτρα. *CIG* 1811 b (Nicopolis). R.E.
 Κλεοπτόλεμος. *Eleutheron Bema* 14. 12. 61 (Mikhalitsi). IV B.C.
 — *Arch. Delt.* 17 (1961/62). 223. From Preveza district. 350–300 B.C.
 Κλέος. *Hermes* 26. 148 (Arta).
 Κλεοφάνη[s], Peucestan Chaonian. *IG* ix. 1². 2. 243 (Thyreum). III B.C. 653.
 Κλεώ. *Ser. Byz.* 362 (Arta). 743.
 [Κ]λεώμαχος, Atintanian. *SGDI* 1336 (Dodona). 313–295 B.C. 559.
 Κλέων. *Cyriacus* no. 28 (Arta).
 Κλιόι. *Fraser and Rönne* 114 and 169 (Arta) as variant of Κλέος, q.v.
 Κλυόμαχος Molossian. *SGDI* 338 = *IG* ix. 2. 416 (Pherae).
 Κουλωπός, ethnic. *SGDI* 1354.
 Κολπαίος, ethnic. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C.
 Κόμαρος, town. *Str.* 7. 7. 5. 450.
 κόρη in Molossian means a beautiful girl. *Suidas* s.v.; *Tz. ad Lyc. Alex.* 850.
 Κόριθος, Cestrinan. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). 164 B.C.
 Κορνηλία. *CIG* 1816 (Nicopolis). R.E.
 Κορνοφικιανός. *Leake* 4 no. 161 (Nicopolis). R.E.
 Κόρραγος. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 49 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
 Κορράδας, Ambraciote. *IG* iv². 95. II. 23 f. c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
 Κορώνεια, φρούριον τῆς Ἀμβρακίας. *St. Byz.* s.v.
 Κόσσοι, place. *SGDI* 1365. 394.
 Κότα, place. *SGDI* 1365.
 Κοτυλαίος, ethnic. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III–II B.C. 655.
 Κούρτιος. *CIG* 1828. R.E.
 Κραῖνυς, Phoenatan. *SGDI* 1351.
 Κράνεια, χωρίον Ἀμβρακιωτῶν. *St. Byz.* s.v. = *FGrH* 115 (Theopompus) F 229. 140 and 454.
 Κρανειάτης, ethnic. *Ibid.*
 Crania, Mt. in Ambraciote territory. *Pliny HN* 4. 1. 140.
 Κρανεῖος, month. *AA* 3. 207. Late III–early II B.C. 655.
 Κράνων, πόλις Ἀθαμανίας. *St. Byz.* s.v.
 Κράτεια τὸ γένος ἐκ Κελαίθας. *W.–F.* 91.
 Κρατεραίος. *SGDI* 1348. 240–232 B.C.
 Κράτηρ. *Leake* 4 no. 170 (Arta); *CIG* 1800 reads Κράτης. I B.C.
 Κράτιλλος. *Patsch* 119 (Klos).
 Κρήναι, place. *Th.* 106. 3.
 Κρησκεντίων. *AA* 3. 210 (Buthrotum). R.E.
 Κρίσων, general of Ep. League. *Inscr. Magn.* 32. c. 206 B.C. 651.
 Κρώπιος, ethnic. *Plb.* 27.16.4. II B.C.
 Κνεστός, ethnic. *Hic* 530. 370–368 B.C.
 — *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 251 (Radotovi). Late III B.C. 536.
 Κυνίσκος. *AA* 3. 120 (Buthrotum). III–II B.C.
 Κωκυτός, river. *Odysey* 10. 514.
 Laeta. *Hic* 736 (Mouspina).
 Λάγορος, *SGDI* 1359.
 Λάκμος and Λάκμων, Mt. *FGrH* 1 (Hecateus) F 102 c, and *Hdt.* 9. 93. 1. 451.
 Λακμώνιος, ethnic. *Tz. ad Lyc. Alex.* 1017.
 Λαμία. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 239 (Radotovi).
 Λάμιος, Ambraciote. *Hic* 725. 238–168 B.C.
 — Ambraciote. *Plb.* 18. 10. 10. c. 200 B.C.
 Probably same as above.
 Λαμίσκ[a]. *Fraser and Rönne* (Kamarina). III–II B.C.
 — *Hic* 738 (Tatarna).
 Λαμίσκος. *AA* 3. 119 (Buthrotum). III–II B.C.
 — *BCH* 1893, 633 (Arta).
 — *SGDI* 1353.
 — Argive. *IG* ix. 1². Fl. 44 (Actolia). 203 B.C.
 Λαοδίκη. *Patsch* 80 (Pylle near Oricum).
 Λαρινοὶ βόες, οἱ ἐν Ἑπείρῳ. *Suidas* s.v. with traditional explanations of the name.
 Λάρινος, mythical shepherd. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 8.
 Λαρισαῖος, ethnic in Thesprotia. *SGDI* 1351.
 Λάρρνος, ethnic. *Lepore* 99.
 Λαφύργας, Tripolitan. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370–368 B.C. 525 f.
 Λεάνδρος, Ambraciote. *Hic* 725. 238–168 B.C.
 [Λ]εοκράτης, Ambraciote. *BMC* 96 (Ambracia). 238–168 B.C.
 Λεοντεύς. *IG* iv². 95. II. 23 f. (Thearodokos at Amphilocheian Argos). c. 360–355. 518.
 — *BCH* 1921, iv. 49 (Thearodokos at Amphilocheian Argos). 220–189 B.C.
 Λεόντιος. *PAE* 1931, 90, inquirer at Dodona, may be from Epirus in view of his name. IV–III B.C.

- [Λεόν]τιος, restored by Evangelides in *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261 (Radotovi). Late III B.C. 536.
 Λεοντίς. *IG* ii. 3. 2903 (Athens).
 Λεοντίσκος. Hic 611 (Arta). II-I B.C.
 Λεύ[κ]αρος. *SGDI* 1340.
 Λεύκιος. *AA* 3. 210 (Buthrotum). R.E.
 Λέων. *AME* 156 on Ep. League coins 232-168 B.C.
 [Λε]ώνικος, restored in Patsch 40 (Ploçë).
 Λήνα. *Hermes* 26. 148 (Arta).
 — *Hermes* 26. 149 (Arta); cf. Fraser and Rönne 113 and 164.
 — *Ser. Byz.* 362 (Arta Museum).
 λητήρες· ἱεροὶ στεφανηφόροι, Ἀθαμᾶνες. Hsch.
 Liberales. Praschniker 199 (Klos).
 Λουπαρίων. Hic 735 (Byllis).
 Λούποι [sic]. Patsch 55 (Shkožë).
 Λοῦπος. Hic 736 (Mouspina).
 Lyncon Mts. = *Λυγκῶν ὄρη*. *Livy* 32. 13. 2.
 Luciscus. *CIL* iii Suppl. 2. 12302 (Liboni).
 Lycoleo. *AA* 3. 217 (Buthrotum). R.E.
 Λύκα. *AA* 1. 192 (near Santi Quaranta). R.E.
 Λυκίαςκος. *AA* 3. 206 (Buthrotum). 655.
 — De Franciscis 278 (Buthrotum).
 — De Franciscis 279 (Navaricë) refers; hic 734.
 — Cyriacus no. 35 (Arta).
 — Molossian. *IG* ix. 1². 29 line 23 (Aetolia). 210/209 B.C. 653.
 — *AME* 156 on Ep. League coins c. 232-168 B.C.
 — *IG* ii. 3. 2904 (Athens).
 Λυκίσσκος. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 233 (Tepelenë). III-II B.C. 738.
 Λυκκαόρτας, perhaps a Talacanian. *Ep. Chron.* 1935. 245. Late IV B.C. 564.
 Λυκομήδης, Ambraciote. *Delph.* 3. 5. 39, l. 27. Early IV B.C.
 Λύκος. *AA* 3. 206 (Buthrotum). c. 200 B.C. 655.
 — *PAE* 1952. 357 (Kamarina). c. 200-150 B.C. 655.
 — *AME* 77 on Cassopaeian coins c. 215-195 B.C.
 — Cyriacus no. 39 (Nicopolis).
 — Hic 611 (Arta). II-I B.C.
 — *AME* 142 on Ep. League coins c. 232-168 B.C.
 [Λυκ]ουμηδη[s], Ambraciote. On coin hic 719. 238-168 B.C.
 Λυκόφρων. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 234 (Sarginishtë). III-II B.C.
 — *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C. 655.
 — *AA* 3. 120 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
 — Colpacan. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C.
 — Dodwell 2. 505 (Dodona).
 — restored in Patsch 199 (Ploçë). c. A.D. 200.
 Λύκωπος. *PAE* 1952, 357 (Kamarina). c. 200-150 B.C. 655.
 Λυκώτας. *PAE* 1952, 357 (Kamarina). c. 200-150 B.C. 655.
 — *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). c. 200 B.C.
 — Hic 738 (Salar).
 — Hic 734 (Navaricë); De Franciscis refers to it.
 — De Franciscis 278 (Buthrotum).
 Λύος, Cellaethan. *SGDI* 1354.
 — Phoenatan. *SGDI* 1356. 654.
 Lupercus. *AA* 3. 223 (Buthrotum).
 Lupus. Hic 737 (Margariti).
 Λυσανίας. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 239 (Radotovi).
 — *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
 — *AA* 3. 120 (Buthrotum) *ter.* III-II B.C.
 — Omphalan. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 245 (Dodona). Late IV B.C. 564.
 — on tile at Dodona. *AME* 312.
 — Cariopan. *SGDI* 1339. Early II B.C. 649.
 — *SGDI* 1360.
 — *AME* on Ep. League coins c. 232-168 B.C.
 — Caropan. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C. 649.
 Λυσήν. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 238 (Suhë). A.D.
 — *AA* 3. 211 (Buthrotum).
 — *AA* 1. 193 (Selenicë). II-I B.C.
 — *AME* 137 on coins of Ep. League c. 2-168 B.C.
 Λυσί[as]. Hic 743 (Arta).
 — *IG* ii. 2. 967 line 8 (Athens). Soon after 191 B.C. 654.
 Λυσιδίκα. *AA* 2. 153 (Phoenice). III B.C.
 Λυσίμαχος. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 238 (Suhë). A.D.
 Λύσιππος, writer. *Schol. A.R.* 4. 1293.
 Λυσώ, Cotylaeian. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
 Λύσων. *AME* 160 on Ep. League coins c. 232-168 B.C.
 Λύων, European. *SGDI* 1339. Early II B.C. 649.
 Μαάλλιος. *AA* 3. 118 (Buthrotum).
 Maeandria, oppidum. *Pliny HN* 4. 4. 677. μάνν· πικρὸν forte μικρὸν, Ἀθαμᾶνες. Hsch.
 Μαρδόνες, tribe. *St. Byz.* s.v.
 — — Eupolis *ibid.*
 Μαρδύλας, mythical shepherd. *FGH* 703 (Proxenus) F 7. 509.
 Μαρδ(υ)ς. Hic 740 (Paramythia).
 Ματυδίκα. *SGDI* 1356.

- Μαχάρας*. Patsch 119 (Klos).
 — Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta).
 — Plb. 27. 15, father of Charops the elder. Mid-III B.C. 619.
 — Parthaeon, *SGDI* 1371.
Μεγακλῆς, friend of Pyrrhus. Plu. *Pyrrh.* 16.
Μέγαρα, town in Molossis. St. Byz. s.v.
 Not the same as the χωρίον Μακεδονικόν of that name in Plu. *Pyrrh.* 2.
Μεδεών, πόλις καὶ κώμη τῆς Ἠπείρου. St. Byz. s.v.; ? confused with Medeon in Acarnania.
Meleon, plain. Livy 43. 23. 631.
Μελιτιά. *AA* 3. 210 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
Μεμμία. *CIG* 1811 b (Nicopolis). R.E.
Μένανδρος. *AA* 2. 148, legible in fig. 80 (Phoenice).
 — Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
 — Tiaean. *SGDI* 1351.
Μενέδαμος, ?Peialan. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 245 (Dodona). Late IV B.C. 564.
 — Omphalan. *SGDI* 1334 (Dodona). 342–326 B.C. 535.
Μενέδημος, Cassopaeon. *IG* ix. 1. 489 (Thyrraeum). II B.C. 653.
 — *AME* *ἱερεὺς* at Dodona. 168–148 B.C. 643.
[Μ]ενέλαος. Omphalan Chimolian. *SGDI* 1347. c. 330–310 B.C.
 — Cestrinan. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). c. 200 B.C.
[Μ]ενελαος[s]. *SGDI* 1354.
Μένεμος. *AA* 1. 196 (Vajzë). R.E.
Μενεστᾶς. Plb. 21. 31. 3. Turn of III-II B.C. 624.
Μενεφύλευ, genitive. Talaeonian. *SGDI* 1349. Late III-early II B.C.
Μενεφύλος. *Hic* 530. 370–368 B.C.
Μενέχαρμος. *SGDI* 1356. Late III-early II B.C. 654.
Μέν[ιος], genitive. Amymnian. *SGDI* 1352.
Μενουτίας. *BCH* 1893, 633 (Arta).
Μένων. *BCH* 1921, iv. 43 (Thearodokos at Oricum). 220–189 B.C. 656.
Μερμερίδης, see Ἴλος, above.
Meropum, Mt. Livy 32. 5. 11. 394.
Μεσσαίνεος, ethnic. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C. 593.
Μητρόπολις, place in Amphilochia. Th. 3. 107. 1.
Μίλων, assassin of Deidameia. Polyaeon. 8. 52. 592.
Μνασαρέτα. *AA* 2. 148 (Phoenice).
Μνασιλαΐδας, Ambraciote. *IG* ix. 1². Fl. 42 (Aetolian *hieronymemon*). 210 B.C.
Μνάσιππος. Ser. Byz. 236 (Palicoroforon), bis; *hic* 743.
[Μν]άσων, Cetaethan. *SGDI* 1365.
Μολόσσειος, ? unusual form of ethnic or son of Molossus. *SGDI* 338 = *IG* ix. 2. 416 (Pherae).
Μολοσσία, territory. Pi. *N.* 7. 37.
Μολοσσικός, adjective. *FGrH* 1 (Hecataeus) F 107; Aristoph. *Thesm.* 413.
Μολοσσός, territory. Pi. *Paran* 6. 110.
Μολόσσιος, adjective. E. *Androm.* 1245.
Μολοσσόι, tribe. Hdt. 1. 146. 1; *FGrH* 1 (Hecataeus) F 108. VI B.C. 453.
Μολοσσός, eponymous ancestor, son of Neoptolemus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 2. — *SGDI* 1356.
Μύλακες, tribe. St. Byz. s.v. and Lyc. *Alex.* 1021.
Μυρτίλος, Molossian. Plu. *Pyrrh.* 5.
 — *AME* 156 on Ep. League coins c. 232–168 B.C.
Μύρτων. Plb. 32. 20. Early II B.C.
Musicus. *AA* 3. 217 (Buthrotum). R.E.
Μύστρων. *IG* iv². 95. II. 23 f. (Thearodokos at Acropolis). c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
 τὰ Νᾶα or τὰ Νάια. The games in honour of Zeus Naïus. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). 164 B.C. *IG* ii. 1318 (Athens). *IG* v. 2. 118. 21. Late III-early II B.C.
Ναῖος, epithet of Zeus. *SGDI* 1373 et saepe. 99.
Ναῖς. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 236 (Phoenice). III B.C.
Νάος, epithet of Zeus. *SGDI* 1351 et saepe.
Ναπαῖοι, tribe. St. Byz. s. *Nape*; Suidas s. *Napaei*.
Νέανδρος, Molossian. Plu. *Pyrrh.* 2. Late III B.C.
Νέβους, god. Peranthes 152; *hic* 743 (Arta Museum). III B.C.
Νεῖκανδρος. *Hic* 742 (Voutonosi).
 — Talaeonian. *SGDI* 1349. Late III-early II B.C.
 — Opouan. *Ibid.*
Νεικόδαμ[ος]. *Hic* 735 (Kamcisht).
Νεικοδίκαι. *Eph. Arch.* 1951. 49 (Voutonosi). Mid-III B.C.
Νεικόσστατος (sic). Patsch 80 (Pyllë).
Νεοπάτρα. *SGDI* 1347. c. 330–310 B.C.
Νεοπτόλεμος, name in Molossian royal family. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370–368 B.C.
 — Companion of Alexander the Great. *Arr. Anab.* 2. 27. 6 τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρῶν γένους.
 — Athamanian. *BCH* 7. 191.
 — after the fall of the Molossian monarchy. *Hesp.* 18. 87.
 — *AME* 82 in monogram on coins of the Cassopaeci. 168–148 B.C.

- Νεοπτόλεμος*, *IG* ii. 3. 2899 (Athens).
Νεοπτόλεμος [*sic*]. *Hic* 743 (Arta Museum).
Νέστωρ, ? Cyprian or European. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 133. 653.
Νεσταίοι, tribe. *A.R.* 4. 1211.
Νεστός. *Hic* 738 (Salar). III-II B.C.
Νέστωρ. *Polyaen.* 7. 52. III B.C. 592.
— Cyprian. *Plb.* 27. 16. 4. Early II B.C. 628.
Νηρέυς, *Hic* 742 (Leshnicë).
Νηρηΐς, name in Molossian royal family; d. of Alexander. *Syll.* 3 393 and 453. 592.
Νικάδας, Cartonan. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum), *bis*. Late III B.C. 593.
— *IG* ii. 3. 2903 (Athens).
Νικάδας and *Νικάδας* (*sic*). *AA* 3. 131 (Buthrotum). I B.C. On a vase perhaps imported from S. Italy.
— *IG* ii. 3. 2903 (Athens).
Νικαία, town. *Eph. Arch.* 1925-6, 26.
— woman. *τὸ γένος ἐξ Ἀργιθέας*. *W.-F.* 24.
Νικαῖος. *AA* 3. 131 (Buthrotum). I B.C. On a vase perhaps imported from S. Italy.
— *Arch. Delt.* 18 (1963). 2. 153 (Gitana). Early III B.C.
Νικάναρ (?), Omphalan Chimolian. *SGDI* 1347 c. 330-310 B.C.
Νικάνδρη, priestess at Dodona. *Hdt.* 2. 55. 3.
Νικάνδρος. *Eph. Arch.* 1910, 397 (Arta). II-I B.C.
— at Zmaratha. *IG* iv². 95. II. 23 f. c. 360-355 B.C. 518.
— Molossian. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 261 (Rado-tovi). Late III B.C.
— father of friend of Pyrrhus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 9. Late IV B.C.
— Thesprotian. *Delphes* 3. 2. 96 no. 83. c. 250 B.C. 653.
— Cyriacus no. 29 (Arta).
— *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C.
— *AA* 3. 206 (Buthrotum). c. 200 B.C.
Νικανός. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 233 (Salar). III-II B.C. 738.
— probable reading in Patsch 119; see 735 (Klos).
Νικάνωρ. *AA* 3. 120 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
— Chaonian. *Th.* 2. 80. 5. v B.C. 500.
— *IG* ix. 1². 31. 129 (Aetolia). End of III B.C. 653.
— *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 264. Early II B.C. 650.
— *Plb.* 32. 30. Early II B.C.
— Docstan. *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C.
Νικαρχος. *AA* 2. 148 (Phoenice).
— Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta).
— Cyriacus no. 34 (Arta).
— *Hic* 611 (Arta). II-I B.C.
Νικασίλας. *Arch. Delt.* 1926, 68 (Arta). III-II B.C.
Νικηφοῖς (*sic*). Patsch 43 (Ploçë).
Νικίας, father of friend of Pyrrhus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 9. Late III B.C.
— pro-Roman leader. *Plb.* 30. 13. 4. Early II B.C. 634.
Νικιν -. *Hic* 736 (Mouspina).
Νικόδαμος. *Hic* 741 (Leshnjë).
Νικοκράτης. *AA* 3. 121 (Buthrotum). II-I B.C.
Νικόλαος. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C. 593.
— *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 47 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
— Cariopan. *SGDI* 1339. Early II B.C.
Νικόμαχος. Talacanian. *SGDI* 1349. Late III-early II B.C.
— Tharian. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C. 655.
— *AA* 3. 120 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
— *AA* 2. 148 (Phoenice).
— *IG* ix. 1². 17. 63 (Aetolia). Early III B.C. 563.
Νικοπολείται, ethnic of Nicopolis. *AA* 3. 123 (Buthrotum).
Νικόπολις, woman's name. *Arch. Delt.* 1926, 69 (Arta). III-II B.C.
— founded by Augustus. *St. Byz.* s.v.
Νικοσθένης. *Hic* 611 (Arta). II-I B.C.
— *BCH* 1921, iv. 37 (Thearodokos at Byllis). 220-189 B.C. 656.
Nicostratus. *AA* 3. 221 (Buthrotum). R.E.
Νικόστρατος, *BCH* 1921, iv. 31 (Thearodokos at Daulia). 220-189 B.C. 656.
Νίσος, name in Molossian royal family, son of Alcetas II.
Νύμφαι, worship of. *AA* 3. 70 (Buthrotum). A.D. 100-150.
Nymphaeum, place. *Livy* 42. 36. 626.
Ξάνθιππος. Peranthes 152. *Hic* 743 (Arta Museum). III B.C.
Xanthus, river near Buthrotum. *V. Aen.* 3. 350. 412.
Ξεναρχος, Cassopaeian. *Hic* 653 (Demetrius). c. 300 B.C.
[Ξ]ένλας, Cassopaeian. *IG* ix. 1². 2. 243 (Thyrraeum). III B.C. 653.
Ξερόκλαος. *BCH* 1893, 632 (Arta).
Ξενοκλέας. *BCH* 1893, 632 (Arta).
Ξερόλαος. *IG* ix. 1. 533 (Thiriakision).
Ξενοτίμα. *AA* 2. 148 (Phoenice).
Ξένυς. *Hic* 734 (Poliçan).
— *SGDI* 1351.

- Ξένων. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 232 (Salar). 738.
— Prochthean. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum).
III-II B.C.
— *AME* 77 on coins of Cassopaei c. 215-195 B.C.
— Cassopacan. *Hic* 653. Late IV B.C.
- *Ογχησμος, place. *Str.* 7. 7. 5. 450.
Onchesmites, wind. *Cic. Ad Atticum Ep.* 7. 1. 13.
*Ολπαι, fort. *Th.* 3. 105. 1. 496.
*Ολπη, place. *Th.* 3. 107. 3.
*Ολυμπιάς, name in Molossian royal family; e.g. wife of Philip II of Macedon.
— *Hic* 736 (Nicopolis).
*Ομοστάκιος, ? Cyestan. *Hic* 530. 370-368 B.C.
*Ομφαλες, tribe and ethnic. *SGDI* 1334 et saepe. 535.
— — — *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370-368 B.C. 525 f.
*Ομφαλίτες, tribe. *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 19. 680.
*Ομφάλιον, town in Chaonia. *Ptol.* 3. 13. 5. 680.
[?On]asimus. *CIL* iii. Suppl. 2. 12303 (Liboni).
*Ονά[σιμ]ος. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 233 (Tepeleñ). III-II B.C.
*Ονάσιμος. *BUST* 1960, 1. 92 (Oricum). III-II B.C.
*Ονήσιμος. *CIG* 1828. R.E.
*Ονόπερνοι, tribe. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. 370-368 B.C. 525 f.
*Ονόπερνος, ethnic in Thesprotia. *SGDI* 1351. 539.
*Οξουχάρης, Thesprotian. *SGDI* 1351.
*Οπλαίνος, ethnic. *SGDI* 1359.
— restored in *SGDI* 1362.
*Οποῦος, ethnic. *SGDI* 1349. Late III-early II B.C.
— restored in *SGDI* 1362; cf. Epouia above.
*Οραικίδας. *Hic* 737 (Khosepsi).
*Ορείται, tribe. *GGM* 1. 239 *Dion. Call.* 45. 462.
*Ορέσται, Molossian tribe. *FGrH* 1 (Hecataeus) F 107. VI B.C. 460.
*Ορέστης, ethnic. *Hic* 530. 370-368 B.C.
Orestes. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 241 = *CIL* iii Suppl. 2. 12301 (Liboni).
*Ορέστης, *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). 164 B.C.
*Ορεσίδης Μολοσσός, ethnic. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). 164 B.C.
*Οριάτ[ας], ethnic. *SGDI* 1366. 540.
*Ο[?]ράτας ? ethnic. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). 655.
*Ορ[?]άτου ? ethnic. *AA* 3. 207 (Buthrotum); perhaps also *AA* 3. 206 line 6. 655.
Orinus. *Hic* 744 (Liboni).
*Ορλουλλος [sic]. *BCH* 1893, 632 (Arta).
*Οροῖδος, king of the Parauaei. *Th.* 2. 80. 6. V B.C. 500.
*Ορράτας, ethnic. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 IV B.C. 540.
Horreum, town in Molossis. *Livy* 45. 26. 540.
Otacinius. *AA* 3. 223 (Buthrotum). A.D. 11.
Ουεργιλία. *AA* 3. 210 (Buthrotum). R.E.
Ούινος. *IG* ii. 3. 2904 (Athens).
Ούλαμος, Prochthean. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
*Οφυλλίς, ethnic. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C. 593.
Palaeste, place. *Caesar BC* 3. 6. 3.
Palaestinus, adjective. *Lucan.* 5. 460.
Παμβῶντις, lake. *Eust. ad Od.* 3. 189.
Παμφίλα. *AA* 2. 148 (Phoenice).
— *Hic* 734 (Navaricē).
Πάμφιλος. *AA* 3. 119 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
Πάνδαρος, son of Neopotolemus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 2.
Πανδοσία, town. *IG* iv². 95. II. 23 f. c. 360-355 B.C. 518.
— πόλις Θεσπρωτίας. *St. Byz.* s.v.
Pandosia, lake. *Pliny, HN* 4. 1. 707.
Πανδοσιεύς, ethnic. *St. Byz.* s. *Pandosia*.
Πάνορμος, harbour. *Str.* 7. 5. 8 fin. 449.
Πανταλέων. *BCH* 1921, iv. 31 (Thearodokos at Dodona). 220-189 B.C. 656.
πάντες θεοί, altar dedicated to, at Dodona. *Arch. Anz.* 1894, 175-6.
Πανφίλη. *CIG* 1811 (Nicopolis). R.E.
Πάνφιλος. *Ibid.*
Παραλία, old name of Ambracia. *St. Byz.* s. *Ερουία*.
Παράλιος, ethnic. *Ibid.*
Παραναῖοι, tribe. *Th.* 2. 80. 7. V B.C. 500.
— Thesprotian tribe. *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 19. 600.
— tribe. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 6.
Παρθαῖος, ethnic. *SGDI* 1371; cf. 'Parthyaei' v.l. in *Ptol.* ed. C. Müller 1. i. 519. 680 n. 2.
Παρμενίσκος. *AA* 2. 154 (Phoenice). III B.C.
— *AA* 3. 207 (Buthrotum). Late II B.C. 655.
Παρμενίων, Prochthean. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum). III-II B.C.
Παροδίτας. *Hic* 737 (Nounesation).
Πάρωρος, ethnic, and Παρωραία district. *Hic* 528 and 447. 370-368 B.C.
— *SGDI* 1350. Early II B.C. 659.

- Πάρωρος*, *SGDI* 1355.
 — Str. 7. 7. 6, probably based on Hecataeus.
Πασάρων, harbour. *Anna Comn.* 6. 5.
Πασικράτα, title of Artemis. *Eph. Arch.* 1910, 397 (Arta). II-I B.C.
Πασίων. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
Πασάδρων, χωρίον τῆς Μολοττίδος. *Plu. Pyth.* 5. 576.
 — city. *Livy* 45. 26. 577.
 — perhaps on a tile. 190.
Πάτρων. *AA* 1. 193 (Selenicē). II-I B.C.
Patunius. *Hic* 734 (Kastania).
Παῦλα. *Hic* 736 (Mouspina).
Πασανίας, Ambraciote. *Dodwell* 2. 505.
 — Duchesne and Bayet 3. 3. 331 (Arta).
 — Omphalan Chimolian. *SGDI* 1347 (Dodona). c. 330–310 B.C.
 — general of the Ep. League in 198 B.C. *Livy* 32. 10. 618.
Πάσαν. *Hic* 611 (Arta). II-I B.C.
Πείαλες, tribe. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3. c. 370–368 B.C. 525 f.
Πείαλος, ethnic. *SGDI* 1352.
Πείανδρος, Eleaean Thesprotian. *SGDI* 1351. 547.
Πελασγικός, epithet of Zeus at Dodona. *Iliad* 16. 233.
Πελειάδες, name used by the Dodonacans for the priestesses. *Hdt.* 2. 57. 1.
Πειλίνιας. *AA* 2. 154 (Phoenice). III B.C.
Πελέων, Charadracan. *SGDI* 135.
πελία καὶ πέλιος, old woman and old man in Thesprotian and Molossian speech. *Str.* 7 fr. 2.
Περαιβοί. *Iliad* 2. 749.
 — Str. 9. 5. 12 C 434 μετανάσται; cf. C 61. 705.
Pergama, town. *V. Aen.* 3. 350. 412.
Περγάμοι, ethnic. *Ep. Chron.* 1935. 261 (Radotovi). Late III B.C. 536.
Pergamis, district. *Varro, RR* 2. 2. 1. 412.
Πέργαμος, son of Neoptolemus, mythical ancestor of Pergamii. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 2.
 — father of Prax. *Paus.* 1. 20. 8.
Περράνθης, Mt. above Ambracia. 143.
Πετόας, Thesprotian. *IG* iv². 95. II. 23 f. c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
Πευκεστός, ethnic in Chaonia. *IG* ix. 12. 2. 243.
Πηλούσιον, female slave of Pyrrhus. *Phot. Bibl.* 530.
Πηλωδής λιμήν, harbour. *Str.* 7. 7. 5 C 324. 450.
Piales, son of Neoptolemus. *Justin* 17. 3. 8; see *Πίελος*.
Πίελος, son of Neoptolemus. *FGrH* 703 (Proxenus) F 1, also called *Πηλείς*. 704.
 — son of Pyrrhus–Neoptolemus and Andromache. *Paus.* 1. 11. 1.
Πίνδος, Mt. *Hdt.* 7. 129.
Pincrus. *Hic* 734 (Kastania).
Pirepta. *Hic* 744 (Liboni).
Πίστι (dative). *Ser. Byz.* 362 (Arta Museum).
Plaetoria. *AA* 3. 217 (Buthrotum). R.E.
Πλαραιῖοι and *Πλάριοι*, tribe. *St. Byz.* s.v.
Πλάτωρ. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
Poetneum, castellum. In Athamania. *Livy* 39. 25. 17.
Pothine, *AA* 3. 223 (Buthrotum). A.D. II; *CIL* 581.
ποθέδωμα, proposal for a decree in Epirote speech. *SGDI* 1339 et saepe. 649.
Ποῖον, Mt.; see *Βόιον*. *Str.* 7. 7. 9 C 327. 459.
Πωινός, probably a personal name, not a place name (*hic* 519). *IG* iv². 95. II. 23 f. c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
[Πο]λιτ[άρχας]. *SGDI* 1342. Late III–early II B.C. 650.
Πολιτ[άρχου]. *SGDI* 1354.
Πολυν – *Hic* 743 (Arta).
Πολυνάνθης and *-ος*, river. *Lyc. Alex.* 1045; *St. Byz.* s. *Chaonia*. 523.
Πολύανον, Mt. *Str.* 7. 7. 9 C 327.
Πολυκλέας. *BCH* 1921, iv. 34. 220–189 B.C. 656.
Πολυκλῆς, Dodonaean. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). c. 200 B.C.
Πολυνείκης. *Patsch* 55 (Shkožë).
Πολυνίκης. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 48 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
Πολύξενος. *SGDI* 1352.
Πολυπ[είθης]. *Hoplacenan*. *SGDI* 1359.
Πολυσπέρχων, king of the Aethices and Companion of Alexander the Great. *Arr. An.* 3. 11. 9.
 — Tzetzes ad *Lyc. Alex.* 800. 685.
Πολύστρατος. *Cyriacus* no. 38 (Arta).
Πομπήια. *Cyriacus* no. 39 (Nicopolis).
Πομπήιος. *Cyriacus* no. 39 (Nicopolis).
Pomponius, T. *BMC* 97 (Buthrotum).
Πομπώνιος. *AA* 3. 210 (Buthrotum). R.E.
 — *AA* 1. 197 (Ploçë). c. A.D. 200.
Πονπώνιος. Leake 4 no. 161 (Nicopolis). R.E.
Πόπλιος. *Hic* 737 (Khosepsi).
Ποσειδάν, *Ποσειδών*, *Ποσιδάν*, and *Ποσειδάν*, god. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 233 (Tepeleñë); III–II B.C. 735.
 — *Hic* 735 (Poliçan).
 — *Hic* 741 (Saraginishtë).

- Ποσειδάν. *AA* 2. 148 (Phoenice).
 Ποσειδιον, cape. *Str.* 7. 7. 5 C 324. 450.
 Ποτάμω[v]. *Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Lit.*
 (London, 2nd series) 1847, 236 (Filip-
 pias). B.C. 708.
 Potens. Praschniker 199 (Klos).
 Πούβλιος. *AA* 1. 197 (Ploče). c. A.D. 200.
 Πούβλιος. Cyriacus no. 26 (Arta).
 Πραγισσός. *Hic* 741 (Leshnjë).
 Πράκτις, district. *Lyc. Alex.* 1045. 523.
 Πράξ, son of Neoptolemus, son of Pergamus.
 Paus. 3. 20. 8; cf. *St. Byz.* s. Πράκτιαι.
 Πρασαιβία. *AA* 3. 206 (Buthrotum).
 c. 200 B.C. 655.
 Πράσαιβοι, tribe. *Ibid.* 655.
 Πράσαιβοι, Thesprotian tribe. *St. Byz.* s.v.
 Πραυλλίς. *IG* ii. 3. 2905 (Athens).
 Πράυλος. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 238 (Suhë). A.D.
 Πρεμειγένεια. Patsch 80 (Pylle near
 Oricum).
 Primigenus. *AA* 3. 217 (Buthrotum). R.E.
 Προμένηα, priestess at Dodona. *Hdt.*
 2. 55. 3.
 Πρόξενος, historian of Pyrrhus. *FGH* 703.
 Προχθείος, ethnic. *AA* 3. 117 (Buthrotum).
 III-II B.C. 655.
 Πρώτος. *Arch. Delt.* 1926, 68 (Arta). III-
 II B.C.
 Πτελεόν, Mt. *Str.* 7 fr. 6. 445.
 Πτολέμαιος, name in Molossian royal
 family. *SGDI* 1348. 240-232 B.C. 592.
 Πυριφλεγέθων, river. *Odyssey* 10. 513.
 Pyrrheum, suburb of Ambracia. *Livy*
 38. 5. 2. 145.
 Πύρριχος, Ambraciote. *IG* iv. 12. 97. 37
 (Epidaurus). III B.C.
 Πύρρος, name in Molossian royal family.
 Πύστακος. *SGDI* 1580 (Dodona).
 'Ρόδιον. *IG* ii. 3. 2906 (Athens).
 'Ρόδιππος. *Ibid.*
 Rhodope. *Hic* 744 (Liboni).
 'Ρόβριος. *Hic* 737 (Khosepsi).
 Rubrius. *Hic* 735 (Byllis).
 'Ρουφεΐνα. *AA* 3. 70 (Buthrotum). A.D. 100-
 150.
 'Ρούφος. *BCH* 1893. 632 (Arta).
 — Cyriacus no. 27 (Arta). 712.
 — Cyriacus no. 39 at Nicopolis; copied by
 me at Ayia Trias near Riniassa. 712 n. 1.
 Σαβύλυνθος, guardian of Tharyps. *Th.*
 2. 80. 5. v B.C. 500.
 Σαβύρων. Onopernan Cartatan. *SGDI*
 1346; cf. 1367. c. 343-331 B.C. 536.
 Σάβων. Genoacan. *Eph. Arch.* 1956, 3.
 370-368 B.C. 525 f.
 Σα[μ]ύθα. *SGDI* 1351.
 Σάμων, Molossian. *Plu. Pyrrh.* 5. Late
 III B.C.
 Σάραπις, god. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
 Σαραπίων. *BMC* 96 on coins of Ambracia
 238-168 B.C.
 Σάσων, island. *Str.* C 281. 472.
 Σατέλης. *Hic* 718 on coin of Ambracia.
 238-168 B.C.
 Saturnina. *BUST* 1961, 1. 107 (Byllis).
 Σάτυρος. *PAE* 1952, 357 (Kamarina).
 c. 200-150 B.C. 655.
 — *PAE* 1955, 171 (Dodona). Early III B.C.
 — Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta).
 — Ambraciote. *IG* ix. 12. II. 19 (Aetolia).
 c. 272-260 or c. 245 B.C.
 Σαυφήα. Cyriacus no. 143 (Valona).
 Σάωτας. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late
 III B.C.
 Σέταμβος, Celaethan. *SGDI* 1355.
 Σε[μ]άκα. *AA* 1. 196 (Valona Collection).
 R.E.
 Σεμίας, Dodonaean. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248
 (Dodona). 164 B.C.
 Σέλευκος. Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta).
 Σελλήεις, river. *Iliad* 2. 659. 372.
 Σελλοί. *Iliad* 16. 234. 372.
 Sesundus. *BUST* 1961, 1. 107.
 Σιλανά. *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 12 (near Pende
 Ekklesies).
 Σιλανός, Ambraciote. *X. An.* 1. 7. 18.
 c. 400 B.C.
 — *BMC* 96 on coins of Ambracia. 238-
 168 B.C.
 — *Hic* 611 (Arta). II-I B.C.
 Σιλβανός. *CIG* 1816 (Nicopolis). R.E.
 Σίμακος. *Eph. Arch.* 1952, 12 (near Pende
 Ekklesies).
 — Thesprotian. *IG* iv2. 95. II. 23 f.
 (Thearodokos). c. 360-355 B.C. 518.
 — Thesprotian. *Syll.* 1076. 19 f. = *IG* iv. 12.
 99. End of III B.C. or later. 654.
 Σίμιας. *Hic* 739 (Kamarina).
 — Celaethan. *SGDI* 1359.
 — 'Ορεστός Μολοσσός. *Ep. Chron.* 1935,
 248 (Dodona). 164 B.C.
 Σιμμάς, father of Polyperchon, q.v. *Art.*
An. 3. 11. 9.
 Simoeis, river. *V. Aem.* 3. 302. 412.
 Σίμος, ? Larisacan or Larryan. *Ep. Chron.*
 1935, 245 (Dodona). Late IV B.C. 564.
 Σίμων. *Arch. Delt.* 1926, 69 (Arta). III-II B.C.
 Σέπας, Cassopaean. *IG* iv2. 95. II. 23 f.
 (Thearodokos at Cassope). c. 360-
 355 B.C. 518.
 [Σκ]οπαῖος. *SGDI* 1356. Late III-early II
 B.C.?

- Σκύθος. *PAE* 1955, 171 (Dodona).
 Σκύμνας. Hic 725 on coin of Ambracia. 238–168 B.C.
 Σόλων. *Eph. Arch.* 1910, 397 (Arta). II–I B.C.
 Σοφόκλεος. Cyriacus no. 38 (Arta).
 Στέφανος. *IG* ii. 3. 2907 (Athens).
 Στόμιος, Athamanian. *SGDI* 1341. 654.
 Σ[τ]ράτων, Polemarch at Ambracia. Cyriacus no. 29 (Arta).
 Στράτων 'Ορραίτας, *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 248 (Dodona). IV B.C. 540.
 — friend of Brutus. *App. BC* 4. 131.
 Συμφαία, district. *Plu. Pyrrh.* 6. 2.
 Συαίτας. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 47 (Voutonosi). Early III B.C.
 Σύβοτα, harbour on mainland. *Th.* 1. 50. 3.
 Σύβοτα, islands. *Th.* 1. 47. 1.
 Συβότιος, ethnic of islanders. *St. Byz. s. Sybota*.
 Συλίανες, Chaonian tribe. *FGrH* 265 (Rhianus) F 20. 701.
 Συμμαχίς. Hic 741 (Saraginishtë).
 Συνφέρουσα. *Eph. Arch.* 1951, 37 (Mitikas). R.E.
 Σύριον. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 236 = *AA* 2. 155 (Phoenice). III B.C.
 Ξχίδας, of Artichia. *IG* iv². 95. II. 23 f. (Thearodokos). c. 360–355 B.C. 518.
 Ξώδαμος. *AME* 78 on coins of the Cassopaei c. 215–195 B.C.
 Ξωκλείων. Hic 725 on coins of Ambracia. 238–168 B.C.
 Ξωκράτης. Cyriacus no. 33 (Arta).
 — *BUST* 1958, 2. 106 f. (Ploçë); before 200 B.C.
 — Ambraciote. *SGDI* 1564.
 — *AME* 79 on coins of the Cassopaei c. 215–195 B.C.
 Ξωκρατίς, of Buchetium. Arvanitopoulos, *Thess. Mnem.* 320.
 Ξώπατ[ρος]. *AA* 3. 212 (Buthrotum). II B.C.
 — Cyriacus no. 37 (Arta).
 Ξώσανδρος. *PAE* 1952, 357 (Kamarina). c. 200–150 B.C. 655.
 — Cyriacus no. 29 (Arta).
 — *Hermes* 26. 148 (Arta).
 — *IG* ix. 1². 17. 63 (Aetolia). c. 262 B.C. 563.
 Ξώσαν[δρος]. *AME* 156 on coins of Ep. League 232–168 B.C.
 [Ξωσί]βιος. Cyriacus no. 38 (Arta).
 Ξωσίστρατος. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta). I B.C.
 Ξωσπίς. *AA* 1. 197 (Ploçë). c. A.D. 200.
 Ξωστράτα. Cyriacus no. 37 (Arta).
 Ξωστρατος. *AA* 3. 119 (Buthrotum). III–II B.C.
 — *Βυλλίων ἀπὸ Νικαίας. Eph. Arch.* 1925–6, 26.
 Ξωστρίων. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 238 (Suhë). A.D. — *AA* 1. 193 (Selenice). II–I B.C.
 Ξώτας. De Franciscis 281 (Buthrotum).
 Sotes. *CIL* iii Suppl. 2. 12302 (Liboni).
 Sotis. Ibid.
 Ξωτηρίχας. Fraser and Rönne 115 (Kamarina).
 Ξωτήριχος. De Franciscis 281 (Buthrotum).
 Ξωτι - - ? Thesprotian. *IG* ix. 1². 2. 243. III B.C.
 Ξωτία. *Arch. Delt.* 1926, 69 (Arta). III–II B.C.
 — *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C.
 Ξώτιμος, attendant of Alexander in Italy in 330 B.C. *Livy* 8. 24. 12.
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 Ξωτίχη. *AA* 1. 193 (Valona Collection).
 Ξωτίων, of Buchetium. Arvanitopoulos, *Thess. Mnem.* 320. Also at Apollonia: *SEG* 2. 363.
 — *PAE* 1952, 357 (Kamarina) c. 200–150 B.C. 655.
 Ξώτων. Leake 4 no. 170 (Arta).
 — *BCH* 1893, 633 (Arta).
 — Hic 743 bis (Arta).
 Ταλαιᾶνες, tribe with ethnic Ταλαιᾶν. Hic 530. 370–368 B.C.
 — with ethnic Ταλαῖν. *Ep. Chron.* 1935, 245. Late IV B.C. 564.
 — with ethnic Ταλάωνος. *IG* ix. 1². 31. 127. Late III B.C. 653.
 — *SGDI* 1349. Late III–early II B.C.
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 Ταυρίσκος. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 238 (Saraginishtë), bis. I B.C.
 Τειμαγόρα, Ophyllan. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C. 593.
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- Τερπντία*. Hic 736 (Mouspina).
Τέρμων, *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 234 (Nivicë Lopes).
Tetraphylia, town in Athamania. *Livy* 38. 1. 7.
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- Φιλίσσας. *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 233 (Salar). III–II B.C. 738.
- Φιλίσσας, priest of Aesculapius at Buthrotum. *AA* 3. 96. B.C.
- *Eph. Arch.* 1914, 238 (Suhë). A.D.
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- *Arch. Delt.* 1926, 67 (Arta). III–II B.C.
- Φίλλ - - Celaethan. *SGDI* 1355.
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- Ibid.
- Φιλόξενος. *AA* 3. 115 (Buthrotum). Late III B.C.
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- Φοινίκη, town. *Syll.* 3 653 A. 165 B.C. 641.
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- Φωτική, *BCH* 1907, 39 (Liboni). R.E.
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- *IG* IX. 1. 2. 243 (Thyrraeum). III B.C. 653.
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 *Ωρωπός, hero or god. *Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Lit.* (London, 2nd series), 1847. 236 (Filippias). B.C. 708.
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N.B. I have not included as Molossian the names Nicocrates and Philon from *SGDI* 2504 A line 25, although both occur on my list, because *Μο[λοσσωι]* may be a personal name and not an ethnic; or the names in the inscription of Maeson's prytany, which is attributed to Epirus, but I think on insufficient evidence, by L. Robert in *Hellenica* 10, 1955, 286 ff. The Othratae mentioned by Lepore 123 and n. 16 seem to be an alternative restoration in place of Horiatae, q.v.

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MODERN place-names are accented. Where a previous name is still current, reference is made to it, e.g. 'Agorá ,see Dhragomí'. The letter and number given in brackets, e.g. 'Ágnanda (H4, 2026)', show the sheet and the grid of the British version of the Greek Staff Map 1:100,000. Where 'Map', 'Plan', or 'Fig.' is cited, it refers to a map, plan, or figure in this book. When a figure is in *italic*, it is the main reference. The personal and other names which are given in the *Onomastikon Epeirotikon* are not generally included in this Index.

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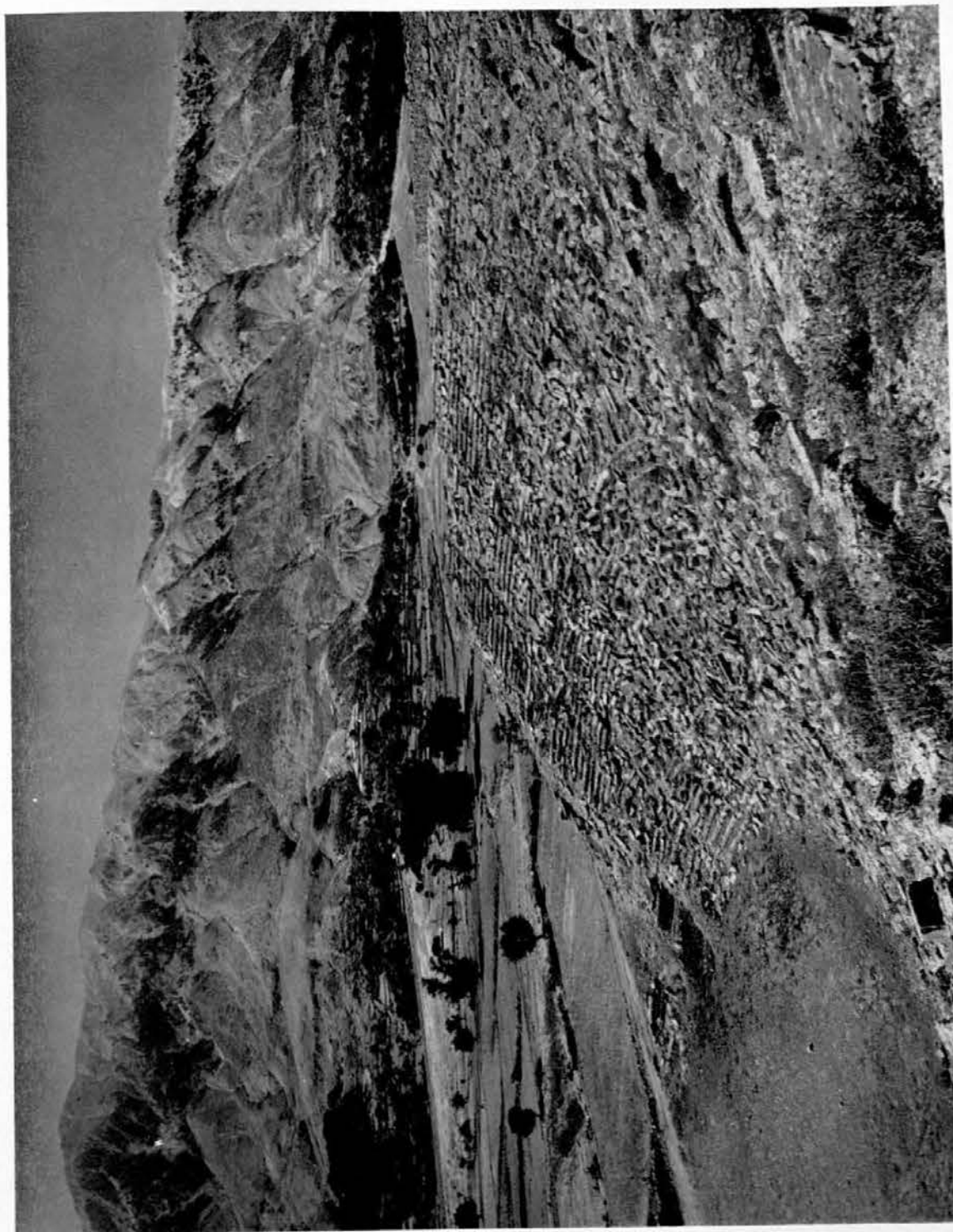
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PLATES



The theatre at Dodona and Mt. Tomarus
(By courtesy of Miss Alison Frantz)



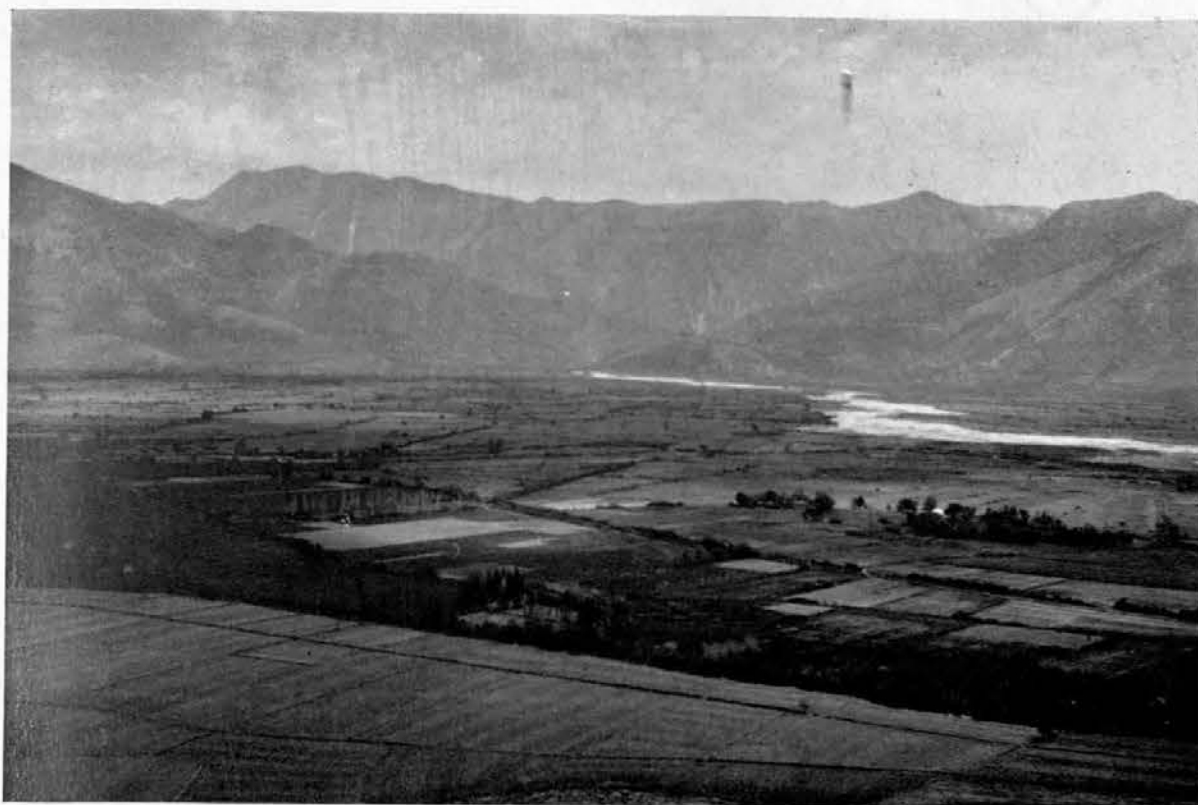
a. The larger theatre at Kamarina (Cassope). See p. 54



b. Lelovo (Batiae): the gateway of Plan 20, 1 seen from inside, with a slightly projecting block which is the beginning of the arch.



c. the same gateway seen from outside with the tower showing on one's right and the drafting of the corner-stones of the gateway entry on one's left. See p. 56



a Looking south from Tourkopaloukon over the bed of the Acherusian Lake. See p. 68

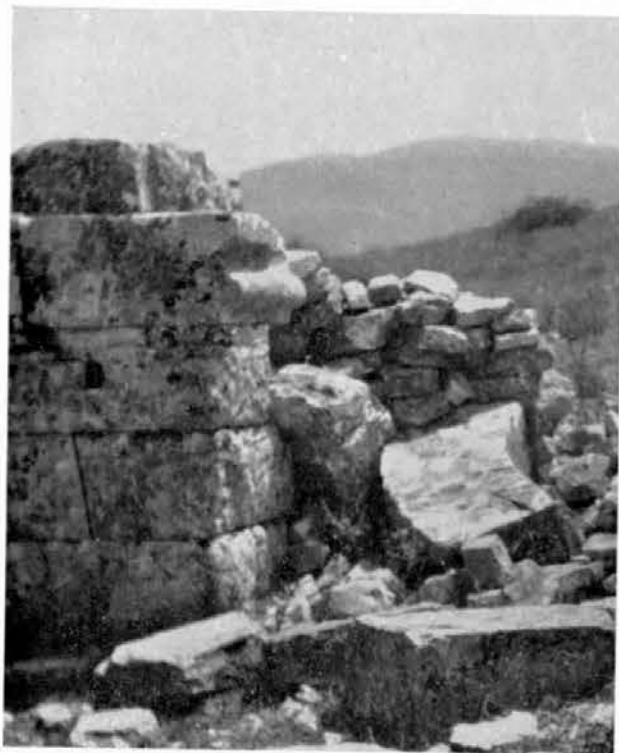


b. Byzantine church at Tourkopaloukon. See p. 69

PLATE IV



a. Goumani (Gitana): the main gateway at C on Plan 10 with the wall of the internal tower showing on the right. See p. 84



b. Dholiani: the gateway of Plan 20, 18 from inside, showing the left-hand side-wall on which the gate was hung and a curved block from the archway lying on the ground.
See p. 87



c. Nekomanteion, outer wall on the south side. See p. 64



c. Vagalat: tower of Plan 21, 17 showing the entry into the upper story. See p. 96 and p. 716

a. Veliani: gateway similar to that of Plan 22, 3; seen from outside. See p. 72



b. Malçan: front face of the tower seen from outside. See p. 97



d. Sinou: the circuit wall on the east side, seen from outside. See p. 90

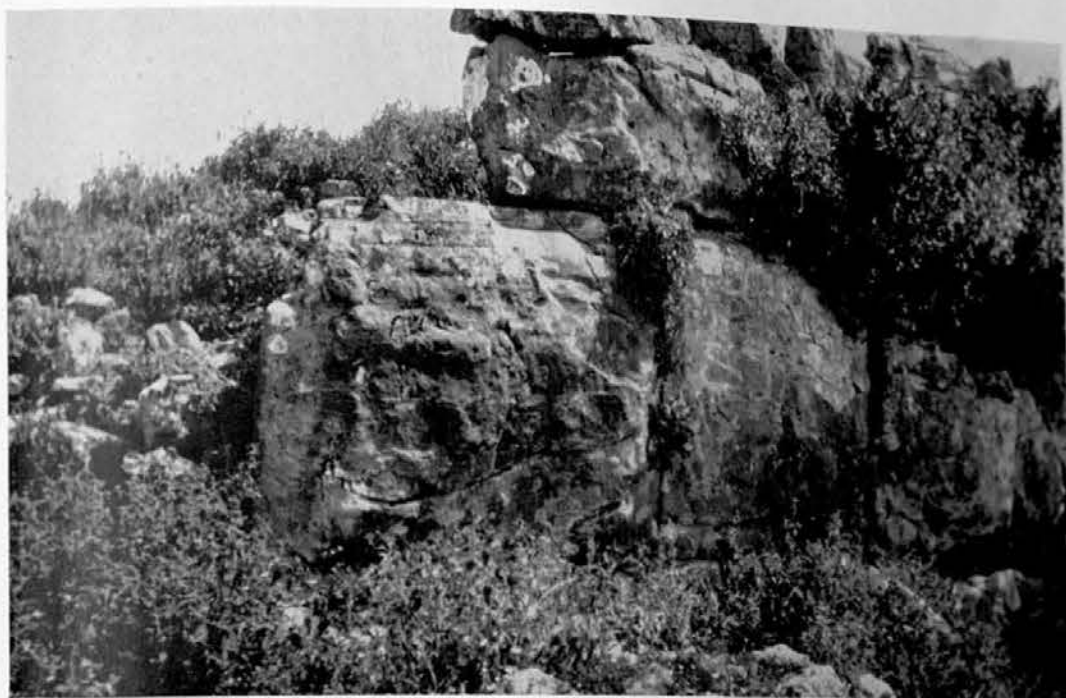
PLATE VI



a. Aetos: lower circuit-wall on W. See p. 94



b. Aetos: gate on NW. of 'palace' buildings. See p. 95



a. Phoenice acropolis, W. wall from outside. See p. 112

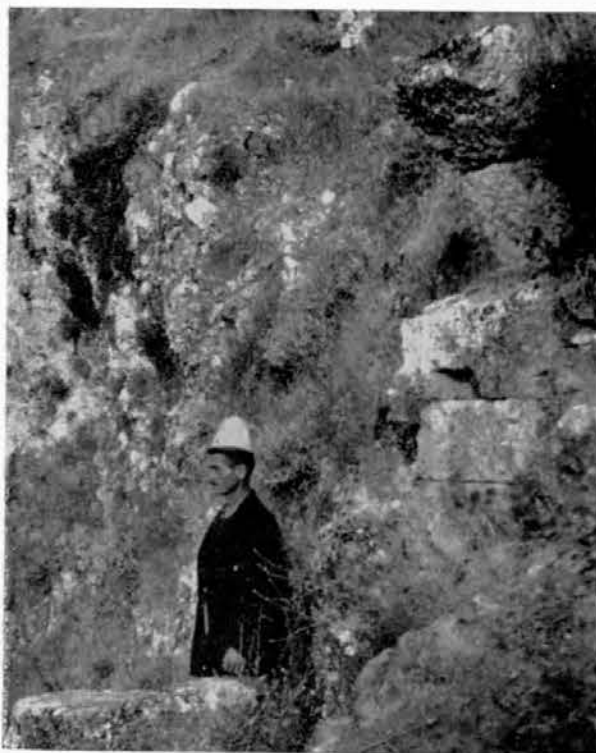


b. Vagalat: tower of Plan 21, 17, seen from outside and showing a slit window in the centre. See p. 96 and p. 716

PLATE VIII



a. Looking southwards down the Hexamili peninsula with the sea on the right, Dema monastery shown by the arrows, and Lake Vivari on the left. See p. 99



b. Pločë: the gateway of Plan 22, 1 in the north wall from inside; the upper bolt-hole for the gate is visible on the level of the fez-top and the footing for the arch is just above it. See p. 222



c. Bridge piers in the Kalamas; the men give the scale, wires are slung between them, and one is looking upstream from Vrousina. See p. 187



a. Ammotopos: house A from outside, showing on the left the windows of both stories and on the right the slit windows. The drafting of the corner-stones is visible. See Plan 23 and p. 155



b. Trikastron (Pandolia) tower on the south side. Rabbeting is visible in the third and fourth course from the top. See p. 162



c. Sistrunion, side-wall of tower on the east side. See p. 165

PLATE X



a. The Acheron entering its gorge below Trikastron (Pandolia). See p. 163



b. Looking from Dhriskos over Kastritsa to Mt. Olytsika (Tomarus). See pp. 173, 175, and 181



a. Kastritsa. W. end of S. wall, with the Lake of Ioannina beyond. See pp. 167, 173, and 181



b. Klimatia, tower on SW. See p. 192



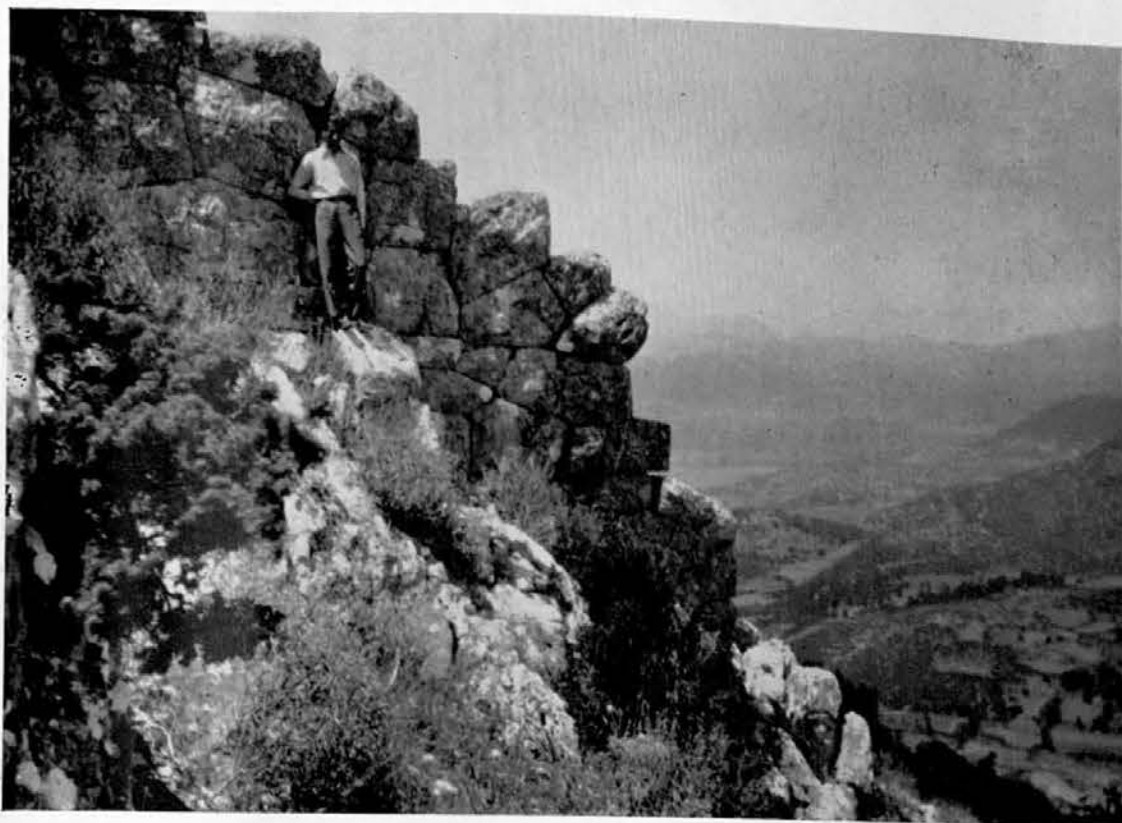
c. Dhespotikon (Ilium), tower in sandstone.
See p. 198



a. Raveni (Phanote), wall on W. See p. 187



b. Vereniki: the gateway of Plan 20, 19 in the east wall; one is looking through the passageway.
See p. 188



a. Khrisorrakhi: the south wall. One is looking NNE. across a side-valley of the upper Kalamas towards Kalbaki. See p. 194



b. Ktismata, tower at E. end. See p. 201



a. View SE. from Ktismata up the Drin valley. See p. 200



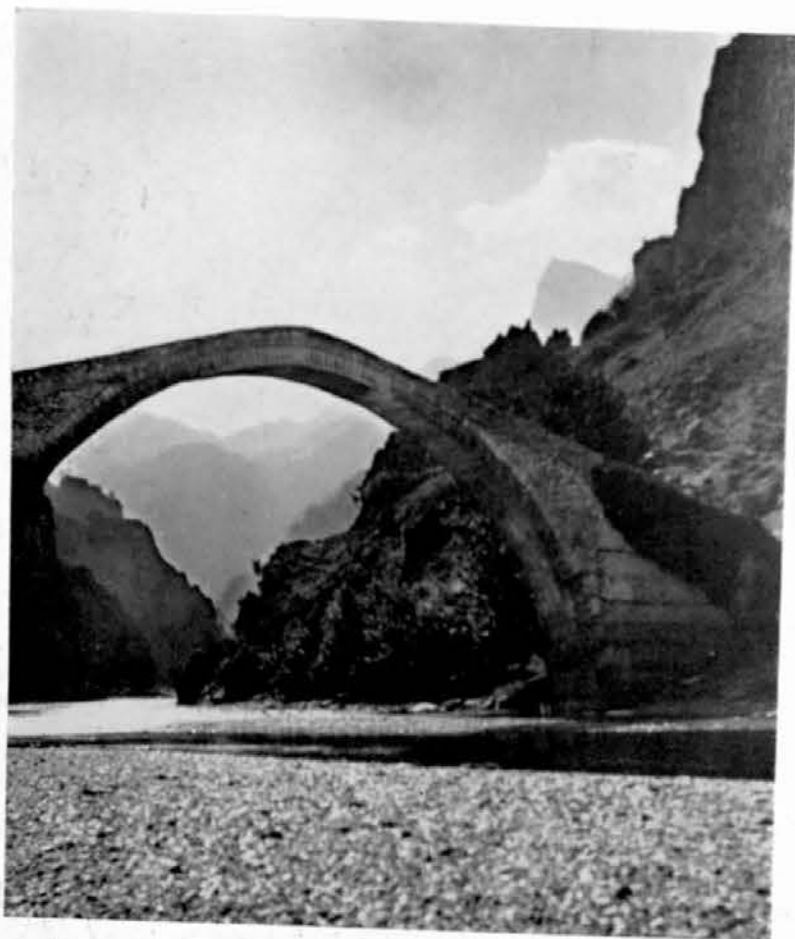
b. View NW. from Ktismata down the Drin valley, showing the main road from Ioannina to Argyrokastro, the boulder-strewn bed of the Drin, and Mt. Nemerçkë on the right. See p. 200



a. Dione lying on her back: Mt. Nemerçkë seen from Visani. See p. 269



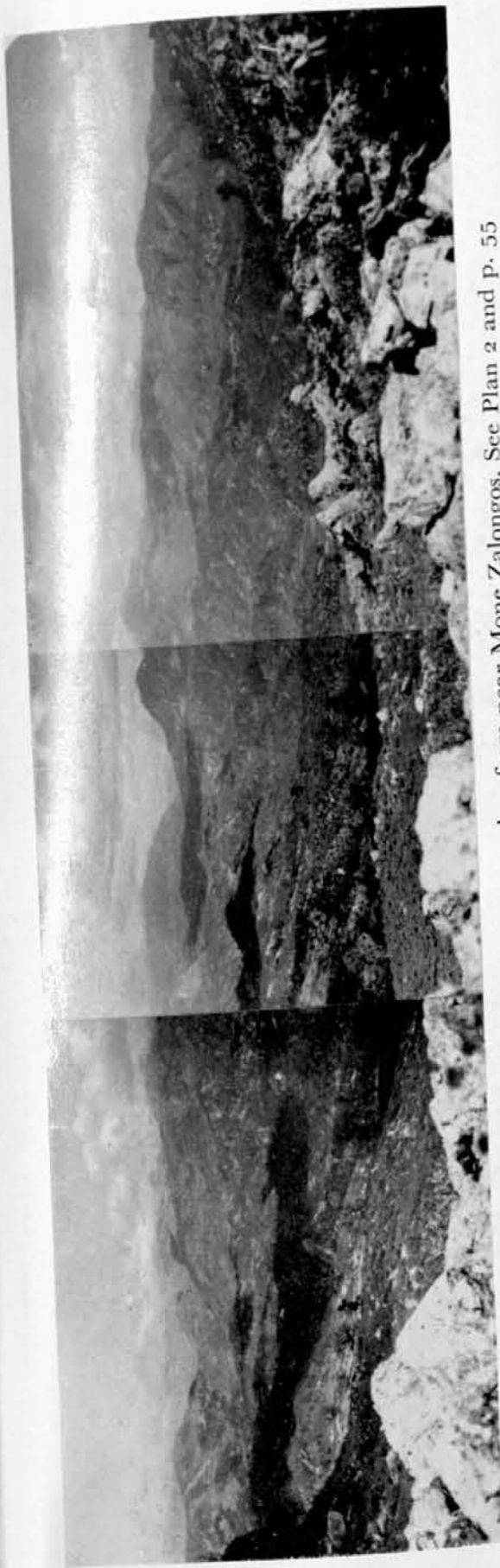
b. Saraginishtë (Hecatompedum) with the Drin valley below. See p. 209



a. Aous gorge with Turkish bridge at Konitsa. See pp. 14
and 272



b. Skamnelli, circuit-wall from outside. See p. 263



a. Panorama looking north from Cassope; taken from near Mone Zalongos. See Plan 2 and p. 55



b. Buthrotum: the Scacan Gate, looking outwards from inside, gate-blocks and step half-way down the passage. See p. 101



c. The Pantokrator in the central dome of the Paregoritissa. See p. 712



a. Oricum Bay: Oricum is on the extreme right of the picture, with a modern entry channel to 'Panormus Limen in the midst of the Acroceraunians', which are here snow-capped. The picture is taken from the side of Mt. Karabarun. See pp. 9 and 127



b. View from Kalenji acropolis, looking northwards up the Arachthus gorge. See pp. 14 and 176



c. View from near St. John's monastery up the valley of the Shkumbi (Genusus), with the main Balkan range showing in snow. See pp. 7 and 616



d. Looking north up the highest part of the Achelous valley towards the ridge which carries the Zygos pass. See p. 250



a. Wall and tower at Rogous. See Plan 4 and p. 57



b. Semicircular tower on Goumani (Gitana) acropolis. See Plan 10 and p. 83



a. Bronze from Palioroforon. See p. 53 and p. 435



d. Veliani: east wall, showing in the foreground and in the middle the stairways up to the circuit-wall from the inside of the site. See p. 71 and p. 716

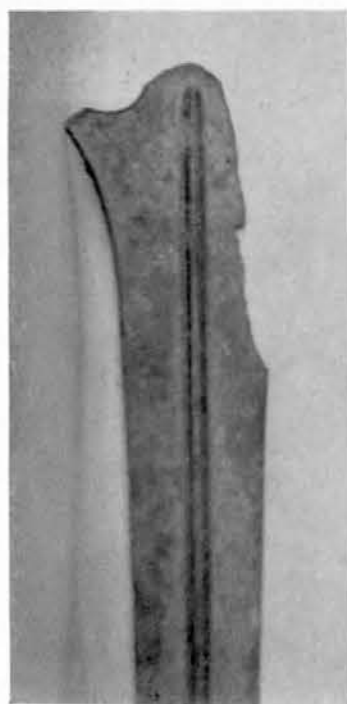


b. Bronze cock from Dodona. See p. 435

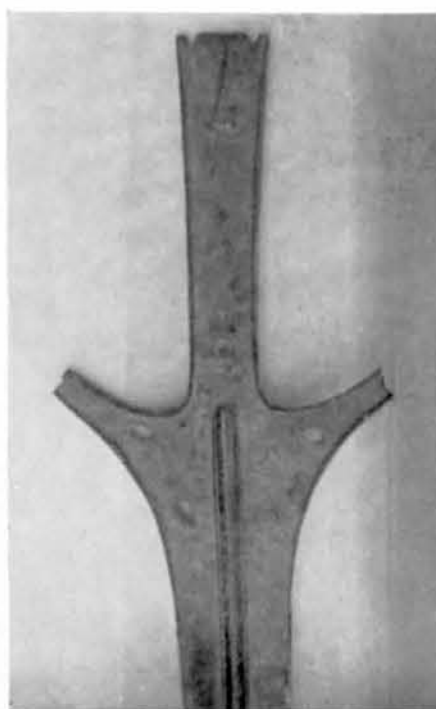


c. Marble fragments at Igoumenitsa. See p. 80

PLATE XXI



a (1)



a (2)



a (3)

Swords from Mesoyefira; see Fig. 19 A and B, and p. 318



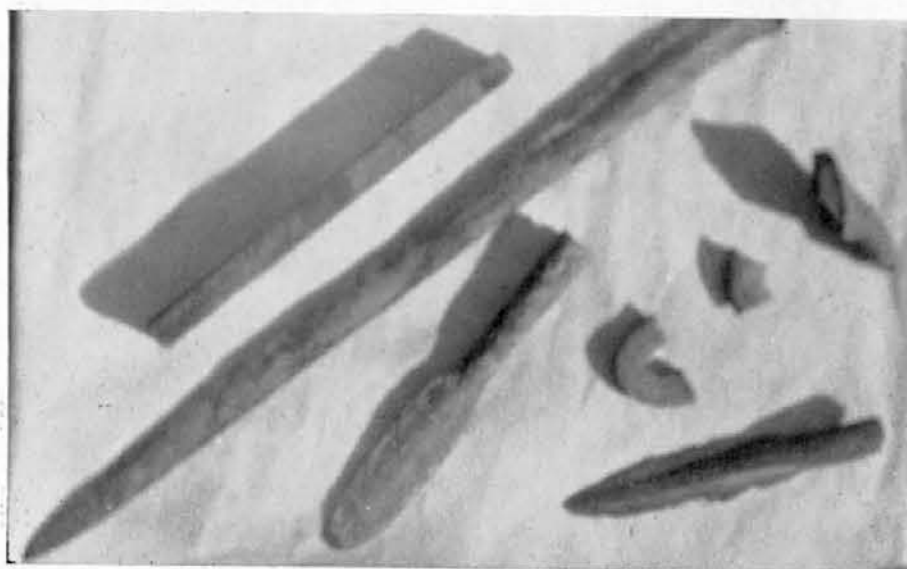
b (1)



b (2)

b (1) Celt from Yeoryiani; see p. 314

b (2) Battle-axe from Tseryianni; see Fig. 20 B 1 and p. 332



c. Weapons and sherds at Visani; see pp. 303, 319 and 340



a. Inscription no. 1



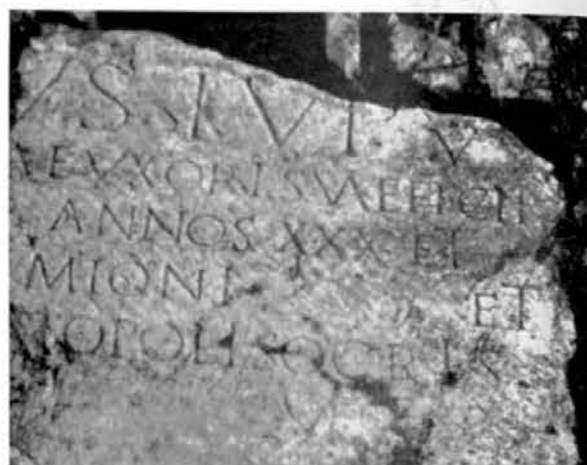
b. Inscription no. 6



c. Inscription no. 15



a. Inscription no. 18



b. Inscription no. 20



d. Inscription no. 26



c. Inscription no. 43



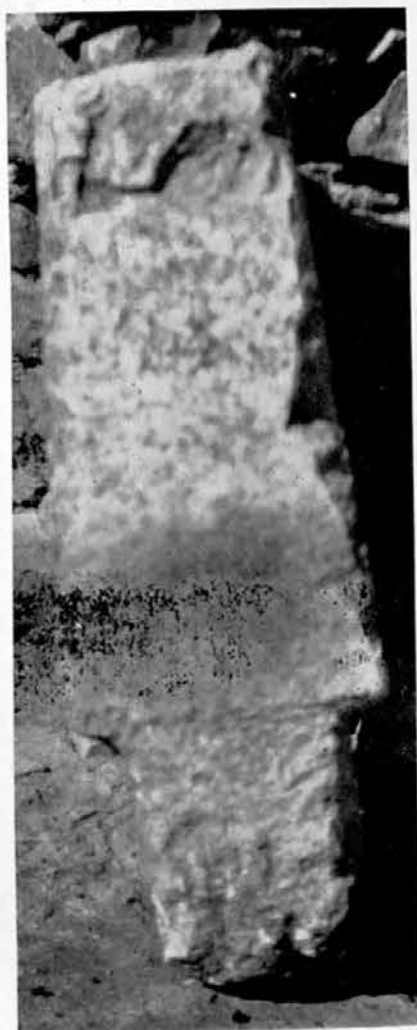
e. Inscription no. 27



a. Inscription no. 29



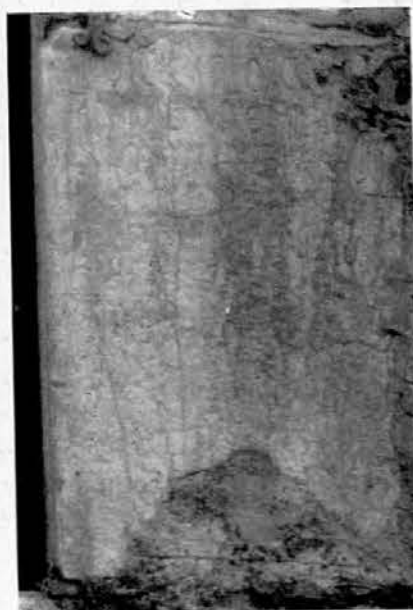
b. Funerary relief from Han Qesarat



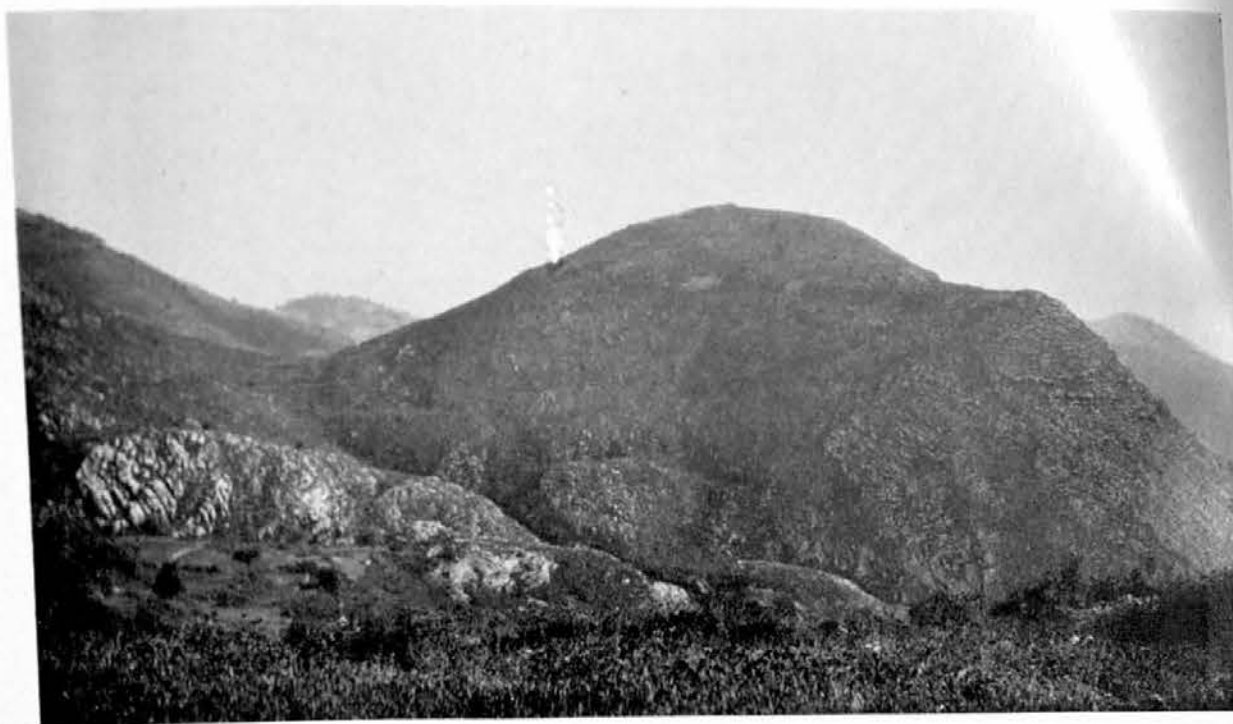
c. Inscription no. 11



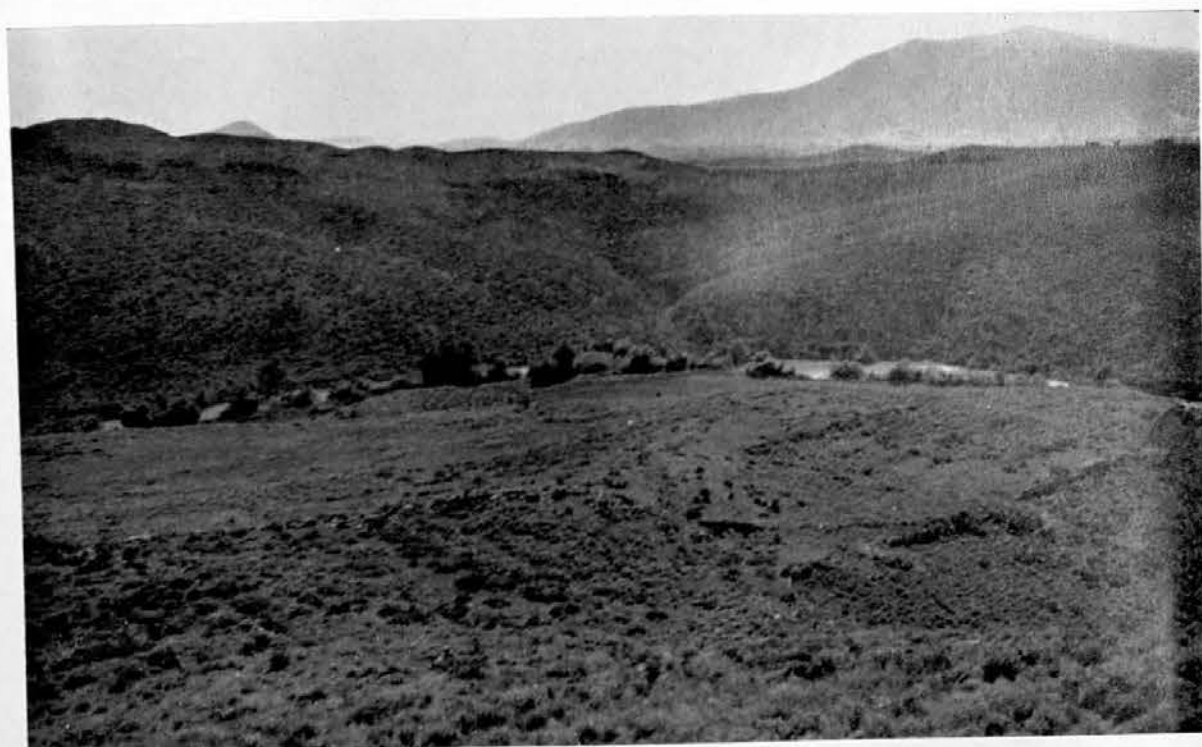
d. Inscription no. 10



e. Inscription no. 23



a. Malçan: a typical hill-site, with the line of the wall shown by the arrow. See p. 97



b. Goumani (Gitana): the main site seen from the acropolis. See Plan 10 and p. 83